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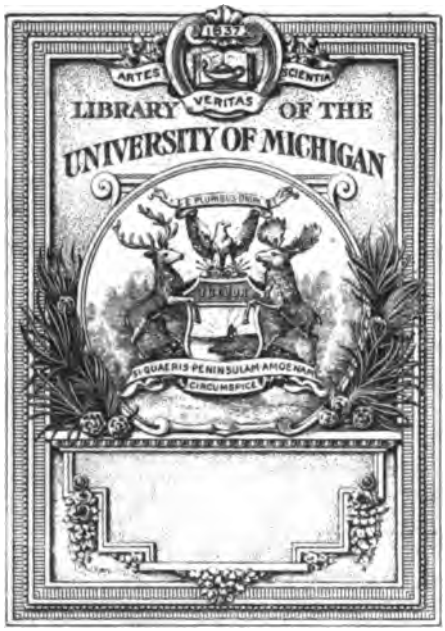
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TRANSACTIONS

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OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

1885-7.

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1885-6.

I.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Professor Skeat.

(*Read at the Society's Meeting on Friday, Nov.* 7, 1884.)

Listre. In Piers Plowman, B. v. 138, the character of Wrath is introduced, who says, amongst other things, "On limitoures and listres: lesynges I ymped;" i.e. I engrafted lies upon limitors and listres, or in other words, I taught such men how to lie. The meaning of *limitor* is known; it implied a friar who begged within certain fixed limits. The word *listre* is explained by the Lat. *lector* in the Prompt. Parv., as said in my Notes, where I have also remarked that *lector* was the name of one of the minor orders in the church. I am now told, on excellent authority, that the name *lector*, in this sense, is not now, nor ever was, a familiar word; for a man can still, as he always could, be appointed to all the minor orders successively in one day, and so become a deacon at once; and such a man cares very little for the title of *lector*, which he never uses. On the other hand, *lector* was a name given to what is known in English as a *lecturer*, i.e. an occasional preacher; see the definitions of *lecturer* in Bailey and Johnson. Thus the *listres* were the preaching friars, mainly (I suppose) Dominicans, who were also called Friars Preachers; just as the *limitors* were the begging friars, mainly Franciscans. This clears up the sense, and will be found to suit the passage exactly, the subject being the angry quarrels between the friars and the parish priests.

All that remains is to trace the etymology of *listre*. I am not able to explain the *s*, yet it seems to answer to the O.F. *litre*, which is one of the not very numerous words which

were derived from a Latin nominative case; the ordinary F. *lecteur* is from the Lat. acc. *lectorem*, but *litre* represents the very form *lector* itself. Littré, s.v. *lecteur*, quotes the O.F. *litre*, from the Dictionary of La Curne de la Palaye, with a quotation; and observes that *litre* is from the nom. *lector*. On reference to La Curne, I can only find the form *listre*.[1] I have been led to discuss this word because it throws some light also upon the word *accoutre*. Dr. Murray is inclined to adopt my derivation of the O.F. *coustre* from a Low Lat. form *custor*, a by-form of *custos*; and the formation is exactly parallel. As *litre* is from *lector*, so *coustre* is from *custor*; to which I may add that so extremely cautious a writer as Kluge assumes a Low Lat. *custor* without hesitation, as being the only form which could possibly have given rise to the mod. G. *küster*, a sacristan.

When we consider the final *-re* in such words as *listre* and *coustre*, I suppose that the *r* is here due to the Latin *r*; though it seems to me not wholly impossible that the Latin *-or* might have fallen away, and that, in the suffix *-re*, the *r* may possibly be intrusive. However this may be, I wish to draw attention to the frequent occurrence of an intrusive *r* after *t*, and especially *st*, as being a phenomenon worthy of more notice than it has perhaps at present received.

We find, for example, in Piers Plowman, B. vii. 14, the word *legistre*, a legist. This answers to an O.F. *legiste*, also *legistre*, which is nothing but the Low Lat. *legista*, a word formed by adding the suffix *-ista* (of Greek origin) to the base *leg-* of the Lat. *lex*. Thus the *r* is merely intrusive.

Again we find, in Piers Plowman, C. xvi. 85, the word *decretistre*; this answers to an O.F. *decretistre* or *decretiste*, from Low Lat. *decretista*. Examples of *decretistre* and *legistre* are given in Littré, both s.v. *décrétiste*. Here, once more, the *r* is intrusive. And now we are in a position to explain the curious word *divinistre* in Chaucer's Knightes

[1] Littré's quotation is copied from Lacurne, s.v. *listre*. He does not tell us why he alters the form to *litre*; we must suppose that he considered the *s* as inorganic, as indeed it must be.

Tale, 1953, which occurs as a rime to *registre*. I remember seeing a remark, I think in *Notes and Queries*, that this form baffles explanation; and, at any rate, Dr. Morris has not explained it. However, it presents no difficulty; the *r* is merely intrusive, and the word is equivalent to a Low Lat. *diuin-ista*, formed by adding *-ista* to the stem of *diuin-us*. To those who tell us that we cannot explain the *r* in this word, we have merely to reply that we are not called upon to do more than to declare it to be intrusive.

Once more. Bailey gives the equivalent forms *sophist* and *sophister*, which he defines as 'a subtil cavilling disputer; also a young student at the University of Cambridge.' Here we have an O.F. *sophiste*, or (with intrusive *r*) *sophistre*, and the intrusive *r* has actually produced an additional syllable in modern English, by confusion with the very common suffix *-er*. In precisely the same way we can best explain the word *alchemister* in Murray's Dictionary; the suffix *-er* is really due to an O.F. *alchemistre*, which is nothing but *alchemiste* with an intrusive *r* after the *t*. The word is written *alchemistre* in three of the MSS. of Chaucer which Dr. Murray duly cites.

Under *alchemister*, Dr. Murray refers us to *barrister*, as being of similar formation. I have no doubt that he is right, and that *barrister* really demands, for its explanation, no longer a form than a Low Lat. *barrista*; and a *barrister* might just as well have been called a *barrist*. I regret that I cannot find the word either in Low Latin or in O.F.; it does not seem to be an early word.

Our late President further refers us to *chorister*. This I take to represent an O.F. *choristre*, with intrusive *r*; it means no more than a *chorist*. Ducange gives the Low Lat. *chorista*, and Cotgrave has F. *choriste*, 'a chorist, a singing man in a queer.'

A very curious example is in the word *roistering*. Properly speaking, *roister* is a sb., from the O.F. *rustre*, 'a roister'; in Cotgrave. *Rustre* is the same word as O.F. *ruste*, from the Lat. acc. *rusticum*, a countryman, a clownish person. See *rustre* in Littré. We have since added another

final *-er*, and talk of a *roisterer*. It is worth notice that a *roisterer* means no more than a *roister*; and again, that a *roister* means no more than a *roist*, i.e. a rustic. Hence the final *-erer* in *roist-erer* has actually been suggested by a mere intrusive *r*. I accordingly explain the final *-er* in such words as the familiar E. suffix, the addition of which was suggested by the occurrence of a final *-re* in the corresponding F. words; but in the F. forms I look upon the *r* as intrusive, *-stre* being put for *-ste*.

Another clear and well-known example of an intrusive *r*, after *rt*, occurs in *cartridge*, from the F. *cartouche*. In the word *partridge*, the intrusive *r* occurred originally after *rd* rather than *rt*, the F. word being *perdrix*. This leads us to consider the possible intrusion of *r* after other letters. Yet I must not dismiss the consideration of the occurrence of *r* after *t* without a passing mention of what is, I think, the most astonishing example of all, viz. in the word *treasure*, F. *trésor*, from the Lat. acc. *thesaurum*.

The next letter to be considered is naturally *d*; I have already mentioned *perdrix*. It will be convenient to consider the letter *f* at the same time; Brachet gives us the very curious example of *fr* for *f* in the F. *fronde*, a sling, from the Lat. *funda*.

I shall first of all take the word *philosopher*, where *ph* has the sound of *f*. This is spelt *philosofre* in Chaucer; and I contend that the *r* is merely intrusive. It is precisely the same word as the O.F. *philosophe*, from the Lat. acc. *philosophum*. This being so, I am not convinced that Brachet has rightly explained the F. *coffre*, E. *coffer*. He derives it from the Lat. *cophinum*, by supposing it contracted to *cophnum*, after which the O.F. *cofre* results by the change of *n* to *r*. This seems to me questionable. We find, indeed, an O.F. *cofin* (see Godefroy), whence E. *coffin*; but the usual method of formation of O.F. words requires the rejection of the medial vowel *i*, and it seems to me that we should hence obtain a form *coffe*, just as the Lat. *terminum* produces the F. *terme*. We could also obtain a form *cofre* by the intrusion of *r*; and this will give us the E. *coffer*. Under these

circumstances, it becomes interesting to look for an O.F. *coffe*; and I find two examples of this form in Godefroy, with the sense of a small tub or vessel for containing water; whilst Roquefort explains *coffe* as meaning a coffer, a sort of vase. Even in the word *order*, F. *ordre*, I do not feel *quite* sure that the *n* of the accusative *ordinem* is absolutely required to account for the *r*, as is usually said; at any rate, I would say that, if there was really such a substitution, it was readily brought about by the ease with which *r* could be sounded in this position. I would say the same of the famous word *Londres* for *London*, which is usually derived from the Latin *Londinium*, with the change of *n* to *r*. I do not know how old the F. *Londres* may be; but it seems to me quite as easy to derive it from the A.S. *Lunden*, and to suppose the *r* to be intrusive or excrescent. As to the final *s*, I confess that it puzzles me.

The intrusive *r* may have originated in England just as well as in France. We have an instance in the word *lavender*, M.E. *lauendre*, from F. *lavande*; so also we may most easily account for *provender*, from F. *provende*.

I have now considered the occurrence of intrusive *r*, at any rate in some cases, after *t*, *d*, *f*. The other letters which would be most likely to admit of it are *k* (or hard *c*), *g*, *p*, and *b*. I am not aware of any examples in English except the word *jasper*, and possibly *culprit*. The former is a clear case; the O.F. *jaspre* is formed with intrusive *r* from the O.F. *jaspe*, which results from the Lat. *iaspidem*. As to *culprit*, it may possibly stand from *culpate*, for the Lat. *culpatus*; but it is well known to be a difficult word. Dr. Morris also instances the words *bridegroom*, *hoarse*, and *corporal*. In the word *bridegroom*, we find *r* intruded after *g* in a word of English origin. The other two examples are of a different character, and due to a misunderstanding of the vowel-sound, which led to a vicious spelling.

But, before concluding this investigation, we must remember that *l* is interchangeable with *r*, and we have to enquire if there are any instances of intrusive *l*, especially after *t*, *d*, *f*, *k*, *p*, or *b*. Putting aside the intrusive *l* in

could, the examples given by Dr. Morris are the following, viz. *myrtle*, *manciple*, *participle*, *principle*, and *syllable*.

I am not quite sure about *myrtle*, because there was a F. diminutive form *myrtil*, Low Lat. *myrtillus*. But in the words *manciple*, *participle*, *principle*, *syllable*, the *l* is certainly intrusive, and the intrusion seems to have taken place in English only. I have at least three more words to add; these are *treacle*, O.F. *triacle*, from Lat. *theriacum*; *chronicle*, O.F. *chronique*, from the Lat. pl. *chronica*; *canticle*, O.F. *cantique*, from the Lat. *canticum*. In the last instance, Littré gives *canticle*, with intrusive *l*, as a Burgundian form. I have no faith in the suggestion, that the *-le* in *canticle* is a diminutive suffix; for the *Canticles* are called *Cantique de Cantiques* in French, and *Cantica Canticorum* in Latin.

Andiron. I have given this as borrowed from an O.F. *andier*, the word now spelt *landier* by coalescence with the def. article. This is verified by the occurrence of the sixteenth century form *laund-iron*, which exhibits the same phenomenon. In A.D. 1541, 'ij. old great *laund-irons*' are valued at five shillings; Lancashire Wills, Chetham Soc., i. 128; and in A.D. 1557, 'two *launde-irons*' are again mentioned in company with 'one payre of tonges'; *id.* i. 172. Mr. Peacock, in his Glossary of Manley and Corringham Words, quotes "one iyron potte and one *land-iyron*" from an inventory dated 1685.

Bezique, a game at cards. (F.—Pers.). Spelt *bezique* in Ogilvie's Dictionary.—F. *besigue* (also spelt *bésy*); Littré. It would seem as if the E. spelling with *q* is due to the mistake of putting the common combination *qu* for the less common *gu*. β. (Mr. Francis, of the Cambridge University Library, kindly points out that the word is Persian.)—Pers. *bázichi*, sport, a game; Palmer's Pers. Dict. col. 67. Cf. also *bázigar*, a juggler; from the verb *bázidan*, to play. We also find Pers. *bázi*, play, sport; *id.* col. 66; this accounts for the parallel F. form *bésy*, and thus clinches the etymology.

Caoutchouc, indian rubber. (Ecuador.) This name for what is now called indian rubber is now but little used; it is a clumsy and unfamiliar form, and will probably soon die

out. It is usually said to be of Brazilian origin, and I have endeavoured to test this assertion. In this matter, I have received most kind help from Professor Alexander, of Rio de Janeiro. He refers me to one of Roret's Industrial Manuals, called "Nouveau Manuel complet du Fabricant d'Objets de Caoutchouc; par M. Maigne"; also to La Condamine, Abrégée d'un Voyage fait dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique Méridionale (1745). From the former book it appears that indian-rubber has various names among the different S. American tribes. The natives of the province of Las Esmeraldas (Ecuador) call it *heré*; whilst the name *caoutchouc*, used at Quito, belongs to the idiom of the Indians of the province of Maïnas, and signifies "juice of a tree." These Indians live on the banks of the Marona and the lower Pastaza, tributaries of the Amazon in Ecuador, and are the near neighbours of the Omaguas. Black's Atlas gives the rivers Marouna and Pastaca, flowing down from the Andes (in the neighbourhood of Chimborazo) into the Amazon. La Condamine says that the "gum, called *cahuchu* in the parts of the province of Quito which are near the sea, is also very common on the banks of the Marañon," which is another name for the Amazon. The net results are (1) that the word means "juice of a tree"; and (2) that the home of the word is not Brazil, but Ecuador, and in particular that part of it near Quito, where tributaries of the Amazon flow down southwards from the neighbourhood of Chimborazo. As the Amazon is a river of great length, it is useful to know that the name is only known near the *source* of that river, not near its mouth. Prof. Alexander adds that La Condamine seems to have sent a detailed account of *caoutchouc* and its uses in a Mémoire to the Academy in 1738–9.

Con (1). M.E. *cunnien*, to taste, try. I merely wish to say that, in my Dictionary, I have omitted to add the reference. It occurs in the Ancren Riwle, p. 114.

Curmudgeon. I have met with this word in Hazlitt's Old Plays, xi. 195, in a play dated 1614. It is known that the old spelling of this word was *corn-mudgin*, as in Holland's

Pliny; and I have suggested that *mudgin* stands for *mudging*, i.e. hiding, from the O.F. *mucer*, to hide. Cf. M.E. *muchen*, to hide; prov. E. *mouch*, *mich*, to play truant. My object in again alluding to this word is to draw attention to a very remarkable passage in Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, ed. Furnivall, ll. 6227–6234:

" Þerfore hyt were bettyr here
Dyspende here þyng on gode manere
Þan for to lay hyt vp *yn mucche* [i.e. in hiding]
Oþer yn cofre oþer in hucche.
Aueryce, ryche and harde
Ys a þefe, a *mokerade* [var. reading *mokerarde*]
When he *muccheþ* pryuely
Þat many man myȝt lyue by."

Here we have *mucchen*, vb., to hide up; *mucche*, sb., hiding, and *mokerarde*, a curmudgeon. Again, in another passage, ll. 6067, 6068:

" Against *mokerers* wyl y þrepe
Þat gadren pens vn-to an hepe."

This gives us *mokerer*, with the same sense of curmudgeon. The Prompt. Parv. has: " *muglard*, or nyggard, or pynchar, *tenax, avarus*;" and Way refers to Cotgrave, who has " *mugotter*, to hoord, *mugot*, a hoord, or secret heap of treasure." Sigart gives the Walloon words *mucher*, to hide, *muche*, a hoard; *muchette*, hide and seek.

All these forms seem to proceed from a base *muk*, sometimes weakened to *mug*, or palatalised to *much*. I have hitherto said that the derivation of the O.F. *mucer*, to hide, is unknown; but I now find that Kluge gives a Teutonic root *muk*, to lurk secretly, which he treats of under *meuchel* as it appears in *meuchel-mord*, assassination, *i.e.* secret murder; and he adds that there is a Celtic root *mug* with the same sense, appearing in the O. Irish *for-múigthe*, hidden, *for-múichdetu*, a hiding. There can now be little doubt that the O.F. *mucer*, to hide, is from this root, and that all the other words above mentioned may be traced back to it likewise.

Saunter. I have made a guess, in the *Academy*, that this difficult word is from an O.F. *s'auntrer*, to adventure my-

self. I here note that this form actually occurs in the Year Book of the 11–12 year of Edward III. (Rolls Series), p. 619, where we find mention of a man 'qe *sauntre* en ewe,' *i.e.* who adventures himself upon the water, or, as we now say, who puts to sea. I have already noted, in the Supplement to my Dictionary, that the two earliest examples of the E. word which I have yet seen occur in the still unpublished edition of the York Mysteries, which I hope will soon appear.

Sausage. It has been kindly pointed out to me by Prof. Nettleship that the original Latin form of *sausage* is not *salcitia*, nor *salsicium*, but *salsicia*, a fem. sb. The Ital. form is *salsiccia*, and the F. *saucisse* is likewise feminine. The sb. *salsicia*, a sausage, occurs in the Cruquian scholiast on Horace, 2 Sat. 3. 229. The adj. *salsicius* is given by Georges in his Latin Dictionary. Prof. Nettleship thinks that the sb. *salsicia* may be as old as the fourth century. I may add, that the spelling *sausage* (with *a*) is false; it should rather be *sausige* (with *i*), as in Cotgrave. Moreover, *sausige* is a weakened form of *sausice*=F. *saucisse*.

Scan. I have said that, in the phrase to *scan* a verse, *scan* is short for *scand*, but I was unable to produce that form. I have since found it. In Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poetry, ii. 267, there is a poem addressed to Miss Maitland, and taken from one of the Maitland MSS., in which one of the lines ends with—"quho list thy vers to *scand*." It rimes with *land*. The date of the poem is 1586.

Service tree, a kind of wild pear-tree. (L. *and* E.) The *service-tree* is a name given to the *Pyrus domestica*. A better known tree of a similar kind is the mountain-ash or *Pyrus aucuparia*, sometimes called the fowler's *service-tree*. It is well explained in Ogilvie's Dictionary, where the remark is hazarded, that the name is corrupted from the Latin *sorbus*. This idea is, in the main, correct, but it demands a closer investigation, since the connection in form between *service* and *sorbus* is, at first sight, very slight. It can, however, be traced, as follows. The Lat. *sorbus* took, in A.S., the form *syrf* or *syrfe*; for I assume that this A.S. *syrfe* is merely the Latin word in an English spelling, rather than consider the

Latin and E. words as cognate. The change of *o* to *y* is common in A.S. words, when due to an *i* in the following syllable; it may have taken place, in the present case, by analogy with other instances. The final *f* in A.S. *syrf* is curious; but we find *f* used to represent a Latin *v*, as in *fers*, a verse; and the use of it for a Latin *b*, especially at the end of a word, is not surprising. We may also compare E. *salve*, A.S. *sealf*, with the Gothic *salbon*, to anoint. *β*. The A.S. Dictionaries do not give the word *syrf* or *syrfe*, with the exception of Leo's Glossary, where it is explained wrongly; but it is given, with references, in the Glossary to Cockayne's Leechdoms. Cockayne gives it as *syrfe*, fem. sb, gen. *syrfan*, a service-tree, also *syrf-tréow* as a compound sb., and explains it by "Lat. *sorbus*, *pirus domestica*, very rare in England, and *pirus aucuparia*, very common." One reference is to Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus, vol. vi. p. 234, No. 430, where we find, in a list of boundaries, the expression 'ðonon on ðá *syrfan*,' thence to the service-trees. *γ*. The M.E. form was *serf* or *serue* in the singular (which does not occur), and *serues* or *serves* in the plural. The word is extremely rare, and is omitted in the Glossary to Palladius on Husbandry, but it occurs, nevertheless, in the text; see the E.E.T.S. edition, p. 52, bk. ii. st. 33, l. 227.

> "In Jane, in Feveryere, and Marche in cold
> Erthe, October and November in hoote
> Erthe, is settyng of *serves* noble holde," etc.

I.e. it is considered a good plan to plant *serves* in cold ground in January, February, and March, but in hot ground in October and November. It follows that *serves*, or in the Northern dialect *servis*, is really a dissyllabic plural; and a *servis-tree* is really a tree bearing *serves*. In precisely the same manner there was a fruit called a *quin*, and the tree which bore it was called either a *quin-tree* or a *quins-tree*; here, also, the plural form prevailed, and the tree is now always called a *quince-tree*, the substitution of *ce* for *s* being due to ignorance of the meaning of the word combined with a laudable desire to achieve a phonetic spelling. In Tudor-English, the spellings *servis-tree* and *service-tree* were convertible; they occur

in different parts of the same book. In Holland's translation of Pliny, bk. xvi. c. 18, we have remarks on "the servis-tree": in bk. xv., the title of ch. 21 is: "Of *services*, four kinds," where *services* = *serves-es* is a double plural, like *quinc-es* = *quin-s-es*. Mr. Palmer, in his Folk-Etymology, suggests the derivation from *sorbus*, but fails to explain the spelling. He supplies, however, a capital quotation from Burton's Anat. of Melancholy, Democritus to the Reader, p. 69: "Crato utterly forbids all manner of fruits, as peares, apples, plumms, cherries, strawberries, nuts, medlers, *serves*, etc." I think it is now clear that a *service-tree* is a *serves-tree*, i.e. a tree bearing *serves*, where *serves* is the plural of a word which appears in A.S. as *syrfe*, or, in composition, as *syrf*. And I further consider this A.S. *syrfe* to be merely a slightly disguised form of the Lat. *sorbus*. I think we may now entirely reject the derivation suggested by Dr. Prior, that *service* is a corruption of the Latin *cervisia*, beer, because beer was made from its berries. Every Englishman knows what *beer* is, and he could easily have called a tree a *beer-tree*, if he wished to be understood by others. Besides, we now know that the very fruit of the tree was called *serves*, and we cannot suppose that the beer grew ready made. I may add that, in Latin, the fruit was called *sorbum*, whilst the tree itself was *sorbus*. Bailey's Dictionary has: "*Service*, a sort of fruit, called also a *sorb-apple*"; showing that the word *sorb* was again borrowed from Latin at a later period.

Set. When we speak of a *set* of tea-things, the word *set* is only a peculiar use of the Latin *secta*, which we also have in English in the form of *sept*, with the sense of 'following' or 'clan.' This I have already said. I now find some excellent examples of the Latin *secta* in this sense. In the York Wills, ed. Raine, ii. 102, we find a testator leaving a goblet which was one of a set of six: "lego j. goblet unde sunt vj. de *secta*." He also leaves a flat "piece," *i.e.* silver cup, which had been one of a *set* of five: "lego . . . j. flat peciam unde fuerunt quinque de *secta*." I believe this use of *secta* is very common. The date of the will is 1444. I do not know how old the word *set* is in this sense; if it be

not of great antiquity, it may have been borrowed immediately from the Ital. *setta* (Low Lat. *secta*).

Spruce. I have shown that *spruce* is the same as *pruce*, i.e. Prussian. I now find that, in the York Wills, ed. Raine, the words *pruce kist* and *pruce cofer*, i.e. Prussian chest and Prussian coffer, occur repeatedly, and that *pruce* is very often replaced by *spruce*. Examples abound. There is a striking example in vol. ii. pp. 194, 195, where, in one and the same will, dated 1445, we find "j. cistam vocatam a pruce kyste," and just below, "j. pruce coffre"; and again, "j. cistam vocatam sprusse coffre," in the last line.

Tawdry. The usual account of this word is that *tawdry* stands for *St. Awdry*, and that *Awdry* means *Etheldreda*, as she is usually called. I am here concerned only with the etymology of this name, which is wrongly explained in my Dictionary from a form *Æþeldryht*, occurring in the A.S. Chronicle. This form is incorrect; so also are the forms *Æþeldryð* as used in Ælfred's translation of Beda, and *Æþeldriþ* in the Laud MS. of the Chronicle; but they are very nearly right. The right form is *Æþelþryð*, of which *Æþeldryð* and *Æþeldriþ* are easy corruptions. This occurs in the Parker MS. of the A.S. Chronicle. "Anno 679. Her Ælfwine wæs ofslægen, and Sancte Æþelþryþ forþferde." Cf. "Æðelðryð regina," occurring A.D. 714, in Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus, No. 999. The sense is 'noble strength.' Grein gives *þryð*, *þryðu*, strength; Sievers (A.S. Gramm. § 269) marks the *ý* as long. This seems to be right; see the articles on *þrúðr* in Vigfusson and in Schade. We have the same suffix in *Ger-trude*, i.e. 'spear-strength,' a name not of E., but of O.H.G. origin.

Teetotum. The etymology is clearly from the fact that the winning side of the toy was marked T, signifying *totum*. Another side of the toy was marked N, meaning *nihil*. I have to add that I have lately found an allusion to it in Dunbar's Address "to the king," st. 15, l. 4: "He playis with *totum*, and I with *nichell*." Sibbald has a note on the word, and refers us to Rabelais, bk. i. c. 22.

II. — CRITICAL ETYMOLOGIES. By HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, M.A.

1. AGOG; 2. ALOOF; 3. SHELTER; 4. SCREW (an old horse); 5. To TED; 6. GULL (a dupe); 7. SOUND (of the sea); 8. To SOUND (depth).

(*Read at the Society's Meeting on Friday, Nov.* 7, 1884.)

AGOG.—Explained by Dr. Murray, "In eager readiness, expectation or desire, on the move, astir." Yet he compares it with Fr. *vivre à gogo* 'to live like a lord, in abundance,' and suggests that perhaps the word may be an adaptation of the Fr. *en gogues; estre en ses gogues* 'to be frolicke, livelie, all-a-hoit, in a pleasant humour, in a vein of mirth': Cotgr. If *agog* was an adaptation of the French expression, it must have undergone a wonderful change of meaning in passing into English. It is not easy to understand the temptation to resort to these Fr. terms, as the import of the word is fully accounted for by the significance of the elements *gig, gag, gog,* in expressing the idea of vibratory or palpitating movement exhibited in numerous words in English and German, as well as in Gaelic and Welsh.

The derivation of a word is commonly to be sought in an exaggerated form of the thing signified, and the highest degree of eagerness for anything takes effect in a state of nervous excitement that makes it impossible to keep still. A person in such a state is said in Scotch to be *fidging fain,* that is, so desirous as to be twitching with excitement. A good illustration of such a state may be cited from a late novel ('Her Dearest Foe,' p. 489): "Yet I must go soon—I cannot stay, and Fanny *is vibrating to the points of her toes* in her eagerness to take flight." In Yorkshire the expression is *on the gig.* "*Gig,* a state of flurry. 'He's on the *gig* to be off.' 'In a *gig* to go.'" —Mid Yorksh. Gloss. E.D.S. The syllables *gig, gag, gog,* are widely used to convey the image of short abrupt movements. In English, *gog* has the sense of wavering or shaking

in *gogmire* 'a quagmire' (Halliwell), and in the frequentative *goggle*, used in the prologue to Beryn in the sense of wagging the head: "Then passid they forth boystly *goglyng* with their hedis." A *goggle* eye is properly a rolling eye. Gael. *gog* 'nod'; *gogach* 'nodding, wavering'; *gog-shuil* 'a rolling eye.' Welsh *gogi*, *ysgogi* 'to shake'; *gogr* 'a sieve.' Bavarian *gigelen*, *gigkelen* 'to palpitate, quiver, twitch, from tickling, desire, anger,' etc. Es *gigkelet* mir das Herz nach etwas 'my heart is all agog for something, is on the *gig* for it.' Einige *gigelen* so gewaltig nach dem Heuraten 'some itch so after marriage, are so *agog* for it.' "I ha' set her *agog* to-day for a husband": Cowley in Murray. Skeat, in his supplement, cites from Gascoigne, "Or at the least, yt setts the harte on *gogge*": sets it palpitating. "Perhaps," he says, "*agog*=on *gog*, in agitation, in a state of activity." Here he just misses the radical image of nervous twitching, but having come so near the mark, it is strange that he should throw up the scent, because, as he supposes, *gog* is not a genuine Celtic word; "so that this solution also fails." If *gog* in E. as well as in W. and Gael. signifies vibratory movement, what does it signify to the etymology of *agog*, whether the E. *gog* has been borrowed from Welsh or Gaelic, or whether the same element in the latter languages has been borrowed from the English? Or whether it may have been inherited both by Celtic and Teutonic stocks from a common ancestry?

ALOOF.—Dr. Murray gives rather a hazy account of the original metaphor. "From the idea of keeping a ship's head to the wind, and thus *clear of* the leeshore or quarter towards which she might drift, came the general sense of 'steering clear of,' or 'giving a wide berth to' anything with which one might otherwise come in contact."

The metaphorical sense is simply and universally 'out of reach.' Being a nautical metaphor, it naturally supposes the speaker to be on board a ship, when any object to windward of him or *on his loof*, will be comparatively out of his reach."

SHELTER.—Protection, or whatever protects or *shields* one

against some injurious action. The simplest, and as it seems, a completely satisfactory explanation would be to regard the word as a frequentative form of A.S. *scildan, sceoldan* (Grein), to *shield*. But Skeat gives us a history of the way in which he supposes the word to have been corrupted from M.E. *sheld-trume*, a compact body of soldiers; A.S. *scild-truma*, from *scild*, shield, and *truma*, a band of men.

"The corruption," he says, "took place early, possibly from some confusion with *squadron* (of F. origin), with which it seems to have been assimilated, at least in its termination. Thus *sheld-trume* soon became *scheld-trome, sheltrome, sheltrone, sheltroun*, the force of the latter part of the word being utterly lost, so that at the last *-roun* was confused with the common suffix *-er*, and the word *shelter* was the result." But this theoretical pedigree is wholly without historical support. We have nothing to bridge over the passage from *sheltron* to *shelter*. *Sheltron* is not known in any other sense than that of a troop or compact body of men, nor *shelter* in other than the sense of protection. Skeat indeed, in his Supplement, says that "we actually find the corrupt form *jeltron*, but used in the sense of *shield* or *shelter* in Hick Scorner; Dodsley's Old Plays, i. 149. This links *shelter* with M.E. *sheltroun*, past all question." The actual quotation gives small ground for so confident a persuasion. The passage in Hick Scorner runs:

> Of prelates and priests I am their patron.
> No armour so strong in no distress,
> Habergeon, helm, ne yet no *jeltron*.

Here it is manifest that *jeltron* is the name of some particular piece of armour like helm or habergeon, and certainly does not signify *shelter*, as it is interpreted by Skeat. It is also an utterly unfounded assumption that it is a corruption of *sheltron*. I know of no instance of an initial *sh* passing by corruption into *j*; and it is most improbable that a word signifying *troop* should have been used to designate a particular piece of armour.

Moreover, Skeat quite ignores the fact that the word is found in German, certainly not as a loan-word from E.

Schelter in Swabia signifies the fender or guard of a stove, Schmid; *schilter-haus* (Schmid), *schilder-haus* (Sanders), a sentinel's box or shelter-hut.

SCREW.—A depreciatory term for 'a horse,' explained by Skeat as 'a vicious horse,' under the foregone conclusion that it is the same word with *shrew* 'a vicious or scolding woman,' spelt *screw* in Political Songs, ed. Wright. But *screw* is never used to signify 'a vicious horse.' An old screw is a worn-out or unsound horse, usually, says Webster, of good appearance, but not able to do the work of a sound horse of similar breed and training.

To TED.—To *ted* hay is to spread abroad the grass which has been laid in swathes by the scythe in mowing. Derived by Skeat from Icel. *teðja*, which he translates 'to spread manure.' It simply means 'to manure, to dung,' from *tað* 'dung,' and of course includes the sense of spreading, which is an essential part of manuring the field, but it is not specially applied to the operation of scattering the manure. Nor is it ever transferred to the sense of spreading hay. On the other hand the E. *ted* is never used to signify spreading manure, which should have been its primary signification, if it had been an adoption of the Icel. *teðja*, N. *tedja*. How then should the word have been imported into E. in the sense of spreading the new-mown grass?

There can be no reason for forcing a derivation from a Scandinavian stock when we find undoubted correlatives of E. *ted* in sister-dialects of the Teutonic branch, in which, moreover, the word has the more general sense of spreading in small portions, without reference to the nature of the substance spread. The Bavarian *zetten*, or *zetteln*, is 'to strew, to spill, or let fall in small portions.' *Verzetten*, of the Angel Gabriel, 'to let fall the feathers of his wing': Hans Sachs. Har' *zetteln*, as in E. 'to *ted* flax, to spread out flax thin upon the ground in the process of retting.' Kraut *setteln* 'to strew the sliced cabbage in even layers in the cask, in making sour kraut': Schmeller. *Zetten*, in Switzerland, is specifically used in the sense of tedding hay: Stalder. Skeat derives these G. forms from O.H.G.

zatá, *zotá* (mod. G. *zotte*) 'a rag,' and strangely connects them with the Icel. *teðja* by the assumption that "all these words can be derived from a sb. of which the Teut. type is TADÂ 'that which is spread, a rag, manure.'" As if the prominent characteristic either of dung or of a rag lay in the fact of being scattered. Nor has he the slightest evidence to show of a corresponding O.H.G. form signifying dung or manure. I have shown a much more rational origin in my Dict. in Swiss *zättern* 'to rattle like a heavy shower of rain.' Ich höre das wasser *zättern*. *Zättern*, *söttern*, *züttern* 'to let a little fall at a time, to sprinkle.' Low G. *toddeln*, 'to trickle like corn from a hole in a sack': Danneil.

GULL, TO GULL.—"*Gull*, a dupe. So called from an untrue notion that the gull was a stupid bird."—Skeat. It would be hard to say whence he gets his authority for this assertion. Where did he ever hear a gull spoken of as a stupid bird? In support of his explanation, Skeat proceeds: "Thus a person who entraps dupes is called a gull-catcher, *Tw. Nt.* ii. 5, 204; and the word is identical with Gull (1)," *i.e.* with Seagull. But nothing can be more ineffective for his purpose than this citation. Maria, in a passage previously cited by Skeat, speaks of 'yond *gull* Malvolio,' where the word is plainly to be understood in the figurative sense of dupe. Why then should it be supposed that when Sir Toby Belch calls Maria his *gull-catcher*, that the word is to be understood in any other sense than a catcher of dupes? There is nothing in the expression of *gull-catcher* that drives us to the supposition that the radical image of catching a bird was present to the mind of the speaker. No one ever heard of a catcher of such worthless game as seagulls would be, but to catch or take in a dupe is a perfectly natural expression. Florio explains the It. *pippione*, a pidgeon, as, 'metaphorically a silly gull, one *that is soon caught* and trapanned.' *Gull* is provincially used in the sense of a young bird, and it is plain from the passage in *Hen. IV.*, where mention is made of "that ungentle *gull* the cuckoo's bird," that Shakspere was familiar

with that sense of the word. Skeat has not a word to say against the repeated analogies that I have cited in my dictionary in proof of the position that *gull* in the sense of a dupe is a metaphor from the helplessness of a young unfledged bird. So Fr. *niais* 'a nestling,' is applied to a simpleton; 'a novice, ninny, witless and inexperienced gull': Cotgrave. Fr. *béjaune* (*bec-jaune* 'yellow beak'), properly a young bird, is explained by Cot. 'a novice, a simple inexperienced ass, a ninny.'

SOUND.—A strait or inlet of the sea. Skeat adheres to the old derivation from A.S. *sund* 'a swimming,' indicating such a breadth of water as may be swum over. But not only is the word applied to channels of water far too wide for crossing in that way, but *sund* in Icelandic has the more general sense of an interval or space by which objects are kept apart or separated from each other. In *Grettis Saga* it is said on one occasion that Gretti never pursued harder, "en *sund* var i milli peirra"—but there remained a distance between them: Fritzner. Var *sund* boritt millum knarranna ok skeiðanna 'a stretch of water was kept up between the merchantmen and the fighting ships.' It is used in the sense of a lane, alley, narrow passage on land. *Buðar-sund* 'the lane between two booths'; *bœjar-sund* 'the lane between two walls.' "I *sundinu* milli húsanna 'in the lane between the houses'": Cleasby.

Thus the sense would be satisfactorily accounted for by a derivation from the element which signifies separation in the Icel. word *sundra* 'to *sunder*.' Skeat, indeed, says that such a derivation is "like deriving *wind* from *window*, and, indeed, much worse, since in the latter case there really is some connection." He does not observe that in the latter branch of his stricture he is simply begging the question; and under Sunder he expressly states that the word is clearly a comparative form from a positive form SUND.

To SOUND.—To measure the depth of water with a plummet. Skeat rightly discredits Diez' futile suggestion of a Lat. *subundare*. "But," he says, "the Sp. *sonda* means

not only a sounding-line, but also a sound or channel, and it is far more likely that the Fr. *sonder* was taken from the Scand. word *sund* 'a narrow strait or channel of water.'" The assertion that Sp. *sonda* signifies a sound or narrow channel is, I believe, a mistake, arising apparently from the rendering in Neuman and Baretti, "*Sonda* 'sounding, sound, any place in the sea where the ground may be reached with the lead and line.'" The meaning of the word in Sp., Port. and Catalan is simply soundings; the intermediate equivalent, 'sound,' in Neuman's rendering, having probably arisen from a vague notion that a *sound* was so called from being within soundings. As the verb *to sound* has no equivalent in Scandinavian, and there is no equivalent of the Icel. *sund* 'a strait or channel,' in Fr. or Sp., it is impossible that Fr. *sonder* should come from Icel. *sund;* nor, indeed, is there any intrinsic probability in such a derivation, as the comparative depth of the water is no part of the conception of a *sound* in nautical language. In early A.S. Glosses (reaching as far back as the seventh century) we have 'Bolidis, *sund-gyrd*,' 'Cataprorates, *sund-linie*,' 'Bolidis, *sund-gerd* in scipe, vel metrap,'=sounding-rod in ship or measuring-rope.—Wright's Gloss., 2nd ed. Here it is evident that the element *sund-* has the fully-developed meaning of Fr. *sonder;* a rod or a line for measuring the depth of the water; and as we have no A.S. verb corresponding to Fr. *sonder* or E. *sound*, we are led to conjecture that the element *sund* in these nautical terms must have been a borrowed form.

My own opinion still is that the origin of the Fr. *sonder* is to be found in Breton *sounn* 'perpendicular.'

III.—PÂLI MISCELLANIES;* NOTES AND QUERIES ON PÂLI.

By the Rev. Richard Morris, M.A., LL.D.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society on Friday, Dec. 5*, 1884.)

AṬANI.

This word is rendered 'bed-frame' in the Vinaya Texts, part ii. p. 53. See Jât. ii. pp. 337, 424. Cf. Marâthî *aḍaṇi*, 'a metal or wooden three-legged stand,' a term for the two cross-pieces of wood supporting a stool.

AṆḌA.

Cammaṇḍa 'water bag' (Jât. i. p. 249) corresponds to *cammaghaṭaka* (Jât. ii. p. 345). Cf. *aṇḍaka* 'round fruit, as the jujube-fruit.' Hindî *aṇḍakâ* 'one of the bags forming a pannier.'

ATRICCHA.

"Ayaṃ pana Mittavindako . . . *atriccho* hutvâ" (Jât. iii. p. 206).

"Catubbhi aṭṭh' ajjhagamâ aṭṭhâhi pi ca soḷasa | soḷasâhi ca battiṃsa, *atricchaṃ* cakkaṃ âsado | icchâhatassa posassa cakkaṃ bhamati matthake" (Jât. iii. p. 207. See Jât. i. p. 414).

"Tasmiṃ khaṇe Sakko lokaṃ olokento taṃ *atricchatâhataṃ* . . . disvâ," etc. (Jât. iii. p. 222, l. 8, 26).

"Sâ bâlâ *atricchatâya* evarûpaṃ vyasanaṃ pattâ" (Jât. iii. p. 222, l. 6, p. 223, l. 23).

Atriccha='exceedingly covetous'; *atricchatâ*='excessive lust'; *atricchâhata* (Jât. iii. p. 222, l. 26) corresponds to *icchâhata* (Jât. iii. p. 207).

* This paper appears also in the *Journal of the Pâli Text Society*, 1884, pp. 69–108, under the heading, "Notes and Queries."

In Jât. i. p. 414, *atriccham* is explained by *atra atra icchanto*. There must have been a verb *atricchati*, having the same sense as *anugijjhati* (Jât. iii. p. 207, l. 22), but not equivalent to *atra*+*icchati*, but to *ati*+*icchati* (*aticchati*). But there was an earlier word, *aticchati* (see Childers, s.v. *Aticchatha*), and perhaps an *r* was inserted in order to maintain a distinction between two verbs alike in form, but different in meaning.

ANAMHA.

"*Anamha*-kâle Sussoṇi kinnu jagghasi sobhaṇe ti" (Jât. iii. p. 223).

"Why, pray, did you laugh, O beautiful Sussoṇi, when you were crying?"

Anamha-kâle is explained in the Com. by *ârodana-kâle* 'in weeping-time.'

"The woman Sussoṇi was crying over the loss of husband and lover, when Indra caused her to burst out into sudden and unexpected laughter."

Ana-mha[1] I take to be 'crying,' literally 'un-laughing' (cf. *abbhâkuṭika* 'smiling,' literally 'un-frowning'), from the √*smi*, which in Pâli appears as *mha*. Cf. *vi-mhayati*, from *smi*+*vi*; *umhayati* 'to laugh out, roar out with laughter,' from *smi*+*ud* (see Jât. ii. p. 131; iii. p. 44).

ANTAGGÂHIKÂ DIṬṬHI.

This expression occurs in the Mahâvagga, iv. 16. 12, and the translators of the Vinaya Texts, pt. i. p. 344, leave *antaggâhikâ* untranslated, stating that the meaning is unknown to them.

I have somewhere met with the phrase (spoken of an arahat) "na *antakâni* dharati" = 'he does not hold the (doctrine of) the *antas*.'

Antaggâhikâ diṭṭhi is the (heretical) doctrine of maintaining or holding the three *antas* or goals, which, according to

[1] *Ana* for *an* is well established, as in *ana-matagga*, *ana-bhâva* (see Vinaya Texts, pt. ii p. 113).

the Saṅgîti-Sutta, are: *sakkâyo anto*, *sakkâyasamuddo anto*, and *sakkâyanirodho anto* (see Childers, s.v. *sakkâyo*).

APASSENA.

Apassena, in *apassena-phalaka*, is rendered by the translators of the Vinaya as 'a reclining-board'; but *apassena-phalaka* corresponds in meaning to *âlambana-phalaka* (Jât. i. 8), and means, we think, 'a bolster-slab.' *Apassena* = Sk. *apaçrayana* has the same meaning as *apassaya*, used by Buddhaghosa in his comment on *sattaṅga* (Cullav. vi. 2. 4.) as a 'rest' or 'support,' corresponding to Sk. *aapaçraya*, explained by Boehtlingk and Roth as 'Kopfpolster (an einem Lehnsessel) A.V. 13. 3. 8.'

We actually find *apassaya-pîṭhaka* = 'a chair with a head-rest,' in Jât. iii. p. 235, l. 23; and also *kaṇṭhakappassaya* 'a bolster or head-rest filled with natural thorns, or with artificial iron ones' (Jât. i. p. 493; iii. p. 235, l. 20).

There is an interesting passage in the Puggala-Paññatti, p. 55, in which this is alluded to:

"So . . . ukkuṭiko pi hoti ukkuṭippadhânam anuyutto, *kaṇṭakâpassayiko* pi hoti *kaṇṭakâpassaye* seyyaṃ kappeti, sâyaṃ tatiyakam pi udakarohanânuyogam anuyutto viharati."

With this we may compare the following from Jât. iii. p. 235:

"Ajja ekacce *vaggulivataṃ* caratha, ekacce *kaṇṭhakaseyyaṃ* kappetha, ... ekacce *ukkuṭikappadhânam* anuyuñjatha, ekacce *udakogâhana*kammaṃ karotha."

Here, for *kaṇṭhakaseyyaṃ*, or *kaṇṭhasaseyyaṃ*, *kappetha* we must read *kaṇṭhakappassaye seyyaṃ kappetha* (see Jât. iii. p. 74).

Childers gives no examples of *çri* + *apa* (see Jât. iii. p. 425; Thera-Gâthâ, p. 75; Cullavagga, p. 175; Suttavibhaṅga, i. pp. 74, 76).

AVHETI.

Avheti=*pakkosati* (Jât. ii. 10, 252; Tevijja Sutta, i. 19).

AḶA.

Aḷa 'a claw,' not in Childers, occurs in Jât. i. p. 223; ii. p. 342; iii. pp. 295, 297. Cf. *vicchikâḷika*='a scorpion's claw' (Mahâvagga, v. 2. 3).

ÂLAYA.

This word does not occur in Childers. It means 'feint, pretence,' (√*lî*) cf. *matâlayaṃ karitvâ* (Jât. iii. p. 533, l. 6); *matâlayaṃ dassetvâ* (Jât. iii. p. 533, l. 23).

ÂVIJJHATI.

In Jât. ii. p. 406, ll. 5, 6 *âvijjhitvâ* seems to have the sense of *vidhâ* 'to arrange, set in order,' with the same meaning exactly as *samvidahitvâ* (Jât. ii. p. 408, l. 26); *âvijjhitvâ* from *â+ryadh* occurs in the same Jâtaka, p. 408, l. 7. Cf. Jât. i. pp. 153, 170; Dîpavaṁsa, p. 87. See âvijjhi in Suttavibhaṅga, i. p. 332; and compare with Dîpavaṁsa i. 81, and Mahâvaṁsa i. 43. There is a Vedic √*vidh* 'to dispose.'

ÂSÎYATI AND VISÎVETI.

Dr. Trenckner derives *âsîyati* from Sk. *âçyâyati*, and agrees with Childers in referring *visîveti* to Sk. *vi-çyâpayati* 'to uncongeal, thaw,' hence, 'to warm oneself' (Dh. 177), from √*çyai*.

The passage in the Milinda Pañha does not bear out Dr. Trenckner's explanation of 'to be congealed,' nor that of Dr. Edward Müller's 'to cool oneself' (Pâli Gr. p. 40).

"Kaddame (padumaṃ) jâyati, udake *âsîyati* ti" (Mil. Pañ. p. 75).

This seems to mean that "the lotus springs up (*or* has its origin) in the ooze of the lake (where it grows) and in the water *comes to perfection.*"

In other passages, where a similar metaphor is employed, the verb *pavaḍḍhati*, or *saṃvaḍḍhati*, is employed, showing that the meaning of *âsîyati* is 'becomes ripe,' 'comes to perfection, or maturity,' and must be referred to the root *çrâ* (*çrai*, *çai*, or *çrî*), the causative of which (*çrâpayati*) would with *vi* give us *visîveti*, with its proper meaning of 'to warm oneself,' etc.

Cf. "Yathâ mahârâja padumaṃ udake jâtaṃ udake *saṃvaḍḍhaṃ* . . . etc." (Mil. Pañha, p. 378; see also Sept. Suttas Pâlis, p. 141).

"Yathâpi udake jâtaṃ puṇḍarîkaṃ *pavaḍḍhati*, etc." (Thera-Gâthâ, v. 700).

The proper term from √*çyai* for 'to uncongeal,' 'thaw,' 'melt,' would be *paṭisîveti*, Sk: *praṭiçyâpayati*, but we do not find this in Pâli. The expression *sarîraṃ sedeti*, however, occurs in Jât. i. p. 324, in the sense of to warm the body after being exposed to severe cold, to steam (see Jât. i. p. 52).

In Jât. ii. p. 68, we find "aggiṃ *visîvetum*," 'to warm oneself by the fire,' and at p. 69 a double causative, *visîvâpeti*, 'to let one warm oneself before the fire,' and the Commentary makes use of an explanatory and similar phrase: "Agginâ . . . jhâpento" (see Milinda Pañha, pp. 47, 102). In the Suttavibhaṅga ii. Pâc. lvi. 3. 1–3, we find *visibbeti*=*visîveti* explained by *tappati* (lvi. 3, 3), and *visibbana*=*visîvana* (see Mahâvagga, i. 20. 15).

ÂHUNDARIKA.

"Tena kho pana samayena bhagavâ tatth' eva Râjagahe vassaṃ vasi, tattha hemantaṃ, tattha giṃhaṃ.

"Manussâ ujjhâyanti khîyanti vipâcenti:—*âhundarikâ* samaṇânaṃ Sakyaputtiyânaṃ disâ andhakârâ na imesaṃ disâ pakkhâyantî ti" (Mahâvagga, i. 53. 1).

The translators of the Vinaya Texts leave the perplexing term *âhundarikâ* untranslated, and offer no explanation of it. Dr. Oldenberg gives from B, a Siṅhalese MS., the variant reading *âhuntâkirakâ*. This crux occurs again in a similar passage in the Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga Pâc. x. 1. 1. (with the variant reading *âhuntarikâ*, an attempt, perhaps, to connect it with *antarita* or *antarâyika*); and the Com. explains it by *sambâdhâ*. Accepting the Commentator's explanation, ought we not to read *âhuṇḍarikâ* from the √*huṇḍ*, with the prefix *â*?

In Boehtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the √*huṇḍ* is explained by *saṃghâte*, and this would give to *âhuṇḍarikâ* the sense of *sambâdhâ* or *âsambâdhâ* 'crowded up, blocked up, impassable.' The word is evidently part of a stock passage that we find in Pâli and Sanskrit: "na . . . disâ pakkhâyanti dhammâ pi maṃ na paṭibhanti," see Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, p. 22, and

cf. the following passage from the Mahâbhârata (Virâṭa Parvva 48, v. 18):

"Vyâkulâç ca diçaḥ sarvâ hridayaṃ vyathatîva me
dhvajena pahitâḥ sadâ diçâ na pratibhânti me.

IṄGHÂḶA, IṄGHEḶA.

Pâli abounds in variant forms, as *mucchati* and *mussati*, *lageti* and *laketi*, etc. So we are not surprised to find *iṅghâḷa* and *iṅgheḷa* as well as *aṅgâra* (see Therî-Gâthâ, v. 386). Cf. Marâthî *iṅgala* 'a live coal.' The change from *aṅgâra* to *iṅghâḷa* is quite regular, cf. Pâli *iṅgha* with Sk. *anga* (see Journal of the Pâli Text Society for 1883, p. 84). *Iṅghâḷa-khuyâ=aṅgâra-kâsuyâ*, but Childers has no mention of *khu* in this sense.

UK-KÂCETI.

In Jât. ii. p. 70, *ukkâceti* is used like *ussiñcati*, 'to bale out water.' The English *bale*, 'to empty by means of *bails* or buckets,' helps us to see the origin of this word. It must be a denominative from *kâca* or *kâja*. Childers quotes, *Anotatte kâje aṭṭh' âhesum dine dine*, 'they brought every day eight men's loads of A. water' (Mah. 22). Cf. *Anotattodakaṃ kâjaṃ* (Dîpavaṁsa, xii. 3).

UTTARIBHAṄGA.

This term seems to exclude rice, curry, etc., the four sweet foods, and to include flesh, fish, and fowl (Cullav. iv. 4. 5).

In Jât. i. No. 30, p. 196, it is applied to pig's flesh. In Jât. i. p. 349, it has reference to dried fish, and in Dhammapada, p. 171, it is used of the flesh of a cock.

UPAKÛLITA.

Upakûlita occurs in the Therî-Gâthâ, p. 201, v. 258, as equivalent to *paṭisedhika* (see Jât. ii. p. 386), but in Jat. i. p. 405,[1] *upakûḷitâ* is explained by *aḍḍhajjhâmaka*.

[1] Cf. *upakâsita = jhâmo sayati*, Jât. ii. p. 134. The Commentary gives another reading, *upakujita*.

The first must be referred to the √*kûl*, 'to obstruct' (cf. *paṭikkûla*), the second to √*kûl* or *kûḍ*, 'to singe.'

UPASIṂSAKA.

"Yathâ mahârâja unduro ito c'ito ca vicaranto âhârûpasiṃsako yeva carati, evam eva," etc. (Milinda-Pañha, p. 393). Ought we not to read *upasiṅghako*, from the root *siṅgh* (see Jât. ii. 339)? *Upasiṅghati* occurs in Jât. ii. p. 408.

UPÂTA.

"Rajaṃ *upâtaṃ* vâtena yathâ megho pasâmaye" (Thera-Gâthâ, v. 675, p. 69).

MS. A. reads *ûpâtaṃ*, which seems to be metrically the correct reading, the *úp°*=*upp°*. "As the cloud lays the dust raised by the wind, etc."

Dr. Oldenberg refers the word *upâtam* to Sk. *upâtta*, from *upâ-dâ*, but the sense seems to require *uppâtaṃ*,[1] from the root *pat*. Cf. Sk. *utpâtavâta*, 'a whirlwind,' and *ut-pâta*, 'flying up.' See Dasaratha Jât. p. 6, v. 9; p. 9, ll. 3, 23.

The usual expression is "rajaṃ ûhataṃ vâtena." See Suttav. Pâr. iii. 1. 3, "Seyyathâpi bhikkave gimhânaṃ pacchime mâse ûhataṃ rajojallaṃ taṃ enaṃ mahâ akâlamegho ṭhânaso antaradhâpeti vûpasameti.

ÛHAD AND ÛHAN.

There appears to be some confusion in Pâli between *úhan* 'to throw up' and *úhad* 'to evacuate the fæces.' *Ûhad*, which Dr. E. Müller believes to be *arahad* (Pâli Gr. p. 49), makes its p.p. *úhata*, and not *úhanna* (see Cullavagga, viii. 10. 3). We find the gerund *úhacca* = *úhadya* = *vaccaṃ katvâ* in Jât. ii. p. 71, and we have *úhanti* (Ib. p. 73), and *úhananti* (Suttav. Pâc. xiv. 1. 2).

In Jât. ii. p. 355, we find *ohadâmase* explained by *ûhadâma pi omuttema pi* (see *ohaneti* in Cariya Piṭaka, ii. 5. 4).

[1] *Uppâtam*=*uppâtta* for *uppâtita*, cf. *patta*=*patita* in *pattakkhandha*, Mil. 5; Ass. S. 17. *Udâta*=*udatta*=Sk. *udârta* (from the root *ṛi*) is a possible form.

Cf. *úhananti pi ummihanti pi* (Suttav. I. Nisagg. xiv. 1; II. Pâc. lxv. 1), and *omuttenti pi úhadayanti pi* (Dham. p. 283).

ODAHI.

Odahi migaro pâsaṃ (Thera-Gâthâ, v. 774)='the trapper set a snare.' Cf. *luddo pâsam iv' oḍḍiya* (Therî-Gâthâ, v. 73).

I do not recollect *odahati* from *avadhâ* 'to set snares,' as that is usually expressed by *uḍḍeti* or *oḍḍeti*.

Odahati is 'to put in, deposit,' cf. *araññe odahi visaṃ* (Jât. iii. p. 201). We must, I think, read *oḍḍayi* for *odahi*.

KAMPURI.

This occurs in the Therî-Gâthâ, v. 262: "Saṇha-*kampurî* va suppamajjitvâ sobhate su gîvâ pure mama."

The Commentary does not, at first sight, afford us much assistance: — "saṇṭhakammudî va suppamajjitâ | suṭṭha pamajjitâ saṇṭhakaṃ suvaṇṇasaṇkhâ viya." Here for *saṇṭhakammudî va* we must read *saṇha-kambu-r-iva* and alter *saṇṭhakaṃ* to *saṇhakâ*. The correct reading of the text will therefore be *saṇha-kambu-r-iva*, etc., the meaning of which is now clear. The Therî's neck was once like a smooth shell; cf. *kambugîvâ*, 'a neck marked with lines or folds like a shell' (Dasaratha Jâtaka, p. 12).

KAMMAKARAṆA OR KAMMAKÂRAṆÂ.

In Jâtaka, ii. p. 398, Milinda Pañha, pp. 290, 358, *kammakaraṇa* occurs for the 'punishment of evil deeds, inflicted upon usurpers, thieves, etc.' (see Milinda Pañha, p. 197, and note on CATUKKA). But as *kammakaraṇa* usually signifies 'work, service, duty,' we ought, I think to write *kammakâraṇâ*, for *kâraṇâ*='pain, torment, punishment' (cf. Kâraṇaghara, Jât. ii. 128; and see Ang. Nik. p. 41; Notes, p. 113).

KÂḶASUTTA.

There are three passages where this word occurs in our printed texts as one of the carpenter's requisites.

(1) In Ten Jâtakas (p. 25) Prof. Fausböll translates it by

'knot,' and further on he explains it by 'a black (tarred?) rope.'

(2) It occurs again in Jât. ii. No. 283, p. 405, "vaḍḍhakissa rukkhatacchanakâle . . . vâsipharasunikhâdanamuggare âharati *kâḷa-suttakoṭiyaṃ* gaṇhâti."

Kâlasutta seems to be a carpenter's 'measuring line' or 'rule,' made perhaps of iron wire, and hence 'black,' cf. Sk. *sûtradhâra*, 'a carpenter' (lit. 'a rule-holder').

Before the carpenter sawed or lopped off the trunk or branch of a tree, he put his iron-line round it as a guide in sawing or lopping it off accurately (see Cullavagga, p. 317).

(3) In the Milinda-Pañha, p. 413, this act is referred to as follows:—

"Yathâ mahârâja tacchako *kâḷa-suttaṃ* anulometvâ rukkhaṃ tucchati evam eva," etc.

There is a curious passage in the Mahâvastu (ed. Senart, p. 17, l. 9) that closely corresponds to this quotation from the Milinda-Pañha:

"Tattra tâṃ nairayikâ nirayapâlâ ârdravrikṣe vâ varjetvâ kâlasûtravaçena takṣanti aṣṭâṃçe pi ṣaḍaṃçe pi caturaṃçe pi."

The word occurs again on pp. 5, 12, 20. Prof. Senart thinks that *kâlasûtra* is some instrument of punishment or of torture, but from p. 5 it must be a kind of iron rope, or wire, for binding the limbs before they were sawn or lopped off by axes and hatchets.

In the Purâṇic accounts of the Kâlasûtra hell it is simply called 'black' (kṛishṇa), and no mention is made of the *kâlasûtra*.[1] But in Prof. Beal's Catena, p. 61, there is a description of this hell that deserves to be compared with that in the Mahâvastu (p. 5, ll. 7, 8), where *kâlasûtra* seems to be rendered by 'iron-wire' and *sûtrita* by 'lashed.'

"The Kâla-Sûtra Hell (=Chinese Heh-Sieh, *i.e.* 'black cord or thread'), so called because the wretches confined therein are *lashed with burning iron wires*, their limbs hacked

[1] See Manu iv. 88. Dr. Hopkins explains *Kâlasutra* by "Thread of Death."

with iron hatchets, their bones slowly sawn asunder with iron saws."

Of course the 'burning iron wires' would cause pain and so become a means of torture; but we venture to think that *kâlasutta* is only the carpenter's 'rule' or 'measuring line.'

Just as this article was going to press I have noticed the following confirmatory passage in the Pañcu-gati-dîpana (verse 9):

"kâḷasuttânusârena phâlyante dâru vâyato,
kakkaccehi jalantehi kâḷasuttam tato mataṃ,"

which M. Léon Feer translates in the appendix to his Kandjour Extracts (p. 516) as follows:

"Parce que, selon un fil noir, ils y sont fendus, comme des troncs d'arbre, avec des scies et d'autres instruments, de là vient le nom de kâlasûtra (fil noir)."

KULAṄKA OR KÛLAKA.

Kulaṅka in *kulaṅkapâdaka* (Cullavagga, vi. 3. 4) is referred by Dr. E. Müller (Pâli Gr. p. 30) to the Sk. *puṭaṅka* 'a roof.'

The Pâli, however, does not mean 'roof,' but is applied to a log or beam for shoring up an old wall (see the Commentator's remarks, Cullav. p 321).

There is a passage in Jâtaka, ii. No. 283, that throws some light upon *kulaṅka*:—

"Attano ṭhitaṭṭhânassa purato ekaṃ parimaṇḍalaṃ âvâṭaṃ khanâpesi, pacchato ekaṃ *kullaka*-saṇṭhânaṃ anupubbaninnaṃ pabbhârasadisaṃ" (p. 406), "gantvâ *kullaka*-mukhassa tiriyaṃ" (p. 408).

There is a variant reading *kulka*, ? *kûlaka*.

In the Introduction to the Jâtaka, *kullaka* answers to *bhitti* 'a buttress.' It is also called *âvâṭa*[1] (p. 407, l. 24).

Kullaka I take to be for *kûlaka*; cf. Sk. *kûla* 'slope, bank'; *kûlaka* 'bank, dike, shore.'

The Eng. dike means 'trench, embankment,' and is the same as *ditch* (cf. Ger. *teich* 'a pond'). The *Ditch* at New-

[1] i.e *âvâta-taṭa* (see Jât. iii. p. 508).

market is an embankment. In Middle English *dike* is used to translate *spelunca* (see Hampole's Psalter).

KOḶÂPA.

This word occurs in Jât. iii. p. 495, in reference to a tree full of holes, sapless and dry, "rukkho khânumatto hutvâ *chiddâvacchiddo* vâte paharante" (*Ib.* pp. 491, 496).

The Com. explains it thus: "*koḷâpe* ti vâte paharante âkoṭita saddaṃ viya muñcamâne nissâre" (see Milinda Pañha, p. 151).

GIRIBBAJA.

Dr. Oldenberg translates *giribbaja* by 'dwelling in the mountain' (Dîpavaṁsa, xiii. 16). It seems to mean, however, 'a hill-run, a cattle-run on the hills,' cf. "ekasmiṃ yeva *gribbaje* paṇṇasâlaṁ mâpetvâ vâsaṁ kappesi" (Jât. iii. p. 479), "he made a hermitage right upon the 'hill-run,' and dwelt there." "*Giribbaja*senâsane vihâsi," etc. (*Ib.* p. 479, l. 3). In l. 5, "*giribbajam* pavesetvâ" refers to the *elikâ* that are made to turn into the hill-runs and graze there. In line 9, "giribbajadvare aṭṭhâsi" must refer to the entrance of the *pens* on the 'runs.' Cf. *vaja* 'a pen' (Dh. p. 238, l. 9), *vajadvâra* (*Ib.* p. 238, l. 15). Cf. Marâthî *vraja*, 'a village or station of cowherds;' Hindi *vraja*, 'a cow-pen.'[1]

CATUKKA.

"*Catukke catukke* paharantâ . . . sîsam assa chinditvâ sarîraṃ sûle uttâsetha" (Jât. i. p. 326).

"*Catukke* (*catukke*) kasâhi tâḷente" (Jât. ii. p. 123; see Jât. iii. p. 41).

Catukka 'a collection or set of four things.' Childers gives only one quotation for its use in this sense: "sabba-*catukkaṃ* nâm' assa dâpesi" (Dh. 292) 'he caused all the four kinds of things to be given him,' viz. four elephants, four horses, four thousand pence, four women, four slaves, four best villages, etc. See Cullav. 4. 6.

In Jât. iii. p. 44, 428, 429, we find "sabba-*catukka*-yaññā"=

[1] Cf. Scotch 'sheep-*raik*,' a sheep-*run*; Mid. Eng. *rayke*, *rake* 'a path.'

'all the four kinds of sacrifices,' viz. four elephants, four horses, four bulls, and four men; and in Jât. iii. p. 44 we have sabba-*catukkena* yajitvâ = 'offering a sacrifice of all the four kinds.'

Instead of using *sabba catukka*, 'all the four sets of things' could be expressed by the repetition of *catukka*, as in the passages quoted above, so that *catukke catukke tâḷeti* or *cat° cat° paharati* signifies 'to strike all the four sets of blows,' *i.e.* to administer all the four kinds of punishments inflicted upon malefactors. The question is, what are they? Fortunately they are not unknown. A full list is contained in the second part of the Anguttara Nikâya, II. i. i. and in the Milinda Pañha, p. 197. For an explanation of the terms used to denote these punishments, see Ang. Nik. pp. 113, 114.[1]

The term *khârâpatacchika* may be connected with the Sk. *kshâraya* 'to torment,' by means of *kshâra* or corrosive substances.

CÂLETI.

Childers has no instance of *câleti* in the sense of 'to sift.' See Mahâvagga, vi. 10, 1, and cf. Marâthî चाळणें 'to sift;' चाळणा 'a sieve, strainer.'

Carati, 'to graze.' See Jât. iii. p. 479; Mahâvaṃ. p. 22, l. 9. Cf. Mârathî चरणें, 'to graze;' चरण, चरवण, 'pasture, grazing.'

CHADAYATI.

This form occurs in Jât. iii. p. 144, and is explained by *piṇeti, toseti*. It must be referred to the root *chad* (Vedic)—*chand* 'to please.'

TAṬṬAKA.

This word occurs frequently in the Jâtakas in the sense of 'dish,' or 'bowl for containing food.' There seems to be no corresponding form in Sanskrit. It may be connected with

[1] In the *erakavattika* and *erakavâsika* punishments strips of skin were cut off the back (cf. Psalm cxxix. 3; and see Notes and Queries, No. 251, p. 308, Oct. 18th, 1884).

the Marâthî *tasta* 'a metal vessel to hold water, an ewer.' See Dham. p. 356; Jât. iii. pp. 97, 538.

TAMATAGGA.

"Ye hi keci Ânanda etarahi vâ mamaṃ vâ accayena attadîpâ . . . *tamatagge* me te Ânanda bhikkhû bhavissati" (Parinibbâna-Sutta, p. 23).

Buddhaghosa says *tamatagge* is *tamagge*, the *t* in the middle being euphonic, and renders it 'the most pre-eminent, the very chief.' Prof. Rhys Davids, in his translation of this Sutta, has adopted the explanation of the commentator, and translates 'the very topmost height.'

Tamas here means 'darkness,' *i.e.* mental darkness, one of the five avijjâs in the Sâṅkhya philosophy; *tama-t-agge* must therefore mean 'at the extremity of the darkness, beyond the region of darkness,' *i.e.* in 'the light,' in Nirvâna, cf. *bhavagge* 'at the end of existence, in Nirvâna': cf. "Imehi kho mahârâja saṭṭhi bojjhaṅgaratanehi paṭimaṇḍito bhikkhu sabbam *tamam* abhibhuyya sadevakaṁ lokaṃ obhâseti," etc. (Milinda-Pañha, p. 340).

We find in Sanskrit *tamaḥ pâre*, answering to *tama-t-agge*: "Sa hi devaḥ paraṃ jyotis *tamaḥ pâre*" (Kumâra Sambhava, ii. 58).

For that deity is the supreme luminary existing at the extremity of darkness (beyond the region of tamas), *i.e.* in the region of light.

TAMATI.

Childers has not registered the √ *tam* 'to choke, suffocate,' but we find in the Suttavibhaṅga, i. p. 84, *uttanto*, with the various readings *vuttanto*, *uttamanto* (*Ib.* p. 272).

"So bhikkhu uttanto anassâsako kâlam akâsi" (Suttav. Pâr. iii. 5. 22): "That bhikkhu, becoming suffocated and unable to get his breath, (through his brethren tickling him) died."

THÂSOTU°.

"Tañ ca appaṭivâniyan ti | tañ ca pana dhammaṃ anivattitabhâvâvahaṃ niyyânikaṃ abhikkantatâya *thâsotujana*-sava-

namanoharabhâvena (*sic*) avasecaniyaṃ (*sic*) asecakaṃ (*sic*) anâsittakaṃ pakatiya 'va mahâvasâṃ tato eva ojavantaṃ | " (Therî-Gâthâ, p. 181).

At first sight *thâsotu* appears to be a blunder for *phâsuto*, but probably the original reading was *ṭhânaso tu*, etc. 'truly, indeed'; so that instead of *thâsotujana°*, we must read *ṭhânaso tu jana°*.

The Commentary explains *asecanaka*[1] (Therî-Gâthâ, v. 55) by *anâsittaka* (see my note on *âsevakattaṃ*, in the Aṅguttara Nik. i. p. 102).

There is a somewhat similar passage in the Suttavibhaṅga, see i. p. 271, where *asecanaka* is explained by *anâsittaka*, *abbokiṇṇa* and *pâṭekka*, none of which words are in Childers; nor has he any mention of *upasecana* (cf. *maṃsupasecana*) in Suttavibhaṅga Sekkhiya, 69, p. 204. See also Cullavagga, v. 19; Thera-Gâthâ, v. 842, p. 80; Jât. ii. p. 422; Jât. iii. pp. 29, 32, 144, 516.

DAṆḌA-YUDDHA. PATTÂḶHAKA.

There is a reference to these terms, which occur in the Brahmaṇa-jâla-Sutta, p. 9; in Jât. iii. p. 541, vv. 112, 113: "*daṇḍehi yuddham* pi samajjamajjhe," is explained in the Com. by *daṇḍayuddha*.

Mitaṃ *âḷhakena*=dhañña-mâpaka-kammam. See Suttavibhaṅga, I. xiii. 1. 2.

DISO-DISAṂ.

It is well known that *dvi*, as well as *ava*, becomes *o* (see Ed. Müller's Pâli Gr. p. 12). Is *diso disaṃ*, in Dr. Oldenberg's edition of the Thera-Gâthâ (p. 63, vv. 615, 616), a relic of the Sk. corresponding phrase where *diso* is the ablative *disas*, or is it the same as *disâvidisaṃ*, which we find in the Milinda Pañha, pp. 259, 260?[2] Pâli has no instances of an

[1] See Milinda Pañha, p. 405; Suttav. Par. iii. 1. 3.

[2] Sîlaṃ vilepanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ yena vâti *diso disaṃ*.—(Thera-Gâthâ, v. 615.)
Sîlaṃ seṭṭho ativâho yena vâti *diso disaṃ*.—(Ib. v. 616).
(adakaṃ) uddham-adho *disâvidisaṃ* gacchati.—(Mil. Pañha, pp. 259, 260.)

ablative case in *-o* answering to Sk. *-as*, except *-to* (=*-tas*), and, moreover, it usually treats *disâ* as a fem. noun in *-â*, cf. *disâvidisâ* with Sk. *disodisas*, Mil. Pañha, p. 398 (see also p. 251), Sk. *diṅmûḍha* with Pâli *disâmûḷha*; and Sk. *aparas-paraṃ* with Pâli *aparâparaṃ*.

I think we must, with Prof. Fausböll, write *disodisaṃ* (Jât. iii. p. 491) as one word.[1]

DHAMMASUDHAMMATÂ.

For this compound see Thera-Gâthâ, vv. 24, 286, 479.

Is the reading *dhammesu dhammatâ*, Jât. i. p. 325, a mistake, or a various reading for *dhammasudhammatâ*? (Jât. i. pp. 461, 462; Jât. ii. pp. 159.)

NIKHÂDANA.

In the passage from Jâtaka, ii. p. 405, quoted in illustration of *Kâlasutta*, '*vâsi-pharasûni khâdana-muggare*' is wrongly printed for *vâsi-pharasu-nikhâdana-muggare*, where *nikhâdana* must be 'a chisel.' It occurs in the Suttavibhanga, i. Pâr. iv. 1. 3, Sangh. vi. 1. 1. The translators of the Vinaya Texts render it by 'spade' (Cullav. vi. 15. 2).

For *nikhâdante* in the Ang. Nik. p. 113, l. 3 from bottom, read *nikhâdanena*.

NIDDHUNIYA.

This term is given as one of the synonyms of *makkha* (Puggala-Paññatti, p. 18). Is it from the root *dhvan*, 'to cover,' meaning 'concealment,' 'hypocrisy'?

NIMINATI.

Niminati, not in Childers, signifies 'to barter,' from the √*me*; *nimimhase* (Jât. ii. p. 369); *nimineyya* (Jat. iii. pp. 63, 222); *nimini* (=*parivattesi*), Jât. iii. p. 63, is written *niminni* (*Ib.* p. 221).

[1] We find *disâdisaṃ* in a foot-note.

PAKKATTHÂPETVA.

Udakaṃ pakkatthâpetvâ 'having caused the water to boil' (Jât. i. p. 472). We ought, perhaps, to read *pakkaṭṭhâpetvâ*. Prof Fausböll gives, in a foot-note, the variant reading *pakkuṭṭhâpetvâ*. There is authority for *pakkuṭṭh°* and *pakkaṭṭh°* (*pakuṭh*). Cf. *pakkaṭṭhate khîrasmiṃ*='in boiling milk' (Telakaṭâhagâthâ, p. 53, last line), *pakkaṭṭhitatele* (Dham. p. 178). In the Therî-Gâthâ *kuthita* is explained by *pakkuṭhita* (see v. 504), *pakkuthite udake* (Ib. p. 182).

Childers has no examples either of the simple use of √*kvath* or of its compounds. See Dr. E. Müller's Pâli Gr. p. 41; Vinaya Texts, ii. p. 57; Suttavibhaṅga, i. Pâr. iv. 9. 4.

PAÑCANGULIKA.

This curious word occurs several times in connection with tree-worship, and is rendered by Childers 'a measure of five fingers' breadth.' Prof. Fausböll translates *gandha-pañcaṅgulika* (Jât. ii. p. 104) by 'five finger-lengths of scent.' See Jât. iii. p. 23, where it occurs again. In Jât. iii. p. 160, we have the very curious compound *lohitapañcaṅgulikâni*, i.e. 'blood—pañcaṅgulikas' made of the human viscera (antavaṭṭi). At the "Feast of the Dead," a goat brought to be sacrificed is washed and ornamented about its neck with a pañcaṅgulika, which Prof. Rhys Davids calls 'a measure of corn' (see Jât. i. No. 18, and Eng. Trans. p. 227). In Wilson's *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 171, we read that "Cows and bulls are washed and fed with part of an oblation first offered to Indra; being also painted and adorned with leafy and flowery chaplets."

Professor Senart points out the use of *pañcaṅgula* in the *Mahâvastu* (p. 269, l. 14; note p. 579), and thinks that it was some kind of ornament, and this view must be correct. But what kind of ornament was it? It was probably composed of shoots or sprouts of five finger-lengths, artificially scented, arranged in the form of a hand, and hung round some object of worship.

Turnour (Mahâv. p. 193) translates *pañc°* by 'ornaments radiating like the five fingers.' See Cullavagga, v. 18, 1.

The Hindus appear to have made decorations or ornaments of this kind. "The *Vîjaṅkura* is what is known in Marâthî, at least in Konkan, by the name *ugavana*, or *rujavana*, 'young sprouts of corn,' generally of rice or wheat, artificially grown under shade and watered with any dye that the young blades are required to take. The blades assume the desired colour, and after they grow to the height of five or six inches, they are put by the women in their hair, like flowers. It is also known by the name of *saravara*, or *dhanya*. On the dasara holiday it is worn by men of the lower classes on their turbans" (Raghuvaṁsa, ed. Shankar P. Pandit, pt. ii. pp. 58, 59).

Could the original expression have been *pañcaṅkurika* 'the collection or aggregate of the five sprouts,' corrupted to *pañcaṅgurika*, and then to *pañcaṅgulika*?

PAṬINÂSIKA, PAṬISÎSAKA.

These words are not in Childers; the first means 'a false nose' (Jât. i. p. 455), the second 'a false top-knot.'

Paṭisîsakaṃ paṭimuñcitvâ (Jât. ii. p. 197; Milinda Pañha, p. 90).

PATIMÂNETI.

Navaṃ patimânento, 'waiting for (looking out for) a ship' (Jât. ii. p. 423). See Jât. i. 258; Cullavagga, vi. 13, 2; Suttavibhaṅga Pâr. iii. 5, 4; Bhikkhunîvibhaṅga Pâr. i. 1.

We have no use of √*man* with *prati* in this sense in Sanskrit, but Pâli has numerous examples of forms and meanings not to be found in Sanskrit. Childers has not registered the meaning of *nîharati* that belongs to *paṇâmeti*. See Jât. ii. p. 28; Thera-Gâthâ, ii. 53, 59; Suttavibhaṅga Pâr. iii. 5, 4.

PARIPÂTETI.

Childers has no example of the causal of *paripâtati*; but see Jât. ii. p. 208, and Milinda-Pañha, p. 367, where *paripâtiyanto* = 'being attacked.'

PALIPA.

This word occurs in three passages in our printed texts.

(1) "Uttiṇṇâ paṅkâ *palipâ*, pâtâlâ parivajjitâ" (Thera-Gâthâ, v. 89).

(2) "Laṭṭhi-haṭṭho pure âsiṃ so dâni migaluddako
âsâya *palipâ* ghorâ nâsakkhiṃ pâram etase" (Therî-Gâthâ, v. 291).

The Com. explains *palipâ* by 'kâmapaṅkato diṭṭhipaṅkato ca.'

(3) "Paṅko ca kâmâ *palipâ* ca nâma" (Jât. iii. p. 241).

The Com. explains *palipa* by 'marsh, quagmire.'

"*Palipo* vuccati mahâkaddamo yamhi laggâ sûkara-migadâyo pi sîhâpi vâraṇâpi attânam uddharitvâ gantuṃ na sakkonti," etc.

Sk. has no form corresponding to *palipa*. It has, however, *palva-la* = Pâli *pallala* in the sense of 'pond, pool,' which must be a derivative of a simpler *palva* (not found in the Sk. Dictionaries), to be compared with Greek πηλός (=παλϜος) παλκός, Lat. *palus* (cf. Sk. *palala*, *palita* 'mud, mire,' Ir. *poll* 'mud,' whence Eng. 'pool').

In Pâli such a form as *palva* would become *palla* or *paluva* or *paliva* (cf. Pâli *beluva*, *bella* with Sk. *bailva* and *bilva*). *P* in Pâli often occurs as the representative of a Sk. *v*; as *palâpa*, *châpa*=Sk. *palâva*, *çâva*; so a Sk. *palva* would in Pâli become *palipa*.

The curious form *pali-patha* (Dh. 73, 432) 'a miry road, slough, quagmire,' is by Childers referred to Sk. *pari-patha*; but Pâli has *pari-pantha* in the sense of 'obstacle, danger,' so that the first element in *palipatha* is not *pari*, but *pali* in the sense of 'muddy, miry.' The Scholiast says that *palipatha* metaphorically denotes 'lust' and the other *klesas*, and thus corresponds closely to the sense of *palipa* in the passages already quoted.

The root-meaning of *pal* seems to be 'grey, hoary,' cf. Sk. *palita* 'grey,' *palâgni* 'bile' (lit. 'black-fire,' *melanchôlia*), *pal-k-nî*, Hindî *palakni* 'an old woman;' Gr. πελλός; Lat. *palleo*.

PÂṬIYAMÂNA, CIKKHASSANTA, ÂCAMAYAMÂNA.

"Diṭṭhapubbo pana tayâ mahârâja koci ahinâ daṭṭho mantapadena visaṃ pâṭiyamâno visaṃ cikkhassanto uddham-adho âcayamâno" (Milinda-Pañha, p. 152).

Of the three participles in the extract quoted above, the editor says he "can make nothing."

(1) But may not *pâṭiyamâna* be referred to the √*paṭ* 'to remove,' meaning in the causative 'to expel, eradicate' (cf. the use of *âkaḍḍhati*, Jât. iii. p. 297); or can it be referred to the causal of *pra*+*aṭ* 'to cause to go forth, to expel'?

The old Siñhalese version renders it by *basvana laddâva*.

(2) *Cikkhassanta* must, I venture to think, be referred to √*kshar* 'to ooze out,' and here signifies 'causing to ooze out.'

The Old Siñhalese version has *sanhin duvana laddâva*= 'causing to run out softly.'

(3) *Âcamayamâna*, if the reading is correct, must be referred to √*cam*, 'to rinse,' with the causal sense of 'to wash out, purge, cleanse.'

Dr. Trenckner remarks that *paccâcam*° and *âcam*° mean 'to resorb,' and must belong to √*cam*, though we find them written *paccâvam*° and *âvam*°. Here perhaps we ought to read *âvamayamâna*, the caus. part. of *âvam*°.

The Siñhalese version does not help us in its substitution of '*temana laddâva*,' unless it means 'washing out,' instead of 'wetting' or 'moistening.'

The general sense of the passage quoted is by no means difficult to make out, if we recollect that there were three ways of treating a person who had been bitten by a snake: (1) by causing the offending reptile to extract or 'resorb' the poison; (2) by muttering spells; (3) by the use of drugs as emetics or purgatives.

We find some reference to these methods in Jât. i. p. 311; iii. p. 297; Milinda Pañha, p. 150.

In the first reference *paccâcamati* (text has *paccâvamati*) is explained by *kaḍḍhati*, and in the second *âcamâmi* is equivalent to *âkaḍḍhâmi*.

The Milinda Pañha extract might be translated as follows:

"But have you ever before seen, great king, a man who has been bitten by a snake expelling the poison by means of a spell-verse, causing the poison to ooze out, and [by means of drugs] purging himself upwards and downwards."

I now give the corresponding passage from the Old Siñhalese version, by Hînaṭi-Kumbara-Sumaṅgala-Unnânse: (p. 191 of the 1877 Colombo edition):

"Maharajâneni wiṣa winâsa karana nâwu mantra padayakin, wisa *baswana laddâwu*, wisa *sanhin duwana laddâwu*, wisa ûrddhâdho bhâyayehi auṣadha jalayena *temana laddâwu* nayaku wisin daṣṭa karana laddâwu kisiwik topa wisin daknâ ladde dæyi."

PÎḶIKOḶIKA.

Piḷikoḷika is equivalent to *akkhigûthaka* (Therî-Gâthâ, v. 395). The commentary gives *piḷikâ* as the first part of the compound, but makes no remark upon the second element. Was the original *piḷikâvillika* or *piḷikâvilika* from *piḷika*+*vellika*? Cf. Sk. *irâ-villika* 'a pimple.'

Pâli has *piḷakâ* 'a boil, pustule'; but this is the only passage where *piḷikâ* is to be found. For *âvi=o* see *Disodisaṃ*. Is the Commentary right? can the word be referred to *piḷi-koṭhaka*? Cf. Hindi *koṭha*, Sk. *kotha* 'inflammation or ulceration at the angles of the eyelids.'

PUṆṆAGHAṬA.

This term is mentioned in connection with festival decorations (see Jât. i. p. 52; Eng. Trans. p. 66). Prof. Rhys Davids renders it a 'well-filled water-pot.' It occurs again in the Dîpavaṁsa, vi. 65; xiv. 30: *puṇṇaghaṭaṃ subhaṃ [ṭhapayantu]*, translated by Dr. Oldenberg as 'auspicious brimming jars' (Dham. p. 149; Mahâvaṃsa, p. 193). I find *puṇṇapatta=puṇṇaghaṭa* in the Pûtimaṁsa Jâtaka, iii. p. 535, where I have translated it by 'the flowing bowl, the full bowl,' and have added the following note of explanation: "The full bowl was a lucky omen. It sometimes denoted

a box crammed with presents to be distributed at a feast" (Folklore Journal for Jan. 1885).

PUPPHA-CHAḌḌAKA.

Ahosiṃ puppha-chaḍḍako (Thera-Gâthâ, v. 620). *Puppha-chaḍḍako* 'a flower-seller, garland or nosegay-maker.' Cf. Sk. *pushpalâva* 'a nosegay-maker.'

Puppha-chaḍḍa-kamma is mentioned as one of the 'low' occupations in the Suttavibhaṅga, ii. 2. 1. *Chaḍḍaka* in *rûpiya-chaḍḍaka* has a different signification.

PONTI.

This occurs in Therî-Gâthâ, v. 422. The Com. shows we must read *poti* 'cloth,' cf. L.'s reading, *poṭhi*. But *ponti* might be a dialectic form, cf. Marâthî *bontha*='a cloth thrown over the head and body as a cloak.'

BUBBULAKA.

"Vaṭṭani-r-iva koṭar' ohitâ majjhe-bubbuḷakâ saassukâ" (Therî-Gâthâ, v. 395).

The Commentator explains *majjh*° by "akkhidala-majjheṭhita-jalabubbaḷasadisâ."

The only meaning that is given by Childers to *bubbulakâ* is 'bubble.' Cf. Sanskrit *budbuda*, 'pupil of the eye,' and Marâthî *bubûla, bubala*, 'the eyeball, the pupil and iris.'

BHA-KÂRA, YA-KÂRA.

These terms occur in the Suttavibhaṅga Pâc. ii. 2. 1 amongst the 'low' terms of abuse (*hîno akkoso*); cf. Marâthi *ca-kârî*, a cant term for 'a backbiter,' and *bak-bhaka, bakbaka* 'gabbling, chattering,' *bhupakâra* 'the whoop of monkeys,' *bhokâra*, a contemptuous term for the mouth or face when distorted by bellowing or yawning. The term *kâṭakoṭacikâ* (Pâc. ii. 2. 1), another term of abuse, is explained by the Commentary as a compound in which *kâṭa* = *purisa-nimitta, koṭacika* = *itthi-nimitta*, cf. Hindî *kâḍa*=*pudendum virile* (compare Tela-kaṭ-g. verse 79).

BHAKUṬI, BHÂKUṬIKA.

In the Suttavibhaṅga I. Saṅgh xiii. 1. 3. we find *bhâkuṭika-bhâkuṭika* 'frowning severely,' and *abbhâkuṭika* 'smiling' (*i.e.* 'not frowning').

Dr. E. Müller (Pâli Gr. p. 11) says *bhâkuṭi*=Sk. *bhrûkuṭi* 'eye-brow,' but in the passage referred to it must signify 'a frown'; cf. Marâthi *bhrukuṭi* 'a frown, contraction of the brows.'

We also find *bhakuṭi*=Sk. *bhrukuṭi* in Jât. No. 329, p. 99: "Câleti kaṇṇaṃ *bhakuṭiṃ* karoti," spoken of a monkey that wriggles its ears and frowns in order to frighten the young princes in the palace of Dhanañjaya.

The translators of the Vinaya Texts have wrongly rendered "kvâyaṃ abalabalo viya mandamando viya bhâkuṭibhâkuṭiko viya" (Cullav. i. 13. 3): "Who is this fellow like a fool of fools, or like an idiot of idiots, or like a simpleton of simpletons?" It should be "Who is this fellow (coming along) as if (he were) very feeble, as if very sluggish and as if frowning severely?"

Buddhaghosa explains it by *saṅkuṭita-mukhatâya*; he seems to have got this meaning out of *uttânamukha*. See note on *Saṅkuṭika*.

BHÛMISÎSA.

This word occurs in Dîpavaṁsa, xv. 26, and Dr. Oldenberg translates it by 'hill.' In Jât. ii. p. 406 it seems to mean the highest point of sloping ground.

BHEṆḌU OR GEṆḌU?

In Jâtaka iii. No. 359, p. 184, we find the compound "ratta-kambala-*bheṇḍu*," for which there is the variant reading "ratta-kambala-*geṇḍu*," with which we may compare "ratta-kambala-*puñja*°" (Jât. i. No. 12, p. 149).

Prof. Davids translates, 'a *cluster* of (red) kamala-flowers' (see Jât. i. No. 72, p. 319). In Thera-Gâthâ, v. 164, we find *sata-bheṇḍu* (explained by the commentary as "anekasata-

niyyûho"), for which we find the variant reading *sata-geṇḍu* (see Jât. ii. p. 334).

It is quite possible in Siñhalese MSS. to mistake *bheṇḍu* for *geṇḍu*. The question is, however, which is the correct reading? I am inclined to read *geṇḍu* in all cases, and to compare it with *geḍu-ka* 'a ball.' The meaning of *geṇḍu* in "ratta-kambala-*geṇḍu*" must be 'a tuft, tufted ball,' or 'cluster,' cf. Marâthî *geṇḍa* 'a tufted head of flowers like the globe amaranth.' It also signifies 'a knob, a boss of silk or silver,' and this meaning seems to explain *bheṇḍu* (i.e. *geṇḍu*) in *bheṇḍu-piḷandhanâni* (Jât. i. No. 93, p. 386).

Cf. Siñhalese *geḍi* 'a ball,' and *geḍigé* 'an ornamental arch.'

MAṂSASÛLA.

Maṃsasûla occurs in the Sasa-Jatâka. In my translation of it,[1] I have, in following Childers, wrongly translated it by 'spit' instead of 'a bit of roasted meat,' corresponding to Sk. *sûlyamâṃsa* 'roasted meat' (see Jât. iii. p. 220, ll. 13, 15, 16).

Sûla means a stake, the impaling stake, also a skewer, spit, but it also represents a form *sulla* = Sk. *sûlya* (see Jât. iii. p. 220, l. 16). In fact, Pâli *sûla* represents English *stake* and *steak*. So Pâli *mûla* stands for Sk. *mûla* and *mûlya*.

It is curious to find that Childers omits the very common phrase *sûle uttâseti* 'to impale' (Jât. i. pp. 326, 499, 500).

Fausböll has *mûle âvuṇitvâ* (J. iii. p. 35, l. 11), for which we ought to read (*nimbassa*) *sûle . . . âvuṇitvâ*, corresponding to *appenti nimbâsûlasmiṃ* (Jât. iii. p. 34, l. 26).

MARUMBA.

For examples of the use of this term see Mahâvaṃsa, p. 169, l. 8; Dîpavaṃsa, xix. 2. Dr. Oldenberg says, "I cannot define the exact meaning of *marumba*. Turnour translates this word by 'incense,' which is decidedly wrong. To me it seems to mean something like 'gravel.'" It

[1] Folklore Journal for Nov. 1884

generally occurs in combination with *pâsâna, sakkhara* and *kaṭhala* (Suttavibhaṅga ii. Pâc. x. 1. 1). In the Milinda-Pañha, p. 197,[1] we find *khara* 'sharp'[2] applied to *marumba*. It may be compared with Marâthî *murûma* 'a kind of fissile stone'; Hindî *murama* 'a kind of gravelly soil.'

MUCCHATI, MUCCHETI.

Childers quotes *muccati* in the sense of 'to curdle,' under *muñcati* (√*muc*), but perhaps we ought to read *mucchati*, from the √*murcch*. He has no example of √ *mucch*, in the sense of 'to tune.' cf. *vîṇaṃ mucchetvâ*, Jât. iii. p. 188.

Cf. "Mûsilavîṇâvâdako pi vîṇam uttama-mucchanâya *mucchetvâ* vâdesi" (Jât. ii. p. 249, ll. 2, 7, 13).

"Vîṇaṃ *muccheti*" (Jât. iii. p. 188).

MUṬṬHASSATI.

In the first volume of his Dictionary Childers, influenced no doubt by the use of the root *muh* and its derivatives, made *muṭṭha* to be another form for *mûḷha* or *muddha*. In the additional matter appended to the second part of the Dictionary he refers it, on account of *pamuṭṭha*, to the root *mush*.

The translators of the Vinaya Texts, Mahâvagga, x. 3, in a note on *pari-muṭṭha* (bewildered), also lend their support to this etymology of *muṭṭha* (though Sk. *parimush* usually means 'to steal'), and refer to the Sanskrit *mushitâ-smṛiti* in Kathâ-Sarit-Sâgara, 56 :—

"Atha 'ekadâ 'anûpâsyaiva saṃdhiyaṃ askhâlitâṅghrikaḥ sa sushavâpa Nalaḥ pâna-madena *mushita*-smṛitiḥ," *i.e.* 'Nala lost his senses through drunkenness and forgot to say his evening-prayer and to wash his hands.'

But Pâli, as far as we can judge from the printed texts, does not use *muṭṭhassati* in this sense.

[1] In this passage *âvaṭṭa* = 'whirlpools,' *gaṅgalaka* 'eddies,' *vaṅka* 'bends, windings'; but I can make nothing out of *cadika*. One MS. has *vadika*, but ought we not to read *velika* 'surges'?

[2] Is this an error for *kaṭhala*?

Sati in Buddhist phraseology had acquired for the most part a higher meaning than 'senses' or 'involuntary consciousness,' and denoted 'attention,' that was under the control of the will, as seen in such phrases as *kâyagatâ sati*, 'meditation on the body,' *maraṇa-satiṃ bhâveti*='to dwell on the thought of death,' *sati-paṭṭhâna*='earnest meditation,' *sati-sâmpajañña*='mindfulness and thoughtfulness.' In fact the use of the English *mind* in the sense of 'to remember,' and 'to attend,' suggests 'mindful' and 'mindfulness' as fit renderings of *sata* and *sati* (in *sato sampajañño*, *asaṅcicca asatiyâ*). *Muṭṭhassati*, 'inattentive, unmindful,' is opposed to *upaṭṭhasati* (in the Sallekha-Sutta), 'attentive, mindful,' just as *muṭṭhâ sati* (Thera-Gâthâ, v. 98, 99) is opposed to *upaṭṭhâ sati*. "*Satiṃ* paṭṭhâpetum"='to fix the attention.'

The correct expression in Pâli for 'to lose one's senses through drink,' is *visaññî hoti*, and *visaññîbhûta* = Sanskrit *mushita-smṛiti*.

(1) "Apâtabbayuttakaṃ pivitvâ *visaññibhutâ* satiṃ paṭṭhâpetuṃ asakkontâ" (Jât. i. pp. 362; see *visaññî honti*, Ib. p. 361; *visaññî katvâ*, Ib. p. 269).

(2) "Yathâ bhaṇḍaṃ gahetvâ madhuṃ pivanto *visaññino* hutvâ sîsaṃ ukkhipituṃ na sakkonti" (Thera-Gâthâ, p. 181).

"*Satiṃ* paccupaṭṭhâpetum asakkonto" is used of a person who, through grief on account of loss of wealth, is unable to have command over his feelings (Jât. i. p. 353).

At one time I thought that *muṭṭha* might be another form of *mucchita*, from the root *murcch*, just as we find *ussita* for *ucchita=ucchrita*, and *iṭṭha=icchita*. Now a form *mussati* does actually occur in Cullavagga, x. 8, in connection with the feminine *muṭṭhassatinî*,[1] for which we find a variant reading *muyhati* (see Cullavagga, p. 327), which shows that there existed some confusion between the two forms.

The reading *pammuṭṭha* (Dhammapada, pp. 247, 248;

[1] Tassâ muṭṭhassatiniyâ gahito-gahito *mussati*.
Upalavaṇṇâ had such an unretentive memory that she forgot the Vinaya, though it was frequently repeated to her.
In the Mahâvagga we find *sati-vepullapatto* applied to one who had regained full possession of his faculties.

Jât. iii. 511[1]) seems to be an orthographical error for *sammuṭṭha*. Dr. Oldenberg always prints *sammuṭṭha*, with the variant reading *pamuṭṭha* (Suttavibhaṅga i. Pâc. i. 2. 6; and pp. 165, 275).

In the Puggala Paññatti, pp. 21, 25, we find, as a synonym of *sati*, the term *sammussanatâ*, which must be referred to a Pâli verb *mussati*, which, as we have already seen, does occur. See Sutta Nipâta, iv. 7. 2.

On looking over the Dhâtu-mañjûsa I find *mus* 'to steal,' and *mus* 'to wander [in mind]' explained by *sammose* (cf. *sati-sammosa*,[2] Milinda-Pañha, p. 266; Sept Suttas Pâlis, p. 248; Puggala Paññatti, iii. 7), *mulâvimhe*.

This √ *mus* 'to wander, to be bewildered,' must, we venture to think, be referred to Sk. *mṛish* vergessen vernachlässigen, sich aus dem sinne schlagen (B. and R.). Sk. *mṛishâ* becomes in Pâli *musâ*, so that there is no difficulty in regard to the regularity of its form. In Prakrit we find *pamhusaï*, *pamhuṭṭha*; *pamhaṭṭha*[3] (Râvaṇavaha, 6. 12.), which Dr. E. Müller, following P. Goldschmidt, refers to √*smṛish* (Pâli Gr. pp. 57, 58).

RINDI.

"Pînavaṭṭapahitauggatâ ubho sobhate su thanakâ pure mama
Te *rindi* va lambante 'nodakâ" (Therî-Gâthâ, v. 265).

The editor says, "I am unable to make out the correct reading." Dr. Pischel has laid his readers under great obligations by his liberal quotations from the Commentary, without which no emendations could be attempted.

The Comment explains *te rindi* as follows:—

"*Therîti*[4] *va lampantanodakâ ti* | te ubho pi me thanâ anudakâ galitajalâ veṇûdaṇḍake ṭhapitaṃ udakabhasmâ viya lambanti."

[1] A foot-note gives the reading *pamuṭṭha*.
[2] Cf. *sammoha* in this sense (Puggala Paññatti, p. 21)
[3] In Râv. xi. 58, iv. 42, it is glossed by *pramushita*.
[4] This seems a mispelling for *te rîti*, i.e. *te rittî*.

The various readings for *te rindî* are *therîti, theriti, therindi, terindi, therthi*, from which we might construct the readable *te ritt° îva lambante*, etc.

But *te rittîva* is for *te rittâ iva*, a long vowel being elided before *iva*. Cf. *mâ palujjîti* for *mâ palujje iti* (Mahâparinibbâna-Sutta, p. 36; see Childers, "On Sandhi in Pâli," 105. 15).

Rittâ of course refers to *thanakâ*, and means 'empty, dry,' and this is supported by the comment, which describes the breasts of the Therî as containing no moisture, and hanging like dry water-bags at the end of a bamboo-stick (*-bhasmâ* in the Com. is a blunder for *-bhastrâ*).

Ritta and *rittaka* are common terms for 'empty' from the root *riñc* (not in Childers). See Therî-Gâthâ i. 93, p. 183; Jât. iii. p. 492.

LAKUṬA.

Lakuṭa 'a club' (Milinda-Pañha, pp. 367, 368); cf. Hindî *lakuṭa* 'a stick'; Sk. *laguḍa*; Pâli *laguḷa*; Marâthî *lâkûḍa, lâṅkûḍa*.

VAGGULI-VATA.

See Note on Apassena.

Vagguli-vata seems to mean the 'swinging-penance,' and answers to Marâthî *bagâḍa* 'a religious mortification.' "Swinging by means of a hook introduced under the muscles of the back, from a cross piece passing over a post either planted in the ground or fixed on a moving cart."

VAJJHA.

Vajjha-sûkariyo, *i.e.* 'barren old sows' (Jât. ii. p. 406, l. 5).

The more usual form is *vañjha* (Jât. iii. p. 426; Suttavibhaṅga, ii. p. 70).

VAMBHETI or VAMHETI.

Dr. Oldenberg always prints *vambheti* (see Suttavibhaṅga Saṅgh. iii. 3. 1; Thera-Gâthâ, v. 621).

It is often used in contrast to *ukkaṃseti*, as "n'eva attânaṃ *ukkaṃseti* no paraṃ *vambheti*" (Aṅg. Nik. pt. iv.).

Prof. Fausböll prints *vamheti*, *cf.* "Parassa ce *vamhayitena* hîno"='if one becomes low by another's censure' (Sutta Nipâta, v. 905). 'Khumsenti *vaṃhenti*' (Jât. i. p. 191).

In Jât. i. p. 356, ll. 3, 6, 10, *vamheti* signifies 'to boast,' and in Jât. i. p. 359, *vamha*=pavikatthita, vikatthita.

Prof. Senart compares *nirvamhaṇi* in Mahâvastu, p. 314, with *vamheti*, and this would doubtless be all right if *vriṁh* 'to roar,' or *vaṅgh* 'to blame,' were the true root, but I think the MSS. are in favour of *vambh*°. In an excellent MS. of the Apadâna, in my own possession, I always find *vambh*°, and not *vamh*°.[1]

Professor Fausböll also prints *sumhâmi* for *sumbh*° and *âsumhi* for *âsumbhi* (Jât. iii. p. 185; Jât. iii. p. 435); but see *âsumbh*° (Suttavibhaṅga ii. Pâc. viii. 1, p. 265), *nisumbh*° (Thera-Gâthâ, v. 302).

VIDAṂSETI.

Just as the roots *ghṛish* and *hṛish* give rise to *ghaṃsati* and *haṃsati*, so, in later texts, we find *vidaṃseti* for the more usual *vidasseti*.

"Paviṭṭho padîpo andhakâram vidhameti, obhâsaṃ janeti, âlokaṃ *vidaṃseti*, rûpâni pâkaṭâni karoti" (Milinda-Pañha, p. 39).

Pilandhanaṃ *vidaṃsentî* (Therî-Gâthâ, v. 74, p. 131).

Cf. âlokañ ca *dassessâmi* (Dîpavaṃsa, xii. 31).

VILÂPANATÂ.

This word occurs as one of the synonyms of *muṭṭhasacca* (Puggala Paññatti, p. 25), while *avilâpanatâ* is that of sati. These must be referred to the √*lî*, cf. *apilâpana* (Milinda-Pañha, p. 37). See Dr. Rhys Davids' note on *upalapanâ* at Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, i. 95.

VISÎYATI.

"Kâmaṃ bhijjatu 'yam kâyo maṃsapesî visîyarum" (Thera-Gâthâ, 312). *Visîyati* is not in Childers; it means 'to be

[1] We find *parisumbh*° in Jât. iii. p. 347.

reduced to atoms, to be broken to pieces,' from the root *çṛi*= *çar*, *cf.* Mahavastu, p. 23 :—

"Te dâni narakapâlâ kasya dâni yûyaṃ atra saṅjnâpayamânâ pratyudgacchatheti tâṃ praharanti yathâ dadhighaṭikâ evaṃ *çîryanti viçîryanti*," cf. *seyyasi*, *viseyyasi*, *visiṇṇa* (Jât. i. 174; Dh. 147).

VEGHA-MISSAKENA.[1]

This is confessedly a difficult word to deal with. Dr. Rhys Davids says its meaning is not clear, and for it he adopts another reading. It occurs in the *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* (ed. Childers, p. 22):

"Seyyathâpi Ânanda jarasakaṭaṃ *vegha-missakena* yâpeti evam eva kho Ânanda *vegha-missakena* maññe Tathâgatassa kâyo yâpeti."

This passage Dr. Rhys Davids translates as follows:

" And just as a worn-out cart, Ânanda, can only *with much additional care* be made to move along, so methinks the body of the Tathâgata can only be kept going *with much additional care*" (*Buddhist Suttas*, in "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xi. p. 37).

The translator prefers the reading of the Burmese MSS. *vekha-missakena*, and takes *vekha* to be a shortened form of Sanskrit *avekshâ* 'care,' a most ingenious way of getting some meaning out of the word. Buddhaghosa, however, gives a different explanation of it. His words are:

" *vegha-missakenâ* ti bâhabandhana - cakkabandhanâdinâ paṭisaṅkharaṇena vegha-missakena."

The commentator evidently understood *vegha* in the second part of the sentence (as it stands in the text) in a metaphorical sense:

" maññe ti jarasakaṭaṃ viya *vegha-missakena* maññe yâpeti arahatta-phala-veghanena catu-iriyâpathâ-kappanaṃ hoti nidasseti."

The word seems to be used metaphorically, however, in the following verse, where *vegha*° is an adjective:

[1] See *Academy*, Oct. 4, 1884, No. 648.

"Ye kho te *vegha-missena* nânatthena ca kammunâ manusse uparundhati pharusupakkamâ janâ te pi tath' eva kîranti [*sic*] na hi kammaṃ panassati" (*Thera-Gâthâ*, ed. Oldenberg, p. 20, l. 143).

The learned editor offers no note of explanation beyond the quotation from the commentary, ("*veghamissenâ* ti varattakkhaṇḍhâdinâ sîlâdîsu *vegha*-dânena *veghamissenâ* ti pâḷi so ev' attho"), and refers to Dr. Rhys Davids's *Buddhist Suttas*.

Looking for the present only to the interpretations of the commentaries, it is evident that *vegha* is to be explained by 'band,' 'tie' (*bandhana*), or by 'bit of leather,' 'thong,' 'strap,' etc. (*varatta-kkhaṇḍâdi*). According to Buddhaghosa, an old cart had to be kept from dropping to pieces by lashing of the shafts and wheels with pieces of string, rope, leather, etc. It seems to have been an ancient usage, and still survives, if the following description of "Riding in a Dak" is to be relied on:

"It is interesting to see the nondescript vehicles—crazy concerns, with plank trucks, bamboo frames, and not a pin, bolt, or scrap of iron about them, *the pieces of the rickety things all tied together with ropes and strings*. With a knife we could in two minutes make one of them as complete a ruin as Holmes' 'One-horse Shay'" (*Our New Way Round the World*, London, 1883, p. 129).

We cannot, I venture to think, explain *vegha-missakena*, according to the *Sumangala Vilâsinî*, both literally and metaphorically in one and the same passage without destroying the balance of the whole sentence, and spoiling the comparison intended by Buddha between an old cart and the enfeebled body of an old man. The translation from the Pâli already quoted might be amended somewhat as follows:

"And just as an old cart, Ânanda, is kept going by lashings of ropes, etc., so methinks the (enfeebled) body of the Tathâgatha is only kept up (*or* supported) by bandages, ligatures, etc."

The body of an old man would need some protection from heat and cold, hence the use of a *bandhana*. The modern

Hindus, for instance, protect their faces by the use of the *ḍhâṭhâ-bândhnâ*, the "ḍhâṭha" being (according to Bate's Hindi Dictionary) "a handkerchief tied over the head and ears."

But how about the curious form *vegha*? What are its etymological connections? With Dr. Davids, I unhesitatingly adopt, for other reasons than his, the Burmese reading *vekha*, or rather *vekkha*, and would refer it to Sanskrit *veshka*, 'a noose, lasso' (with *lasso* compare English *lace* and *lash*). Böhtlingk and Roth give only two references for the use of *veshka* (Çat. Br. iii. 8, 15, and Kâty. Çr. vi. 5, 19). On referring to the second quotation, I find that the commentator explains *veshka* by *galâ-veshṭaka*.

The change of *shk* to *kkh* is quite regular, cf. Sanskrit *nishka* and Pâli *nikkha*. Etymologically, *vekkha* is equivalent to *vinculum*, and must be referred to the root *vik* 'to bind,' preserved in Sanskrit *veshṭ*, Latin *vincire*, etc.

Professor Kern says: "It seems to me somewhat doubtful whether the Pâli word *vegha* must be considered to represent a bad reading. So far as I am able to judge, *vegha* is quite correct as to its form, and admits of a ready explanation. I would venture to take it as the equivalent of Sanskrit *vighna*, 'difficulty, trouble,' so that the meaning of the well-known passage in the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta would come to this: 'just as an old cart moves with difficulty, so does the body of Tathâgata.' *Missakena* is here used adverbially, whereas *veghamissa* in Thera-Gâthâ, as quoted by Dr. R. Morris, is an adjective, meaning, if I am not mistaken, 'molesting, troublesome.'

"Instances of Sanskrit 'i' passing into Prakrit 'e,' especially in syllables which are long, naturally or by position, are not wanting, *e.g.* Sanskrit *âpiḍa*, but Prâkrit and Pâli *âveḷo*, *âveḷâ*; *ìdṛça* becomes *edisa*, *erisa*; for *Viçvabhû*, *Viçvâmitra*, *Viçvantara*, Pâli shows *Vessabhû*, *Vessâmitta*, *Vessantara*. In Prâkrit we find *peṇḍa* as a substitute to Sanskrit *piṇḍa*, and in one of the inscriptions at Barhut *Anâdhapeḍika* for *Anâthapiṇḍika*. By a similar process Sanskrit *vighna* will become *viggha*, *veggha*, *vegha*, or *viggha*, *ṛigha*, *vegha*. The

change of the original vowel sound points to a tendency in some dialects to pronounce the 'i' in the manner of the English 'i,' *e.g.* in *ship*, and the Dutch short vowel in the corresponding word *schip*, the plural of which is sounded *schepen*, with a lengthened 'ê.'

"There are a few instances of a short 'i' passing into *e*—*e.g.* in Pâli *mahesi*, Sanskrit *mahishî*, *veha* in *vehâgamana*. The discussion of these cases would be superfluous, as throwing no more light on the word in question.

"I have tried to show that the change of *vighna* into *vegha* may have taken place according to well-established phonetic rules. I am, however, not prepared to uphold the theory that *vegha* is necessarily the remote offspring of *vighna*; for, in the language of the Zend-Avesta, we meet with *voighnâ*, where the particle showed itself in Guṇa form. It is just possible that, along with the form *vighna*, there existed in some Indian dialect another—*veghna*, which would correspond to *voighna*, except in gender."

To this I replied that "If we were quite sure that *vegha* has the sense of 'difficulty' or 'trouble' in the passages already referred to, then Prof. Kern's suggestion would be perfectly convincing. Pâli has the word *viggha*, which Childers rightly refers to Sanskrit *vighna*: and it is quite possible, too, for a prâkritised variant *vegha* to have co-existed along with *viggha*, for we have *nekkha*, as well as *nikkha* (from 'niṣka'), and *iṅghâla* and *aṅgâra*. But there are one or two points that seem to militate against Prof. Kern's theory that *vegha*='difficulty.'

"1. The explanation of the two commentators quoted is dead against it. Their interpretation, traditional though it be, should count for something. My etymology is based upon the remarks of the commentaries, and, if they are wrong, my explanation and derivation fall to the ground. I venture to think that 'binding' or 'obligatory' would suit the context of *veghamissena* better than 'troublesome.'

"2. The force and appropriateness of the comparison seem to be spoiled by the use of *vegha* in the sense of 'difficulty'; for would there not be a *difficulty* in keeping up or main-

taining anything that was old and shaky? Why should an old cart be specially mentioned? Why not an old bed, chair, lamp, in fact anything old and rickety?

"It is possible to let the reading of the Siṅhalese MSS. stand as a variant of *vekha* or *vekkha*. Dr. Trenckner has shown that Pâli has such duplicates as *lageti* and *laketi*, *laguḷa* and *lakuṭa*, *chagana* and *chakana*,[1] *paligha* and *palikha*. Why, then, may there not have been a *vegha* as well as a *vekha*?[2] Perhaps the form *vegha* was preferred to *vekha* because, as sacrifices were an abomination to the early Buddhists, they would not be anxious to preserve that form of the word which would remind them of its true origin and connexion with sacrificial rites.

"Whether *vegha* or *vekha* be the correct form, or whether it is to be explained as 'difficult,' etc., must be left for those more competent than myself to decide; but Prof. Kern's explanation is valuable and suggestive; and he certainly proves that a Pâli form *vegha* is a representative of Sanskrit *vighna*."

VERAMBA.

Veramba-vâta seems to mean 'a strong sharp cutting wind' (see Jât. iii. pp. 255, 256, 484; Thera-Gâthâ, vv. 597, 598).

The Jâtaka contains a story of a conceited vulture that flew beyond its proper range, and passing through the black-wind, got under the influence of the veramba-wind and was reduced to atoms (see Dhammapada, p. 163). A variant reading gives *verambha*. The root seems to be *rambh* or *lambh* 'to roar, bellow,' cf. Sk. *rambhâ* 'lowing.'

SADDHA.

At p. 84 of the "Journal of the Pâli Text Society," for 1883, Mr. Bendall requests his readers "to cite any further authority for *saddha*=*çraddha*" that they may come across.

[1] *Cf.* Pâli *lakâra* (not in Childers) 'a chain attached to a well,' with Marâthî *laṅgara* (Mil. P. p. 378).

[2] The literary Prâkrits have *mekha* for *megha*, and Marâthî has *regha* for *rekha*, showing that *gh* and *kh* were unstable sounds, not accurately discriminated, and showing a tendency to pass into *h*.

The following instance is from Prof. Carpenter's transcript of the Ambaṭṭha-Sutta (i. 27, 28): "Api nu naṃ brâhmaṇâ bhojeyyuṃ *saddhe* vâ thâlipâke vâ yaññe vâ pâhune vâ ti."

Mr. Bendall says (Journal, p. 80) that "there must have existed a various reading for the words *pamuñcantu saddham*." We find this in the Pârâyana-Sutta of the Sutta-Nipâta, v. 23:

"Yathâ ahû Vakkali *muttasaddho*

. . . . . .

Evam eva tvam pi *pamuñcayassu saddhaṃ*."

which is thus translated by Prof. Fausböll in "Sacred Books of the East," vol. x. p. 213: "As Vakkali was delivered by faith, so shalt thou let faith deliver thee."

Muttasaddha does not usually mean "delivered by faith"; that is expressed by *saddhâ-vimutta*.

Dr. Rhys Davids has another rendering of this passage in his "Hibbert Lectures," p. 173.

SAṆKUṬIKA or SAṄKUṬITA.

Saṅkuṭika, not in Childers, occurs in Jât. ii. p. 68, in the sense of 'cowering, squatting with knees up to the nose, doubled up with cold.' In Jâtaka, ii. p. 225, we find *saṅkuṭito nipajji*, where a various reading has *sa*[*ṅ*]*kuṭiko* for *saṅkuṭiko*.

Buddhaghosa, in his comments on *bhâkuṭika bhâkuṭika*, has *saṅkuṭita* 'puckered, drawn up.' *Saṅkuṭika* seems to be correct, and may be compared with *ukkuṭika* 'crouching, squatting on the haunches,' cf. "*paṭikuṭito* paṭisakki" (Culla-vagga, vii. 3, 12).

SAMBÂDHA.

"Ekaccâ apagatavatthâ pâkaṭabhîbhaccha-*sambâdhaṭṭhânâ* (Jât. i. p. 61).

Professor Rhys Davids (Jâtaka, Eng. Trans. p. 81) translates the foregoing passage as follows:—"Some with their dress in disorder—plainly revealed as mere horrible sources of mental distress." But *sambâdhaṭṭhâna* signifies 'private parts,' cf. *sambâdha* = *muttakaraṇa* (Suttavibhaṅga, ii. p. 260, Pâc. ii. 2), *pudendum muliebre*, Sk. *sambâdhana*. It also occurs in Mahâvagga, vi. 22. 1–3; Cullavagga, v. 27. 4.

HÎRAHIRAṂ.

Hîrahîraṃ karoti signifies 'to cut into strips.' In Jât. i. p. 9, "muñja-tiṇaṃ *hîrahîraṃ* katvâ"='making (three) strips or strings out of (the fibre of) muñja-grass' as a girdle for the bark-dress of an ascetic.

In Dham. p. 176, it seems to mean 'to ribbons, to strips.' Childers gives no etymology. Can it be referred to a Sk. *hîra*='strip, band,' cf. Sk. *hira=mekhalâ?*

HURAṂ.

For *huraṃ* in the phrase "idha vâ *huraṃ* vâ" (Kh. 7; Dham. 4) various etymologies have been proposed.

Prof. Fausböll (Dhammapada, p. 409) suggests *svaraṃ*. Prof. Kern, according to Childers, ingeniously refers it to Sk. *aparaṃ*. Neither of these explanations accounts for the initial *h*, which here seems to be organic, and therefore unlike the *h* in *hetaṃ* and *heva*, that ought to be written *h' etaṃ* and *h' eva*.

The editor of the Dhammapada renders *huraṃ* by 'illic,' and he is no doubt right as far as the mere sense goes, for it is opposed to *idha* 'here, in this world'; and the phrase "*idha . . . huram*" is equivalent to "*idha . . . pecca*," "*idha . . . paraloke.*"[1]

As *paramhi* is so often opposed to *idha* in the sense of 'in the other world,' it seems very doubtful whether *huraṃ* can be a prakritised form of *aparaṃ*. It would not be an easy matter to quote any passage in Pâli where *apara* has reference to the other or next world.

Huraṃ is a rare form occurring only, as far as we know, in the poetical books, and may after all be an archaic term. Can it be referred to Sk. *huruk* (*hiruk*), a weakened form of an original *hurak* 'out of sight, away.' Cf. Sk. *tiriyak* and *manâk* with Pâli *tiriyaṃ* and *manaṃ*.

[1] In our own language '*here* and *there*' are used to denote '*this world* and the *next*'; cf. *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (225):

"Brief life is *here* our portion,
. . . . . .
The tearless life is *there*."

HURÂHURAṂ.

Hurâhuraṃ has generally been connected with the foregoing *huraṃ*. It occurs in v. 334 of the Dhammapada :—

"Manujassa pamattacârino taṇhâ vaḍḍhati mâḷuvâ viya
so palavati *hurâhuraṃ* phalam iccham vâ vanasmiṃ vânaro."

Prof. Fausböll renders this as follows :—

"Hominis socorditer viventis libido increscit mâluvâ velut, is currit *huc et illuc* fructum desiderans sicut in sylva simia."

Prof. Max Müller renders it thus :—

"The thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper; he runs *from life to life*, like a monkey seeking fruit in the forest." [1]

Gray's version is nearly the same, and he translates *hurâhuraṃ* by 'from one existence to another.'

The only authority for the renderings '*from life to life*,' etc., is the commentator's explanation *bhave bhave* (in various rounds of re-birth). But this phrase is comparatively a late one, cf. "Das' ime . . . kâyânugatâ dhammâ *bhave bhave* anudhâvanti" (Mil. Pañha, p. 253). In the older books too the term *saṅdhâvati* is usually employed for *saṃsarati* (see Sept Suttas Pâlis, p. 21).

Prof. Kern looks upon *hurâhuraṃ* as another form of Sk. *aparasparaṃ*, which we find in Pâli as *aparâparaṃ*, frequently used with verbs of motion in the sense of 'on and on,' 'continuously.' But, as Childers remarks, there are very great difficulties in the way of this identification. Objection too must be taken to Childers' comparison of *hurâhhuraṃ* with *phalâphalaṃ*, since we have no proof that *hura* was ever employed as a noun in the sense of 'birth' or 're-birth.' If *huraṃ* be an adverb, meaning 'yonder,' then *huraṃ huraṃ* like *sighaṃ sighaṃ* might become *hurâhuraṃ*, the nasal vowel being replaced by a long one, as in *sîha* for *siṃha* and *sârambha* for *saṃrambha*. It is not very clear, however, that *huraṃ*, in the phrase "*idha vâ huraṃ* vâ," has any etymological connection with *hurâhuraṃ*.

[1] In the first edition Prof. Max Müller translates *hur°* by 'hither and thither.'

The simile in v. 334 of the Dhammapada does not quite bear out the explanation of 'from birth to birth,' or 'in various births.' The monkey in seeking for fruit in a forest does not run on continually from one state of life to another, but he does run about eagerly, excitedly, and restlessly from place to place intent on getting something to eat and on satisfying the cravings of hunger.

The desire or lust of one who lives thoughtlessly increases in this world and causes him to go about eagerly and hankeringly in search of that, and that alone, which shall satisfy his desire; and we note too that in verses 333, 334, 'loke' occurs with reference to *taṇhâ*.

We may of course apply the term 'running' metaphorically to the *thought* of the careless liver, cf. "cittaṃ *vidhâvati* ekaggataṃ na labhati" (Jât. i. p. 7). A good illustration of *taṇhâ* causing people to run about eagerly in this life is contained in Jât. ii. No. 260, "ime sattâ udaradûtâ *taṇhâ vasena vicaranti*; *taṇhâ* ca ime satte *vicâreti*." The whole story is an excellent comment upon the word now under consideration.

The meaning of *hurâhuraṃ* might be explained by 'far and wide,' corresponding to an older *uraṃ uraṃ*, with inorganic *h*; but it is far more probable that it is of the same origin as the Marâthî हरहर 'regretting, uneasy hankering,' and signifies 'eagerly, hankeringly.'

ALLUSIONS TO JÂTAKA STORIES IN MANU.

In Manu, bk. iv. verses 30, 192, and 197, we have allusions to the *crane* and *cat* as symbols of cruelty and craft, taken, doubtless, from two well-known old Hindu tales. The story of the crane is the *Baka Jâtaka*, No. 38, i. 220. See Eng. translation by Dr. Rhys Davids, pp. 317–321; that of the cat is the *Bilâra Jâtaka*, No. 129, Fausböll, i. p. 460.

There is also a reference to the cat in Manu iv. 195:

"Dharmadhvajo sadâ lubdhaçchâdmiko lokadambhakaḥ
vaiḍâlavratiko jneyo himsraḥ sarvâbhisandhakaḥ."

Dr. Hopkins notes that Medhâtithi, one of the com-

mentators on Manu, says that some read the following verse from the fourth book of the Mahâbhârata:

"Yasya dharmadhvajo nityaṃ suradhvaja ivo 'cchritaḥ
prachannâni ca pâpâni vaiḍâlaṃ nâma tad vratam iti."

With the foregoing we may compare the following verse from the Biḷâra Jâtaka:

"Yo ve dhammadhajaṃ katvâ niguḷho pâpam âcare
vissâsayitvâ bhûtâni biḷâraṃ nâma taṃ vatan ti."

ONOMATOPOEIAS.

In Jât. iii. p. 223, we find the curious onomatopoeia *ahuhâliya* 'a roar of laughter,' cf. Sk. *halahalâ* 'a shout'; *hulahûli* 'a joyful shout, or exclamation.'

Another word of this kind is *daddabha* and *dabhakka* (Jât. iii. p. 76) 'the pattering sound made by the falling of a bilva fruit on the leaves of a palm-tree,' hence the denom. *daddabhâyati* (Ib. p. 77). Perhaps the √*dabh* 'to deceive' has some connection with it; cf. Marâthî *dhab-dhaba* 'used of the sound of water dashing down from a height, of heavy bodies falling rapidly.'

Kiṇakiṇâyati kiṇikiṇâyati 'to ring like small bells' (*kiṅkiṇî*), see Jât. iii. p. 315.

Surusura, Gogerly says, 'sucking up food'; Childers, 'a word imitative of the sound made when curry or rice is eaten hastily,' but gives no reference (see Pât. 22; Sekkhiyâ Dhammâ 51; Vinaya Texts, part i. p. 65). In the Suttavibhaṅga, ii. p. 197, it is used to represent the sound made in drinking milk.

Kili 'a splashing sound' (Jât. ii. p. 363; Jât. iii. p. 225); 'a tinkling sound' (Jât. ii. p. 397). Cf. Sk. *kilakila* 'a sound expressing joy.'

Capu capu is used to express 'grunting at stool' (see Khudda Sikkha, xvi. 5, p. 98); 'smacking the lips' (Pât. 50th Sekkhiyâ Dhammâ).

Ghurughurâyati 'snoring like a pig' (Jât. iii. p. 538). Cf. *murumura* 'a crunching sound in eating raw flesh' (Jât. i. p. 461); whence the denominatives *murumurâpeti*, *murumurupeti* (Jât. iii. p. 134).

Hukku 'the noise made by a jackal' (Jât. iii. p. 113). Cf.

Marâthî *hukî, hukkî, hûka* 'the cry of the jackal.' Hindî *hukhuka* 'sobbing, crying.'

Kîki, sound made by monkeys (Jât. ii. p. 71).

Khaṭakhaṭa, 'a noisy sound, chattering' (Mahâvagga, v. 63). The translators of the Vinaya Texts render it 'harsh tones.' Cf. Sk. *khaṭakhaṭâya*, 'to spring or issue forth with a noise.' Marâthî *khaṭkhaṭa*, 'fuss, bother, altercation, chattering.'

Vaggu, 'a sweet sound made by a young peacock' (Jât. ii. p. 439).[1]

PARROTS AND HILL-PADDY.

"The parrots brought nine thousand loads of hill-paddy, which was picked out by rats" (Dîpavaṁsa, vi. 11, pp. 42, 147).

On parrots furnishing 'hill-paddy,' see Jât. i. pp. 325, 327, Mahâvaṃ. p. 22.

TRACES OF JÂTAKA TALES IN THE PANJÂB.

In the story of "*Râjâ Rasâlû*" in R. C. Temple's LEGENDS OF THE PANJÂB (p. 45), we have a very interesting and curious variant of the *Suvaṇṇakakkaṭa Jâtaka* (Jât. iii. p. 293), in which a *scorpion* takes the place of the *crow*, and a *hedgehog* that of the *crab* in the Pâli story. The hedgehog kills both the scorpion (Kalîr) and the serpent (Talîr). See Folk-Lore Journal, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 243.

In WIDE-AWAKE STORIES we find a very inferior variant of the *Vânarinda Jâtaka* (Jât. i. p. 278) under the title of "*The Jackal and the Crocodile.*" In the Pâli story it is a monkey that outwits the crocodile. In the story of "*The Jackal and the Partridge*" we have a variant of the *Suṁsumâra Jâtaka* (Jât. ii. p. 158). In the Panjâbi legend the crocodile is outwitted by the partridge telling the crocodile that "the jackal is not such a fool as to take his life with him on these little excursions; he leaves it at home locked up in the cupboard." In the Jâtaka tale it is the monkey that pretends that it has left its heart behind, hanging on an udumbara tree.

[1] Childers has no instances of *kûjati=pavadati* (Jât. ii. p. 439, v. 130).

IV.—ON THE REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Benjamin Dawson, Esq., B.A.

A Paper read before the Philological Society on Friday, March 6, 1885.

The Revised Version of the Old Testament will, it is said, be published immediately after Easter; it will doubtless engross attention. The present therefore seems to be a convenient time for "taking stock," to use a commercial phrase, of the Revised Version of the New Testament. The R. V. has been attacked from so many quarters, and on so many grounds, by critics of so many different schools, that there appears to me some danger of correct notions of proportion being lost, with perhaps the lamentable result that R.V. should hold a false position in public estimation. I propose therefore this evening to make a few remarks on the excellences and defects of R.V. from a linguistic point of view, drawing my examples almost entirely from *The Acts of the Apostles*, and chiefly from chapter xvii. Setting aside all passages involving doctrinal questions and disputes, the following proposition may be laid down: The correctness of R.V. as a translation has been of gradual growth, the result of the elimination of previous errors; it therefore follows that it is the most correct English rendering of the Greek original which we possess.

Firstly, then, let me direct your attention to Acts xvii. 11, *Οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εὐγενέστεροι τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ*. The course of the narrative is plain and simple. The earlier verses of the chapter report the disturbance created by the preaching of Paul at Thessalonica; and the attack made by a party of Jews with the mob upon Jason's house, where Paul and Silas had taken refuge. The apostles, however, escaped capture, and were sent off by night to Berea; and in the most natural manner v. 11 proceeds to compare the Jews of the two places. But, oddly enough, this simple passage seems to have been misunderstood by Tyndale and Cranmer, as well as by Luther. By an error in translating they give us this somewhat incomprehensible description of the Bereans,—

"These were the noblest of byrthe amonge them of Thessalonica," "Denn sie waren die Edelsten unter denen zu Thessalonich";—as if the Jews of Thessalonica were being described, not those of Berea. The mistake is not made in the Genevan "These were more worthy men then they which were at Thessalonica," nor in the Rheims version. Modifying A.V. slightly, R.V. now gives us—"Now these were more noble than those in Thessalonica." How the course of the narrative was so misunderstood, I cannot explain; the error, as a matter of translation, is easily detected. It consisted in the extraordinary blunder of mistaking the genitive of comparison for the partitive genitive, notwithstanding the absence of the definite article.

This passage is an example of greater accuracy in translation in A.V. than in some previous versions. The next shows us R.V. correcting one of A.V.'s mistranslations.

Acts xvii. 14, *Εὐθέως δὲ τότε τὸν Παῦλον ἐξαπέστειλαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πορένεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*, "And then immediately the brethren sent away Paul to go as it were to the sea." In thus rendering this sentence A.V. has followed the versions of Tyndale, Cranmer, and Geneva, and has been itself reproduced in "comme pour aller du côté de la mer." It is a curious fact, which I may mention in passing, that in the argument or "heading" to the chapter, there is evidently some mistake. It runs as follows, "*v.* 13 *Being persecuted at Thessalonica*, 15 *he cometh to Athens*," which seems almost to imply that Paul was supposed to have returned to Thessalonica from Berea; whereas the narrative plainly tells us that he went by night from Thessalonica to Berea, from Berea to the sea, and so to Athens. In Bagster's *Comprehensive Bible* the "heading" is slightly changed into, "*Being persecuted by Jews from Thessalonica*, 13–15; *he cometh to Athens*." The Commentators have much to say on this *ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν* (Acts xvii. 14), and some of their comments are very interesting. In Scott's Commentary we find this note:—

"They therefore conducted him towards the sea-coast, that it might be supposed he was about to embark for Asia."

Dr. Adam Clarke in his Commentary says:

"This passage is generally understood to mean that the disciples took Paul towards the sea, *as if he had intended to embark, and return to Troas*, but with the *real design* to go to *Athens*. But it is more likely that his conductors, in order to his greater safety, left the public or more frequented road, and took him *coastwise* to Athens. Or, by taking a vessel at that part of the sea nearest to *Berea*, they may have coasted it to Athens, which was quite a possible case; and, as we do not hear of his stopping at any place on his journey to preach, it is very probable that he went by sea to this city. Though sleights and feints may be allowable in cases of life and death, yet there does not appear an absolute necessity for any in this case. And, as the text does not necessarily point any out, so we need not have recourse to any. I take it for granted, therefore, that Paul went by sea to Athens."

Now it seems almost a pity to spoil such an interesting argument, but the fact is that the erroneous translation of ὡς by "*as it were*," has caused all the difficulty. The right sense is given by Wyclif, translating from the Vulgate, and by Luther "dass er ging bis an das Meer," also by the Rheims "to go unto the sea," and finally by R. V. "to go as far as to the sea." The mistake in translation consisted in taking ὡς separately as a conjunction or adverb, instead of joining it closely with ἐπί and its acc. τὴν θάλασσαν. This ὡς ἐπί idiom is illustrated in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon and Jelf's Greek Grammar, and the meaning in this particular passage is conclusively established by Dean Alford (1861). All fear of any recurrence of the mistake is done away with by the fact that the Revisers have removed ὡς to the Margin, and transferred ἕως to the Text. Before leaving this part of my subject, the disappearance of erroneous translations from R.V., I may mention the correction of the rendering of the well-known phrase, occurring three times (Matt. v. 21, 27, and 33), "It hath been said by them of old time" A.V. The Marginal rendering "*to them*" shows us that the "tyrant majority" of that Company must have carried their point against the better Greek scholars of the minority. The words are ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, clearly the dative of the recipient, the gen. with ὑπό would have given

the agent. Now R.V. agrees with Wyclif, and Tyndale, and Luther, in verses 21 and 33, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time," but differs in v. 27 by omitting the phrase "to them of old time."

Although v. 6 distinctly states that "Jason and certain brethren" were taken before the magistrates after the attack upon his house, in v. 9 A.V. tells us that they were let go after security was taken "of Jason and of the other"; as if security was required from Jason and *one other* only. The Greek *καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν* is rightly rendered in R.V. "*and the rest.*" There is no question here of mistranslation in A.V.; the plural must have been intended. Some commentators ingeniously, but erroneously, supply *brethren* from v. 6; by this rough and ready process they convey the right sense, but grammatically speaking in the wrong way, because "*the other*" seems to be used substantively, not adjectively, in this passage. But why does the A.V. read "*of the other*" if it means *of the others*? It is a question of the history of the word *other*, and its modern pl. *others*. Maetzner (iii. 280) quotes from A.V. to prove the existence of the pl. *others*. In Cruden's Concordance there are forty-seven references for the pl. *others* used as a substantive, against ten where the pl. is *other*. Maetzner would have better shown the date of the pl. *others* by quoting from the Rheims Version, which was published twenty-nine years before A.V., and is much more modern in its style. The A.V. ought to be considered proof for the early part of the sixteenth rather than of the seventeenth century. But to return to the passage in question. The old pl. "*the other(e)*" was retained from Tyndale, Cranmer, and Genevan in this v. 9, although the newer pl. *others* was introduced into verses 32 and 34 of this same chapter. Why was it retained? It is clear that *other* might be used as an old-fashioned plural; but that *others* was the customary plural of *other* when used substantively in 1611, is proved by A.V. itself, in which *others* occurs much more frequently than *other*, as well as by its frequent use in Shakspere and Spenser. When Maetzner quotes A.V. as authority for pl. *others*, he merely does not give

us the earliest example of its use which might be easily found; but if a grammarian quotes A.V. for pl. *other*, he thoroughly misleads the inquirer. And this, it appears to me, is a point which has been lost sight of. The A.V. is an authority when it initiates, but when it retains unaltered the words or phrases of earlier versions, it is no authority at all for its date, and cannot fail to mislead. If therefore it is used at all as an authority for grammatical forms (which is natural, being so convenient and accessible as a book of reference), it ought to be used with great caution.

In R.V. clearness has been greatly promoted by small changes made with excellent effect in very many passages. As examples may be cited, Acts vi. 14 "which Moses delivered *unto* us," for "delivered us" A.V., showing the dative; Acts vii. 4 the substitution of "*God*" for "*he*" (without Capital) of A.V. removes a momentary ambiguity; Acts xvi. 16, the "As we *were going to the place* of prayer" of R.V. prepares the reader for the encounter in the streets better than A.V.'s "As we went to prayer." And, returning to our chapter (Acts xvii.), it might well be suggested that v. 6 might have been improved on the same principle. As the Apostles were not present, the "*these*" of A.V. might well have been changed into *the men* or *those men*, as a rendering of *οἱ . . . οὗτοι*.

The passages hitherto cited have gone to prove the superiority of R.V. to other versions in regard to the very important point, correctness of rendering, and to establish my proposition that it is the most correct English translation. The remaining passages will tend to show how much remains to be desired. Some of these matters one might think it almost reasonable to hope may be attended to; others again are doubtless "past praying for."

Canon Kennedy, in 1882, published his *Ely Lectures on the Revised Version*. On p. 25 he says, "Its faults (for what human work is faultless?) should be noted with a view to correction." In that spirit my few Notes have been made. Nor need any one fear being accused of carping at insignificant trifles, seeing that Dr. Scrivener in his *Authorized*

Edition of the Bible (1611), published in the autumn of 1884, at the Camb. Univ. Press, amongst other interesting and exhaustive details on the grammar of A.V., devotes about a dozen lines (p. 113) to the question whether the interjection *O* should be spelt with or without *h*, when going before a vocative case, and when preceding an optative sentence.

Firstly, then, it may be objected that R.V. has not acted consistently with respect to modernizing grammatical forms. We have seen that in Acts xvii. 9 *the other* of A.V. has been assimilated in R.V. to *the others* of xvii. 32, 34; but in other passages A.V.'s "*the other*" has been retained as a rendering of οἱ δὲ, and of ἀλλήλους. Now Dr. Scrivener (p. 87, n. 1), speaking of "*other*," remarks, "that antiquated plural is very common in our version." If "antiquated" in 1611, what must it be in 1881! Again, in Acts xvii. 18, οἱ δέ following τινες is translated by *other some* in A.V., and the phrase is entered as a curiosity by Dr. Richard Morris, *Eng. Accidence*, § 244. Here, again, we have R.V. retaining the antiquated phrase *other some*, when *others* or *some others* were ready to their hands! Surely what Dr. Scrivener (p. 115) says, when speaking of the A.V. with respect to the use of capitals, may be applied to his company of revisers here and elsewhere,—"But indeed the practice of our Translators in this matter is little more consistent than in certain others." Dr. Scrivener (p. 104) seems to consider that *you* was intended as a nominative, a Subject, in such phrases as, *Build you*, Num. xxxii. 24; *Wash you*, Isa. i. 16; *Get you*, Zech. vi. 7; *Turn you*, Zech. ix. 12. Others explain all these as Complements, in the dat. or acc., as the case may be. But whether Dr. Scrivener's explanation is correct, or the other, though of very great importance with respect to A.V., on which he has treated so exhaustively, has no bearing on this evening's subject, the R.V. Is *you* nominative or not in (1 Cor. xiv. 18) "I speak with tongues more than you all"? If it is nom., it is the only nom. *you* I have met with in R.V. If *you* is not nominative, the phrase does not match with "than they," which occurs three times (1 Cor. xv. 10; Rom. iii. 9; Heb. i. 4). In a former paper I ventured to

hope that the *you* in this passage was merely a misprint, but the remarks on *you* (p. 104) make this explanation doubtful. By the help of Dr. Scrivener's notes on *an hundred* (p. 107) I have found one solitary exception in modern editions of A.V. to the rule of *an hundred*; *a hundred* occurs in Isa. xxxvii. 36.

In some of the minor changes made in R.V. it is difficult to realize the point of view of the "tyrant majority." Take for instance Acts xii. 10, "They came unto the iron gate that leadeth unto the city; which opened to them of his own accord" A.V. Here R.V. changes *his* into *its*, thus seeming to recognize the fact that *his* in A.V. was the genitive singular neuter as well as masculine. On the same principle *his* becomes *its* in Matt. xii. 33 and Luke vi. 44. But a different mode of treatment is adopted with respect to A.V.'s "When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves," Matt. xxiv. 32, and "When her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves," Mark xiii. 28. These two passages (the Greek is almost identical, not quite) are assimilated in R.V. "When her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves." Here we seem to have Personification,—the fig-tree is made a *she*, and one of her branches an *it*; yet in Mark xi. 13 the fig-tree is spoken of as *it* (in R.V. as well as in A.V.), and in Rev. xxii. 2 A.V.'s *her* is changed to *its* in reference to "the tree of life." But why should the fig-tree be personified in these two passages? Tyndale wrote "his" (*its* not then existing), Wyclif "his"; but R.V. gives us "her." Has the love of Personification so increased as to make this desirable in a Victorian Revision? In Acts xvii. 26 R.V. gives us "for to dwell," Acts v. 31 "for to give," Acts viii. 27 "for to worship"; in Acts xx. 30 "your own selves"; in Acts viii. 36 "unto a certain water." In Acts xvii. 27 A.V.'s subjunctive "though he be" is turned into an indicative, although there is perhaps no more striking characteristic of an antiquated style (which R.V. rightly affects) than the frequent use of the subjunctive mood. Such inconsistencies as these must be looked to by the Revisers, if they do not wish to lay themselves open to

the charge of want of consistency which Dr. Scrivener brings, and justly, against A.V.

On matters of taste, on the other hand, differences of opinion will continue. Some like English *begin* better than French hissing *commence*; some prefer plain *love* to the sneeze-suggesting *charity*; "and so *ad infinitum*." On such matters it is useless to speak. But as an explanation of the want of enthusiasm in favour of R.V., notwithstanding its superior correctness and its greater clearness, I will mention two points connected with the Æsthetics of Translation in which it fails to approach the *beau ideal*.

1st. The order of words. What an English sentence have we in Acts iii. 26! "Unto you first God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities," A.V. The order is the exact Greek order; and it is retained in R.V. Here, perhaps, it may be said, the sentence is not an easy one to manage, and the wisest course R.V. could adopt was to let A.V. alone. Let it be so; although it must be conceded that the same sentence may be a worse sentence now than it was formerly, because sentences have grown shorter of late years, and now-a-days two short sentences are thought better than one long one. But in Acts iv. 21, R.V. gives us a different order from A.V., and as some think a worse order—worse for two reasons. (*a*) It is the Greek order and (should not this be the canon?) *good Greek* order=*bad English* order. (*b*) By giving such prominence to the "*they*" R.V. seems to indicate the Apostles, the central figures in the scene, so that the momentary thought in the mind on beginning the verse is that the Apostles are referred to. This confusion is avoided by A.V. Acts xv. 30 gives another example of A.V.'s order being changed for the worse.

The second point provokingly disappointing in R.V. is the frequent sacrifice of picturesqueness of phrase (a peculiar feature in A.V.) for mere verbal accuracy. Look, for instance, at Acts xvii. 32, "We will hear thee again of this *matter*"=ἀκουσόμεθά σου πάλιν περὶ τούτου (close enough

surely with its italicised *matter*); this has become in R.V. "We will hear thee concerning this yet again," the Greek being *ἀκουσόμεθά σου περὶ τούτου καὶ πάλιν*. Here we have a simple example of what it seems to me is the great fault of R.V. The life, the vigour, the animation, the picturesqueness of the old translators, these are dwindling away beneath the incubus of a Company's majority, which aims at a word-for-word representation of the original;—a representation which can scarcely be called *Translation*, it is not *Transliteration*, it needs a new word to designate it, *Transverbation*.

In a paper printed in our Society's *Proceedings*, Dec. 10th, 1852, recently brought to light once more by the publication of the General Index, Mr. Watts assigns to Coverdale the invention or creation of the phrase "God save the King." What will be the fate of this happy phrase in R.V. of Old Testament? In 1 Sam. x. 24, for instance, will *Let the King live* be promoted from the Margin to the Text? Will the Old Testament Company of Revisers consider that Coverdale had a right to make the Subject "King" into a Complement, and to introduce a Subject not found in the Hebrew text? I live in fear, but console myself with the reflection that their power does not extend to the National Anthem, where Coverdale will still reign supreme with his "God save the Queen," despite of the "*Vivat Regina*" of the play-bills, or the "Let the King live" of the Margin. Mr. Watts further claims for Coverdale the glory of the invention of the phrase which occurs in Psalm xc. 10 "threescore years and ten." What will our revisers do with this phrase, so full of beauty, so rhythmical, so suggestive of the long and weary pilgrimage of life? Will they substitute for it plain *Seventy*, as the Hebrew text and the Margin would justify? In Acts vii. 14 "threescore and fifteen souls" has been retained in R.V.

There is no fear of mistranslation in R.V. I have shown that where A.V. has corrected error, R.V. has adopted the correction; where A.V. itself has erred, R.V. has corrected. But we shall look in vain for new and original examples of such word-painting as "threescore years and ten" in any translation made like A.V. and R.V. We have, there-

fore, nothing to look forward to but the gradual formation of a kind of dead level of correctness, with all faults and all beauties too polished away by cold-blooded aim at Dry-asdust precision.

Note.—The quotations (except A.V.) are taken from *The English Hexapla.* (Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1841.)

V.—TITIN. A STUDY OF CHILD LANGUAGE.

By Sr. D. A. MACHADO Y ÁLVAREZ, of Seville.

[*Translated from the Spanish by the Rev.* WALTER GREGOR, *Pitsligo, with the help of the Author.*]

TITÍN is the name of my youngest son; high priest, he baptized himself, calling himself *Titín*, parodying the name by which he was baptized—Joaquin, in memory of his maternal uncle and of the day on which he was born. He calls himself *Titín*, his uncles call him *Titín*, his mother and his little brothers call him *Titín*, and *Titín* we all call him. . . . . How has the word *Joaquin* been turned into *Titín*? What analogy is there between the phonetic elements of the two words? By what process have the aspirated *j* and *q* or the hard *c* (the Greek *κ*) passed into the dental *t*? What is the extraordinary reduction of the diphthong *oa* into the first *i* of *Titín*? From the utterance of the infant, who is a *savant*, because he is the faithful representative of nature, that teaches us through him, his father, who is an ignoramus, that represents the tiresome and useless accomplishments of a conventional and deficient culture, has formed an hypothesis which I wish to communicate, if the confutation of the gravest errors which it contains could throw any light upon what I consider the still obscure problem of the formation of child-language, and of the infinite series of unintelligible words, preserved at present with such scrupulous fidelity and attention by mythographs and philologists of all countries.

The language of children, as all language, as everything, is not formed in a moment, as Genesis tells us light was formed, יְהִי אוֹר—"Let there be light, and there was light."

Child-language is formed by a series of growths and transformations, internal and external, which are, as the stages of all growth, slow and imperceptible. Already in the cry, with which the child salutes its entrance into the world, which is the simple result of the change of temperature it suffers on emerging from the warm abode in which it was into the free air, are the germs of human language. From that first cry of pain to the age of three years or thereabouts, the child forms for itself its first vocabulary, a complete language; from that moment to that age it will be necessary to watch it without interruption every moment, and to go on carefully marking all the sounds and all the articulations it gives forth. In them philologists and students of phonetics will meet with most important materials for their studies, and perhaps the key to open important problems. For that undertaking, without doubt, is required a series of very special conditions—time, patience, love for the work, education both of the ear and the voice, and modes of writing capable of preserving and of being able to reproduce what has been heard.

According to my imperfect observations, or, it may be, the fancies that I have formed on them, beyond the crying and the first wailings, a union of sounds and perhaps of very light articulations, which I cannot decipher or distinguish, comes for three or four months, the classic one of *aj . . . jóo*, with which the mother, the scholar of the infant, encourages it to complete the effort to which nature calls it. The first indication by which the first perceptible germ of human language is shown is, then, not what we call a vowel or a consonant, or a monosyllable. That interesting sound, which has no recognized signification we know of, and has no other origin than the desire of the mother to help the natural attempts of the child to pronounce it, it is not possible to discuss with fit linguistic knowledge. It may be allowed us to call attention to the strong guttural character (Greek χ) of the first consonant employed, and to the *a* which precedes it, and to the *ŏ* which terminates it. From the *a* to the *ŏ* there is a real scale of sounds and an infinity of inappreciable

shades of sound bound by the guttural which serves as the connecting link. Before pronouncing the *aj . . . jóo,* which the mother says to it, the child has repeated a thousand times something that may perhaps be represented by an *ah . . . hóo, ag . . góo.* The *aj . . jóo,* which is, if not the first, one of the first of the elegancies of the *acquisitions —habilidades*—(artificial works) of the child, is for me a datum which leads me to think that the organism does not produce in the first stage of life those phonic phenomena which we call vowels and consonants. In children, at least in my own, I have noticed sounds which I might call *gutturalizations,* as a kind of *ghghgh-gghgghggh,* at the end of which I believe I always heard, as it were, the sound of a vowel. There is in all these gutturalizations something analogous to the steps expressed by the Arabic letters, which Glaire in his grammar calls ج، ج، ج (which here we call *já*) and غ، and something resembling also the Æolic *F.* Be that as it may, it appears that the gutturals are the first letters that are formed in the first months of infant life; guttural letters or forced sounds (*esfuerzos*), I do not know whether instinctive or voluntary, conscious or unconscious, which prepare the vocal organs for the performance of their complicated functions. After these first manifestations, which have something of the grunt, more or less plain, of certain mammals; which appear movements rather of a reflex than conscious kind, and under which at times the plexus of phonetic elements seem to show themselves, which have to be one day words with a fixed value, such as *aghua-agua,* succeeds a second period, which commonly begins at ten or twelve months.

At that age or somewhat later, according to the degree of development, children begin to pronounce isolated monosyllables of a labial kind; *pa-pa, ma-ma,* and sometimes *me* or *pe* occupies a longer or shorter period in which one is wearied making observations without noting any progress. The child appears a torpid scholar that makes no effort to join syllables. This seems to be the period of monosyllabic

language; *pa* and *ma*, and *ta* and *te*, which come after the teeth are formed, sound clearly, distinctly, with precision, as certain notes and syllables of parrots.

The employment of the monosyllabic labials *pa*, *ma*, *ba*, the last of which is the origin of the infantile sport, which consists in the mother or nurse giving little slaps on the mouth with the palm of the hand, making it say, *ba baa baaa baaa baa baaa*, and the dentals *tá* or *té* is followed by the pronunciation of other consonants, whose order of appearance we have neither sufficient power nor patience to observe. In that period, or from the age of eighteen months (onwards) they begin, not merely to pronounce a few more consonants than those indicated (*b*, *p*, *m*, *t*), but to repeat monosyllables by joining them, e.g. *papá—mama—tata*.

My son Pepe, at the age of twenty months, spoke the following words:

1. papa.	9. fo.
2. mama.	10. osa.
3. tete.	11. oncha.
4. tata.	12. pá.
5. eche.	13. má.
6. omo.	14. apa.
7. oche.	15. uchacha.
8. fá.	16. aba.

On these sixteen words, which formed, with the exception of a slight omission, the vocabulary of my son Pepe, at the age of twenty months, I have only the following observations to make: by *fo* he meant to say *flor*; by *tata*, *bota*; *uchacha*, *muchacha*; *aba*, *agua*; *pa*, *pan*; *Ocha*, *Oncha*, *Concha* (the name of the maid), and by *tete*, *tio Pepe*. *C*, as one sees, and other consonants, he did not pronounce at all; *f* was, of those quoted, the last he pronounced, and he had as his teacher of that a fine black cat, that scratched him several times, at the same time uttering *ffff*, a sound which he pretended to imitate.

My son Joaquin's vocabulary, at the age of nineteen

months, was as follows, which I give with the usual meanings of the words:

1. Papá.		16. cocos.	mocos.
2. Mamá.		17. cocon.	Encarnacion.
3. Papa.		18. cancón.	
4. Nene.		19. cocó.	
5. Titín.	Joaquin.	20. cacón.	
6. Tetín		21. ashón.	
7. Caquin.		22. mi.	Zo
8. baar.	bajar.	23. Tete.	Pepe y carrete.
9. caé.	caer.	24. no.	
10. Pepe.	Pepe.	25. aya.	silla.
11. ubí.	subir.	26. erá.	cerrar.
12. riná.	orinar.	27. coca.	toca.
13. ahua.	agua.	28. Quica.	Francisca.
14. aba.		29. ntá.	sentár.
15. abí.	abrir.	30. Tata.	Zapatos.

On this vocabulary, likewise broken, and the former, we wish to make some slight observations:

Both infants at the age of eleven months pronounced *p*, *m* and *t*; the one did not pronounce *f* till he was twenty months old, and the other, till he was twenty-two. The former pronounced *ch* in the word *eche*, *leche*, and *ocha*, *Concha*, forcing himself to repeat the name of the maid from that time, *Concha*; the latter in exchange pronounced *c* sooner than the former, being forced to do so by calling the girl who had the charge of him, whom he named *Cocón*, *Cancón* and *Ashón* (Encarnacion). In the language of the first, *f* predominates, and then *ch*, which is found in the word *Concha*; in that of the latter, *q* or hard *c*, which forms part of the word *Encarnacion*. In the second vocabulary *f* is wanting, and instead of it figure *c*, which was absent from the former; soft *r*; *n*, which was found in the former only in the word *oncha*; *sh*, analogous to the English *sh*, in the words *she*, *short*, etc., and *y* in the place of *ll*, in the word *silla*, which the Andalusians pronounce *siya*.

As to the vowel elements, the second vocabulary is much richer than the first, since in it they can be reduced to:

a-á-ó	*o o*
a a	*o e*
a á	*o a*
e e	*u aa*

while in the second

a-i-o	*aá*	*ei*	*oo*
	aa	*ai*	*ao*
	ee	*ui*	*ea*
	ii	*ia*	*oa*

On the preceding facts, which must certainly appear as very small and prolix to those not interested in such subjects, as poor and scanty to philologists, rests that which we should have called more than a hypothesis—the explication of the word *Titin.*

We believe, in fact we can affirm, in view of the above-mentioned vocabularies, that into all these infantile words both *monosyllabic* and *dissyllabic*, there enters but one single component consonant, isolated as in *pa*, but repeated as in *papa*; children at the period to which we allude say *papa, mama, tata*, but never *pata, tapa, mata.* In saying *Joaquin*, therefore, to imitate the word, my younger child was under the necessity of using some repeated consonant; but which consonant? Clearly one of those which he pronounced when he for the first time formed the word, that is, *p, m*, or *t*, and not *f, n*, or soft *r*, or hard *c*, or *q*, which he pronounced at a later period. *p, m, t*, was the fonetic material at his disposal when he pronounced that word for the first time. With respect to the vowels, it is plain he had to employ the sound which dominated in the word *Joaquin*, that is, *i*, and in employing it, he had to repeat it in the two syllables as was the case in *papa, mama*, and *tata*, which then formed his whole language. Why did he prefer *t* to *m* and *p*? In my opinion for two reasons; first, because that dental articulation is more nearly allied to *j* and *q* than the labials *b* and *m*;

second, because *t* being the letter he had last begun to pronounce, he used it most frequently.

I did not mark definitely the day on which he began to pronounce the word *Titín*, but this much is certain that that word preceded *Tetín* and *Caquín*.

The words *Tetín* and *Caquín* (the latter being much nearer Joaquin than the former) mark two important steps in what may be called almost the phonetic biology of a name.

Tetín supposes a progress over *Titín*, because the children (I mean my own) as they say in the first stage of their language *tata* and *papa* and not *pata* and *tapa*, they say *tata* and *tete* and not *teta* and *tate*. Thus to say *Tetín* is an advance compared to saying *Tete* and *Titín*. *Tetín* was in fact the second name by which my son tried to imitate his own name and *e-ín* certainly appears nearer *oa-ín* than *i-ín*. *E-ín* supposes with respect to *i-ín* a differentiation (*diferenciacion*), an increase, an advance, imperceptible if you wish, still a step towards the end.

Later, my son, in attempting to pronounce 'Encarnacion,' the name of a young woman that was fond of him, pronounced *c*. I remember that during those days he pronounced many little words with *c*; the letter did not fall from his mouth in its common use, he said *coca* instead of *toca*, *cocos*, instead of *mocos*, etc. Then he called himself *Caquín*, a word, which, under the same law as the former, supposes a new and more marked step in advance, in that one of the syllables *quín* coincides exactly with the second syllable imitated, and in *a-ín* being much more analogous to *oa-ín* than *e-ín*.

The words *cocón*, *cacón*, *cancon*, and also *ashón* (Andalusians pronounce *c* as *s* and say *Encarnasion* in the place of *Encarnacion*) and *Quica*, in place of *Francisca*, obey the law which we believe ruled the formation of the words *Caquín*, *Tetín* and *Titín*, words which I am anxious to engrave on the hearts of all good mothers, and to turn into a motive of study for all the philologists of Europe.

VI. — NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY; AND ON WORDS OF BRAZILIAN AND PERUVIAN ORIGIN. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT.

(Paper read by the President at the Annual Meeting, May 15, 1885.)

AT the Annual Meeting on May 15, the President explained that the Council had resolved to depart from the usual practice, which expected the President to give a summary of the chief results obtained by philological research in the course of the past year. It seemed to them that it would be sufficient to give such a summary biennially only. He then proceeded to read the following paper.

Barge. I have already noted that there is evidence of the Egyptian origin of *baris*, a row-boat, in the fact that there is a Coptic word *bari*, meaning a boat. I have since noticed that, in a Dictionary of Old Egyptian by the Rev. H. Tattam, published at Oxford in 1835, we find "*barahe*, plaustrum et navigium, baris"; and "*berehi*, currus." Thus the original sense appears to be 'vehicle,' without reference to the element over which the vehicle travels. N.B. This note really refers to the word *baris*; Dr. Murray thinks that the connection of E. *barge* with *baris* is extremely doubtful.

Bat (2). I have suggested (1) that *bat* is the M.E. *bakke*, and (2) that *bakke* has lost an *l*, and stands for *blakke*. I wish to add that the very word *blak*, a bat, occurs in Robert of Brunne, Handling Synne, l. 11863.

Battlement. I have suggested that this E. word answers to an O.F. *bastillement*, from *bastir*, to build. I now find that Godefroy actually gives an O.F. *batillement*, which he explains by a rampart or redoubt. This comes to the same thing; for *batillement* is merely a variant of *bastillement*, just as *batillier*, according to Godefroy, is a variant of *bastiller*, to fortify with ramparts.

Beef-eater. I am glad to find that Dr. Pegge has long ago shown the *impossibility* of connecting the E. *beef-eater*

with the (imaginary and still undiscovered) F. substantive which was fancied to mean a waiter at a buffet or side-board. He has written an excellent treatise on the duties of the royal body-guard under the Tudor sovereigns, and says expressly that the beef-eaters "never had any connection with the ancient cupboard or the more modern *beaufet*, which was always kept by an officer of superior rank, originally a gentleman usher, an esquire of the body, etc." See Pegge's Curialia, ed. 1791, part 3, p. 31.

Bewray. For this word, I refer to Chaucer, and Mätzner has no earlier example than William of Palerne, where, however, it is spelt *bewrie*. But it occurs still earlier, viz. in Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, l. 3621—"þat y ne wylle telle ne *bewrey*," *i.e.* disclose.

Blue. I have given the etymology of this word incorrectly, taking it as being of Scandinavian origin. The fact is that there are two distinct forms of the word in Middle-English. One of these is *blo*, chiefly in the sense of 'livid,' which I correctly connect with the Icel. *blár*, livid. But this form is obsolete.[1] The other M.E. word, really answering to our Mod. E. *blue*, is *blew*; it occurs in the Cursor Mundi, l. 9920, spelt *bleu* in one MS., and *blew* in the other three. I have not found any earlier instance of it. This form of the word is borrowed from French, as is obvious from the spelling. The Anglo-French form is *blu* or *blew*. I have already noted that the pl. *blus* occurs in the Liber Custumarum, p. 129; to which I have now to add that the sing. *blu* occurs in Royal Wills, ed. J. Nichols, p. 36, under the date 1360; and *blew* in the same, p. 84, under the date 1361; and again, in Testamenta Eboracensia, i. 198, we find "un drape de *blew* saye;" A.D. 1394. Littré shows that the earliest O.F. form is *bloi*, later *bloe*, *blau*, *bleu*. The O.F. word is borrowed from the O.H.G. *blâo*, meaning both blue and livid; cognate with the Icel. *blár* above. Thus the E. word is not (Scand.), but (F.—O.H.G.). The word is obsolete in Italian, except dialectally; but it is interesting to observe, in connection

[1] Except in the prov. E. *blaeberries*, bilberries.

with the vagueness with which words denoting colour are used, that Florio has "*Biauo*, a bright, pale yellow colour;" though it is merely borrowed from the same O.H.G. word. In fact, Schade notes that the O.H.G. *blâo* also has the sense of the Lat. *flauus*, and this enables us to identify our *blue* with the Lat. *flauus*, to which it exactly corresponds according to Grimm's Law. The A.S. forms of the word are very scarce. The form *bléo* rests only, according to the Dictionaries, on the authority of Somner. But Wülcker's edition of Wright's Vocabularies has: *Blauum, color est uestis*, bleo, 196. 19; *Color*, bleo, 542. 37; *Myrteus*, bleoreod, 163. 23; *Myrteus*, bleoread, musfealu, 448. 9; *Color*, bleoh, 163. 3; *Perseus*, blæwen, 163. 29. Here *bleo* really answers to M.E. *blee*, colour, complexion, and the only entry really relating to *blue* is the last. We also have the acc. *blæhwene* in Levit. viii. 7. The *æ* is long. Note the Low Lat. *blauus*, which is really the Latinised form of the Teutonic or Romance word. It brings out very clearly the exact equivalence of our *blue* to the Lat. *flauus*. I observe that the O.F. *bloi* occurs in the original of the Romance of Guy of Warwick; see Zupitza's edition of the Auchinleck MS., p. 6, l. 69.

Breast-summer or **Bressomer**. This architectural term is explained in my Dictionary under the word *Sumpter*, but a cross-reference to *Sumpter* is not given. I have given the explanation (in Webster) that a *breast-summer* is "a *summer* or beam placed *breast-wise* to support a superincumbent wall." I might have added that the word *breast* possibly has its architectural meaning, and refers to a part of a column called the *breast*, or in Latin *torus*. Bailey, ed. 1745, has this term, with the spelling *brest*; and, immediately after it, the word *brest-summer*. This use of the term *breast* is not very clear; the reference may be merely to the position of the beam, passing as it does across the midst of the front of a building; but this is a point which will be best solved by the slips for the New English Dictionary. I cannot agree to the suggestion that the word is from a Belgian *bret-sommer*; in this hybrid word, *bret(t)* is High German, and *sommer* (=*sommier*) is French. Besides, the E. word *breast-summer*

is no novelty; it already occurs in the Glossographia Anglicana (1719), and is probably much older.

Bull. I am rather surprised to find that *bull*, in the sense of jest, appears as early as 1637. In Shirley's play of The Gamester, Act 3, sc. 3, we have the following lines:

> "And swear he is the father of all *bulls*
> Since Adam; if all fail, he has a project
> To print his jests.
> *Wild.* His *bulls*, you mean."

However, Dr. Morris informs me that this use of the word occurs very early, viz. in the Cursor Mundi. I suppose it will appear that this contemptuous use of the word originated in an English estimate of the value of papal edicts.

Catgut. The obvious etymology of this word is surely the correct one, and I do not quite understand why it has often been objected to. The following quotation from Marston's play of What you Will, Act 3, sc. 1, is sufficiently explicit:

> "the musitions
> Hover with nimble sticks ore squeaking crowds,
> Tickling the dryed *guttes* of a mewing *cat*."

Here *crowds* are *fiddles*.

That harp-strings were made from the entrails of various animals, appears from the curious belief as to the terribly discordant effect produced by a string made from the entrails of a *wolf*; see N. & Q. 6 S. xi. 264.

Charter. I regret that I have given a wrong etymology of this word; and curiously enough, the account in Littré seems to be wrong also. The English word answers, of course, to the O.F. *chartre*, found frequently in Anglo-French; see the references in my list of Anglo-French words. Scheler rightly explains *chartre* as modified from the Low Lat. *chartula*, a form of which Ducange gives several examples, s.v. *Charta*. *Chartula* is, of course, a diminutive form. Littré merely explains *chartre* as a variation of *charte*, Lat. *charta*, and supposes that the *r* is due to confusion with F. *chartre*, a prison; but he himself gives an example of O.F. *cartre* in the eleventh century. In fact, it occurs in the

Chanson de Roland, l. 1684, and Gautier notes, in his Glossary, that the O.F. pl. *cartres* = Lat. *chartulas*. Professor Max Müller gives the same account of *charter* in his Chips from a German Workshop, iii. p. 175, and cites, as similar formations, the F. *apôtre* (*apostolum*), *esclandre* (E. *slander*, from *scandalum*), and *chapitre* (E. *chapter*, from *capitulum*).

Chopine, a high-heeled shoe; Hamlet, ii. 2. 447. The etymology of this word is concealed by a misspelling. It should be *chapine*, with *a*, not *o*; perhaps the spelling with *o* was due to a confusion with the common F. word *chopine*, a pint-measure. Mr. Aldis Wright, in his note on the passage, points out that Coryat uses the spelling *chapiney*, and that the Spanish form is *chapin*, explained by Minsheu as 'a high cork shoe.' He also kindly points out to me that Ben Jonson has the plural *cioppini*, as if it were an Italian word. In Cynthia's Revels, ii. 1, Hedon says, "I do wish myself one of my mistress's *cioppini*. Another demands, why would he be one of his mistress's *cioppini*? A third answers, because he would make her higher;" etc. But there is no such Italian word in the Dictionaries, nor any proof that Ben Jonson's spelling is correct. On the other hand, by looking out for the spelling with *a*, we at once find the word in Cotgrave, who has: "*Chappins*, choppins, a kinde of high slippers for low women;" and in Godefroy, who has: "*Chappin*, *Chapin*," with a suggestion that it is another form of O.F. *escarpin*. This suggestion is out of the question, as it suits neither the form nor the sense; for the F. *escarpins* means "pumps, light, or single-soled shooes," as Cotgrave tell us. We must set aside *escarpin*, and the forms *chopine* and *cioppini*; we then have left the O.F. *chapin* or *chappin*, and the Span. *chapin*. The latter is still in use; Neuman gives: "*Chapin*, clog with a cork sole lined with Morocco leather, worn by women to keep their shoes clean;" with various derivatives. It is probable that the word is really Spanish, not Italian; though the remoter origin of it is not apparent. It seems worth while to quote Minsheu's Spanish Dictionary at greater length. He gives us: "*Chapin de muger*, a womans shooes, such as they vse in Spaine,

mules, or high corke shooes;" and again: *Chapino alcorque*, a corke slipper, or pantofle." The use of cork points especially to Spain as the country where this shoe first came into use. In Monlau's Etymological Spanish Dictionary, it is suggested that *chapin* is merely an extension of *chapa*, now chiefly used in the sense of a thin metal plate, but found in the Romance languages with numerous senses. Even in English it appears in four forms, viz. *cape*, *cope*, *cap*, *chape*, and the original sense seems to have been simply 'covering.' We may note that the etymology of *chopin* from Span. *chapin*, and of *chapin* from Span. *chapa*, was suggested by Skinner in 1671; and Blount has the spelling *chapin*.

Cipres, Cypress (2). I suggested, in my last Supplement, that *cypress*, in the sense of 'lawn,' may possibly be merely another form of *crape*, O.F. *crespe*, Lowl. Sc. *kirsp*, of which Jamieson gives two examples besides those which I have quoted from Dunbar, and which he omits. It is useful to note the varying forms which the words *crape* and *cipres* assume in old wills. Thus, in the Testamenta Eboracensia, I find such examples as these: "unum [velum] de *cypres*," a *cipres* veil, i. 240 (A.D. 1398); "flameolam meam de *crispo*," my crape veil, i. 220 (1397); "j. flammeolum de *cryspe*," one crape veil, i. 271 (1400); "flameolum de *krespe*," i. 382 (1415); "ij. flameola de *cipres*," i. 289 (1402). In one and the same will, dated 1401, vol. i. p. 280, we find "iij. peces flameol', videlicet ij. de serico, et j. de *kryspe*," three pieces for veils, viz. two of silk, and one of crape; and in the next line: "Item lego . . . dimidiam peciæ de *cipers*," i.e. I bequeath half a piece of *cipres*.

On the other hand, owing to the great difficulty of so violent a transposition, it may be better to consider *cipres* as really meaning 'lawn of Cyprus.' Already, in the Romance of Alexander (ed. Stevenson), the same spelling *sipris* means (1) Cyprus, (2) cypress-tree; see lines 4600, 5290. The word *cipres*, in the sense of 'lawn,' occurs in Piers Plowman, B. xv. 224, in connection with *tartarine*, a stuff named from Tartary.

Cistvaen. This word should rather, according to Welsh

orthography, be written with *f*, as *cistfaen*. The account in Spurrell's Welsh Dictionary is sufficient. He gives "*cistfaen*, a British monument, consisting of four flat stones placed at right angles, with a fifth on the top." They thus form a stone chest; and the etymology is obvious, viz. from W. *cist*, a chest, Lat. *cista*, and *maen*, a stone (see **Dolmen**). The word *cistvaen* is not in Webster; and Ogilvie, who rightly explains it, gives no etymology beyond the Lat. *cista*.

Dolmen. This is a name given to stones raised upon two others so as to form a sort of table. Sometimes, but not invariably, they have holes formed in them. There is a note upon this word in Max Müller's Chips from a German Workshop, vol. iii. p. 283, where it is explained to mean "a holed stone," and is derived from the Cornish *mén-an-tol*, lit. stone with a hole, where *mén* mean 'stone,' *an* is the definite article, and *tol* means a hole. The importance of verifying such statements appears from the fact that this derivation, even though given by so great a scholar, is certainly wrong. It is improbable, on the face of it, that Englishmen should have had the wit to turn *mén-an-tol* into *dolmen*; it implies a greater familiarity with Cornish than most of us possess. The fact seems to be that the word was borrowed by us from France, and that the form of it is not Cornish, but Breton. It already occurs in Legonidec's Breton Dictionary, in 1821, and I copy his article upon it, as fully accounting for the word. "*Dolmen*, s.f. Autel. C'est le nom que l'on donne communément à ces monumens en forme d'autel ou de table, que l'on rencontre en assez grand nombre en Bretagne, et dont on attribue l'érection aux Druides ou à leurs sectateurs. Ce mot est composé de *dol* pour *taol* ou *tól*, table, et de *méan* ou *men*, pierre." He also duly gives *taol*, a table, with the note that, except in Léon, it is called *tól*. The sense is therefore 'table-stone.' Littré gives a similar explanation, but calls the word Gaelic, whereas I cannot find *tól*, a table, in the Gaelic Dictionary. I suppose that the Breton *taol*, a table, is peculiar to Breton; it is marked by Legonidec as being a word of doubtful

origin, and it would not surprise me to learn that it is merely an adaptation of the Lat. *tabula*. On the other hand, the Breton *taol*, in the sense of 'hole,' is a genuine Celtic word, and occurs as *toll* in O. Irish.

As to the latter part of the word, it is well known to be Celtic; the Breton is *méan*, Corn. and Welsh *maen*, a stone; familiar to travellers in Wales as being found in Penmaenmawr and the Trifaen. It also explains the word *cistvaen*, a term used by some antiquaries. See above.

Futtocks. I have already given Bailey's suggestion, that *futtocks* = *foot-hooks*. This is confirmed by the naval use of the term *breast-hooks*, for which see Phillips and Bailey.

Gallowglas. A correction of my etymology of this word was contributed by Mr. Mayhew to Notes & Queries, 6 S. x. p. 145. He pointed out the use of the word in Spenser's View of the State of Ireland (Globe Edition), p. 640, where Spenser is quite right in saying that "*Gallogla* signifies an English servitour or yeoman." In fact, the Irish *galloglach*, which I have explained already as meaning "a servant, a heavy-armed soldier," signifies literally, "an English or foreign soldier," being compounded of *gall*, a foreigner, and *óglach*, lit. a youth, also a soldier. The word *óglach* appears in O. Irish as *óclach*, an extension of *óc*, young.

Glanders. The etymology of *charter*, from *L. chartula* (see above), gives us the key to the etymology of *glanders*. Scheler notices this, remarking (s. v. *chartre*) that O.F. *chartre* comes from *chartula* just as O.F. *glandre* comes from *glandula*. Hence *glander*, like *charter*, is merely the diminutive form. The O.F. *glandre* is cited by Wedgwood, who gives the same quotation as that given by Littré, s.v. *glande*. "El col nuees *glandres* out," *i.e.* in her neck she had naked glandular swellings; Life of King Edward the Confessor, l. 2612. The Lat. *glandulae* is used by Celsus, in the sense of swollen glands; see Lewis and Short.

Hurdygurdy. I have not found that this word occurs, in the usual sense, earlier than the middle of the last century. I have explained it as of imitative origin, and have compared

it with the Lowland Scotch *hur*, to snarl, *gurr*, to growl, and have quoted Trevisa as using "*harryng* and *garryng*" in the sense of snarling and growling. I now find that the word is of considerable antiquity, in the very sense suggested, to denote a disagreeable noise. In the Tale of Cockelbie Sow, ll. 180–184, in Laing's Select Remains of Ancient Scottish Poetry, we find:

"Rouch rumple out ran
Weill mo than I tell can,
With sick a din and a dirdy,
A garray and a *hirdy-girdy*."

After making a note of this passage, I found that it is quoted in Jamieson. But he explains it by "confusion" or "disorder," whereas it rather means "a confused noise." It is, however, sometimes used adverbially, to mean "in confusion"; see examples from Sir W. Scott, quoted in Jamieson. This secondary meaning is easily deducible. Curiously enough, from the word *dirdy* or *dirdum*, meaning "a din," and occurring in the same passage, we have *hirdum-dirdum*, rightly explained by Jamieson as "confused noisy mirth"; and this word is also used adverbially, with the same sense as before, viz. "in confusion" or topsy-turvy. We need not resort to Jamieson's derivation of *hirdum-dirdum* from the G. *hier und dar*, here and there; for *dar* is not an E. form; neither need we, with him, derive *hirdy-girdy* from the A.S. *hired*, a household.

The modern *hurdygurdy* is plainly of Lowland-Scotch origin, *i.e.* it was suggested by a Scotchman.

Jereed, Jerreed (a blunted javelin, Arabic). Byron, in his Giaour, has the couplet.

"Swift as the hurl'd on high *jerreed*
Springs to the touch his startled steed."

He explains it in note 17 to the Poem. It occurs in Zenker's Turkish Dictionary as *jerid*, a branched stick, a rod for throwing in a game, p. 355. Also in Palmer's Persian Dictionary, col. 168, as *jarid*, a lance, spear. But the word is Arabic, as marked by Palmer; and, in Richardson's

Arabic Dictionary, p. 505, we find: "*jarid*, a palm-branch stripped of its leaves; a tree despoiled of its branches, leaves, and bark; a lance, spear."

Jew's Harp. It is curious to find, in Todd's Johnson, a passage quoted from Pegge, in which it is gravely argued that the Jews had no such instrument of music, and therefore it has nothing to do with them; whence it must be derived from the F. *jeu*, play, or from *jaw*, *quasi jaws'-harp*. But neither will serve; we should thus only get *jeu-harp* or *jaw-harp*, without the *s*. It is, I think, obvious that it was a term of derision, and meant "such a harp as the Jews played on in the time of David." I find no early example of the word; but *Jew's trump*, of similar formation, and meaning the same thing, occurs in Beaumont & Fletcher's Lover's Progress, according to Johnson, who gives no more exact reference. The passage is easily found; it occurs in the first scene in the play.

Junk (1). I have explained *junk*, a vessel, as being the Portuguese *junco*, a word borrowed from Chinese, and I give the Chinese form. Professor Alexander, of Brazil, verifies this. He says, "The Portuguese *junco* is, like the English vessel, used as the name only of Chinese or East-Indian vessels, and is here [*i.e.* in Brazil] supposed to be an Asiatic word. *Junco*, a rush, Lat. *juncus*, is treated by the Portuguese as quite a separate word."

Kilderkin. The etymology of *kilderkin* from the O.Du. *kindeken* is proved by the fact that the word occurs, spelt with an *n*, even in English. We find it, with an unoriginal final *d*, in the form *kinderkind*, in Peele's play of Edward I., ed. Dyce, 1861, p. 383, col. 1.

Limehound. The etymology of this word is practically given in Wedgwood, but we require to see the history of the word more clearly. The F. *limier*, a limehound, in Cotgrave, does not really help us; it is a mere coincidence, due to the fact that the E. *limehound* and F. *limier* are independent formations from the same source. The E. word is simply short for *liam-hound*, where *liam* is the M.E. word for leash, thong, or line. The very form *liamhound* occurs in Turber-

ville's Booke of Hunting, p. 242 (ed. 1575); and again, at p. 240, Turberville says: "The string wherewith wee leade a Grey hounde is called a Lease, and for a Hounde a *Lyame*." See the full explanation in the excellent Glossary to Croft's edition of Elyot's Governour, s.v. *lyam*. *Lyam* is a mere doublet of the word which appears as *lien*[1] in Mod. E. and in Mod. French. The *m* is due to the older spelling of the latter word. Thus Littré, s.v. *lien*, quotes the O.F. *liem*, which is regularly contracted from the Lat. *ligamen*. Cotgrave, s.v. *Chien*, gives the proverb: "*à meschant chien court lien*, a froward cur must be tied short," lit. must have a short *liam*. I may add that the F. *limier*, a limehound, is exactly represented by the M.E. *lymere*, with the same sense; *lymere* occurs in the Book of St. Alban's, fol. e4, line 3, spelt *lymer* at l. 1. *Limier* stands for *liemier*, as shown in Littré.

Loom. The M. E. *lome* is a general word for a tool or instrument of any sort. It is therefore worth noting that the particular machine now called a *loom* was formerly called a *web-lome*, i.e. a loom for weaving. This word is not noticed either by Bosworth or Stratmann; but there is a good example of it in the York Wills, where a Tapeter, or tapestry-maker, of York, leaves to his daughter Katherine "illud instrumentum, Anglice *weblome*, in quo Johannes maritus suus operatur." See Testamenta Eboracensia, vol. i. p. 191; A.D. 1393. In the Records of the Borough of Nottingham, vol. ii. p. 22, under the date of Aug. 27, 1404, we find mention of a *wollyn weblome* (woollen web-loom) and a *lynyn lome*. So also at p. 70, under the date of Oct. 2, 1410.

Loose. I here note that Prof. Zupitza, in an article which has appeared in Anglia, vol. vii. p. 152, points out the Scandinavian origin of this word. He shows that the Scand. diphthong *au* sometimes appears as *oo* in M.E.; thus Icel. *gaumr*, heed, attention, is *góm* (=*goom*) in the Ormulum. The mod. E. *stoop*, a cup, is rather from the Icel. *staup* than from the A.S. *stéap*. So the mod. E. *loose* is from Icel. *laus*,

[1] As a law term; but it is the same word.

whilst the A.S. *léas* has given us the M.E. suffix *-lees*, mod. E. *-less*.

Menial. This word is, of course, an adjective formed from the O.F. *maisnee*, a household. But I have not found any example of this adjective, in a French form, in the Dictionaries. I therefore note that it occurs, in Anglo-French, in a passage in the York Wills. "Jeo devyse que touz ceaux, qui a moy appendent *meignialx* en ma maison, soient vestuz en bluw a mes costagez," I will that all those who belong to me as menials in my house, be clothed in blue at my cost; Testamenta Eboracensia, vol. i. p. 198 (A.D. 1394).

Occamy. I make a note that this form of the word *alchemy* is not noticed as yet in the New English Dictionary; it will be found in Nares. Miss M. Haig sends me an earlier example, with the spelling *occam*, in Hakluyt's Voyages, ii. 229, l. 3.

Ornithology. This apparently simple word is likely to give a lexicographer a great deal of trouble unless he happens to find the clue to the history of its introduction into English. In my Dictionary, I have stated, quite correctly, that it occurs in Blount's Glossographia, ed. 1674, where it is said to be "the title of a late book." This caught the attention of Professor Newton, whose profound knowledge of the subject enabled him to declare, at once, that the statement in Blount is, at first sight, incredible, because the very earliest book on the subject is that by Francis Willughby, entitled, "Ornithologiæ Libri tres," which was not published till two years *later* than 1674, viz. in 1676; whilst the English version of the same book, by John Ray, entitled, "Ornithology," did not appear till 1678, or two years later still; see Bohn's Lowndes, 1864, p. 2939. The puzzle is increased by observing that the edition of Blount's Glossographia published in 1674 is only the fourth edition; and the same statement is found (as at least I believe) in earlier editions, perhaps even in the first edition of 1656.

The solution of the difficulty is that *ornithology* is used in two senses. As regards the scientific use of the word, Prof. Newton is, as might be expected, perfectly correct. But

that excellent and playful author dear to us by the name of Thomas Fuller had already appropriated the word in a humorous sense. In Bohn's Lowndes, p. 848, col. 2, we find the entry: "ORNITHO-LOGIE, or the Speech of Birds, also the Speech of Flowers: partly morall, partly mysticall. London, 1663, 12mo., with engraved title." Lowndes also notes an earlier edition, in 1655, containing 53 pages, besides title and dedication, two leaves. The work is anonymous, but it is always attributed to Fuller, and may easily be his. Observe that the first edition of this book, in 1655, preceded the first edition of Blount, in 1656, by just one year; which exactly fits the description of Ornithology as being "the title of a late book." I have seen a copy of the first edition of the work in the Cambridge University Library, and it is certainly not a scientific treatise in the ordinary sense.

Rivulet. The Dictionaries give us no good account of the suffixes in this word. The explanation is, that it is disguised by a false spelling. The true form is *rivolet*, but the *o* has been turned to *u* by association with the Lat. *rivulus*. I find this form in the following: "A *rivolet* of good fresh water"; 1699, W. Dampier, A New Voyage, i. 91. In this form, the word is Italian. In Torriano's Dictionary (1688) occurs the entry:—"*Rivolo, Rivoletto*, a rivulet, a rill." Florio omits *rivoletto*, but it was doubtless in use in his time. In English, the word occurs in Drayton's Polyolbion, and perhaps earlier. In Chalmers' edition of Drayton, it is spelt *rivulet*. The F. equivalent is *riverotte*, which occurs in Cotgrave.

Soy. This word is rightly said to be Japanese; and some say it is the name of the bean from which this kind of sauce is made. It is rather the name of the sauce itself. In attempting to verify this, I found the following entry in the Japanese-French Dictionary by M. Léon-Pagés, printed at Paris in 1868. "*Chŏyou*, liqueur qui répond au vinaigre, mais qui est salée, et sert à assaisonner les mets. On l'appelle aussi *soutate*." Richardson refers us, for the English form *soy*, to Dampier's Voyages, but gives no reference. The right reference is to A New Voyage, by W.

Dampier, ed. 1699, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 28. Further information is to be found in an English-Japanese Dictionary by E. M. Satow and I. Masakata, published by Trübner and Co. in 1876. Two of the entries are as follows. "Soy, n. *shôyu.*" "Soy-bean, n. *daidzu.*" Hence it is quite clear that *soy* is properly the sauce itself, made from the bean called *daidzu.* The bean has since received the scientific name of *Dolichos soja,* where the Latinised form *soja* has been transferred from the sauce to the bean itself; thus introducing some confusion. It may be observed that the F. spelling *chŏyou* corresponds, with fair exactitude, to the E. spelling *shôyu.*

Stoup, Stoop, a cup. Not from A.S. *stéap,* as given in my Dictionary, but from Icel. *staup,* as pointed out by Zupitza in his article on *loose*; Anglia, vii. 152. See **Loose** (above).

Tassel (1). I have shown that *tassell* must have been derived from the O.F. *tassel,* Lat. *taxillus,* orig. a small die. The O.F. *tassel* is not found, as far as I am aware, in the sense of die; but the etymology is singularly confirmed by the entry "*Tessera,* tasul," in the Corpus Glossary of the eighth century.

Tattoo. In addition to what I have already said as to this word, I may add the following references. "*Tattowing,* or puncturing the skin," Cook, Voyages, 1777, i. 218; "Punctured, or curiously *tattowed,*" id. i. 308. In a Table of Languages at the end of vol. ii. we find: "Puncturation" is expressed by "*Tátoo*" in the language of Otaheite; and we are directed to sound the *á* as Ital. *a,* and the *oo* as *oo* in *good.* In vol. i. p. 75, we have a story which I suppose illustrates the word. "Mr. Hodges made drawings of most of them [*i.e.* the New Zealanders]: this occasioned them to give him the name of *Toe-toe,* which word, we supposed, signifies marking or painting."

According to a New Zealand Dictionary by W. Williams, 1852, pp. 148, 304, the word *ta* means to tattoo; and is also now used in the sense 'to print.'

Tout. The following passage is, I think, of value in two respects. First, it establishes the fact that *tout* was formerly

pronounced *toot*, thus identifying it with A.S. *tótian*, to project, hence to help out; and secondly, it gives a hint as to when and where the modern use of the word arose. "Sown pease or beans, when they first appear above ground, are said in Derbyshire, to *toot*; and to *tout*, in the Canting Dictionary,[1] signifies *to look up sharp*. Hence, I presume, comes *tooting* at Tunbridge Wells, when the servants at the inns go in the evening *to look out* for the company coming to the Wells, and to get their custom to their masters' houses. [See] Byrom's Poems,[2] p. 5. The word is used by Spenser [Shep. Kal. March, 66] in the sense of *to pry*, or *peep*."—S. Pegge, Anonymiana, ed. 1818, cent. vii. § 64.

Yankee. Considering the known difficulty of this word, I think it ought not to be lost sight of that *Yanky* was in use as a surname more than two centuries since. "Captain Yanky" is mentioned several times by Dampier, who, in his Voyages, ed. 1699, vol. i. pp. 38, 39, tells us that Captain Yanky joined his [Dampier's] party, because he "had no commission, and was afraid the French would take away his Bark." With reference to the verb to *yank*, mentioned in my Dictionary, a correspondent kindly sends me a story of an Oxford scholar, who went angling "out West," with expensive fishing apparatus, including a costly artificial bait; to whom a native thus spake: "I'm amazed, stranger, to see you slinging a dollar bug at the end of a ten-dollar pole, when you might *yank* 'em out with a wum [worm] and a stick."

Notes upon Words of Brazilian Origin.

Jaguar. I have received some excellent notes on this, and some other words, from Professor Alexander, of Rio de Janeiro. He says: "My authorities are Cabral, an amanuensis of the Public Library, who had access to the notes of our late great Guarani scholar Baptista Caetano; Amaro Cavalcanti, the author of a little work, in English, on Tupi-

[1] Published about 1699. [2] Published in 1773.

Guarani; and General Henrique Beaurepaire, who has a practical knowledge of Brazilian." Mr. Amaro Cavalcanti has also very kindly sent me a copy of his Grammar of the Brazilian Language. As to *jaguar*, I need not quote what I have already said in my Dictionary, but I proceed at once to give the information furnished to me, premising that the sound-symbols employed are mostly Portuguese.

The following notes refer to *jaguar*.

Cabral says: The animal that eats people, or perhaps a modification of Guarani *tahar=yahar*, that which seizes: the ounce, the dog. A generic name for all animals of the genus *Felis*. With the addition of a prefix or suffix it may form the name of many carnivorous animals, even those of birds, fishes, and insects. Cavalcanti says: *Jagoar* is the name given by the Indians to animals of the genus *Felis*, and is used also in composition with other qualifying words. Any carnivorous animal. (It should be written *yagoar*, for there is no *j* in Tupi-Guarani.) The radical part of the word is *ya*, a root found in many names of animals; *g* is a mere connecting letter, and *-ar* denotes the agent or possessor. The doubt as to the exact sense of the word is limited to *ya*, which may mean either the seizing of prey, or the eating of flesh.[1]

Beaurepaire says: The Indians of Brazil give the name of *jaguára* to the dog, and of *jaguara-eté* or *jaguáreté* to the *Felis onça* (jaguar). Even now in the province of St. Paul's, a dog that is worthless for the chase is called by the present inhabitants a *jaguara*. The word *jaguar* was taken by the French from the Tupi, the name generally adopted in Portuguese Brazil being *onça pintada* (painted ounce).

I think we may safely conclude that a more correct spelling of the word is *yagoar* or *yahoar*. It seems to be clearly a word of general meaning, not necessarily restricted to the animal known to us by that name; and it means either 'eater' or 'seizer.' In Cavalcanti's Grammar of the Brazi-

[1] This is Cavalcanti's opinion, evidently founded on Caetano's notes. In his Grammar, p. 64, he thinks that *idu-ara*, a dog, means 'one who barks,' and that *idu* is an imitative word.

lian language, printed at Rio Janeiro in 1883, p. 159, I observe that he tells a story in Brazilian, with a translation, one sentence meaning: "the basket became transformed into a panther." For *panther*, he writes *iáuára-eté* in Brazilian, which seems to intimate that the letter *g* in *yagoar* can hardly have the hard sound which we give it in English; and again, at p. 123, he gives *yáuára*, a dog. I may add that *Tupi* and *Guarani* are the most important of the native Brazilian dialects, and are very closely related to each other. By the expression *Tupi-Guarani* I suppose we are to understand that a word so denoted is common to the two dialects.

Ipecacuanha. This is a Portuguese spelling of a Brazilian word. I have quoted in my Supplement the statement that the Brazilian name is said to be *i-pe-caa-guen*, or "smaller-roadside-sickmaking plant." This is not far wrong; for the word is solved by Cavalcanti as follows. He says: *ipecacuanha* should be *ipe-kaa-guéna*, as it is spelt in old books. *Ipe* = *ipeb*, low, creeping; *kaa*, herb, plant; *guéna*, to vomit, *i.e.* a creeping plant that causes vomit. In his Grammar, he remarks that letters are often dropped in composition, which accounts for the shortening of *ipeb* to *ipe*. After making further search in his Grammar, I find, at p. 34, that the prefix *i* may be euphonic, as in *imura* for *mura*, wood, such euphonic prefixes being in common use. The former explanation was that *i* means smaller; but I doubt if this can be right, since Cavalcanti says again, at p. 43, that *ĩ*, meaning 'small' is a suffix, and that diminutives are expressed by suffixes only. At p. 139, he gives *peb*, flat, low; from which I should conclude that *ipeb* is merely the euphonic form of *peb*. At p. 137, he gives "*kaá*, wood, leaves of tree; cf. *ipẽka-kuãnha* or *pekaá-guãna*, medicinal herb; (*pé* = *peb*, flat, low; *kaá*, herb; *guãna*, to vomit)." This clearly shows that the initial *i* is merely euphonic, and can be dropped at pleasure. Hence the word may be regarded as fully solved. The varying spellings of these Guarani words, such as we observe above, where the same person writes *kuãnha*, *guãna*, and *guéna*, to denote the same word, is simply due to the difficulty of writing down the words at all. The spoken

sounds are constantly changing, and considerable alterations have taken place in these dialects since the time when they were first observed.

Tapioca. My explanation of this word, wholly copied from Littré, seems to be fairly correct. Beaurepaire says that in some provinces of Portuguese Brazil the word *tipióca* is still used in its original source. Cavalcanti gives a very satisfactory etymology of the word. He says: *tipióca* or *tipiáca* is from *tipi*, residue, dregs, essence+*óca* or *áca*, to draw or take from by force. Hence *tipióca* means 'a residue-essence extracted by force or pressure.' In his Grammar, at p. 139, he gives, as one of the root-words of the language, the following: "*og*=*ók*, to take by force, to pull, to pluck off; and also, [that] which is squeezed out or sprung forth [extracted] from one [*i.e.* a] thing squeezed."

Tapir. Cabral says:—The largest American pachyderm. This name is also given by the Indians to cattle, but under the form *tapiirã*=tapiro similis (like the tapir). Cavalcanti says:—*Tapir* or *tapira* is a name also given to cattle. At p. 123 of his Grammar, he remarks that *apegáua*, a man, and *kunhã*, a woman, are used to denote gender. Hence *tapýra-apegáua* an ox (lit. man-tapir), and *tapýra-kunhã*, a cow (lit. woman-tapir). This information he repeats at p. 40, slightly varying the spelling to *tapir*, instead of *tapýra*. It is clear that the *i* (Portuguese *i*) is long, and it is probable that the original sense of the word was vague, and perhaps meant no more than 'large quadruped.' Beaurepaire says: Our Indians termed *tapiyra* the tapir or anta [by which he must mean, termed the tapir or anta *tapiyra*]. The Guaranis called it *tapii*, and both in Guarani and Tupi there were other names to designate that animal; the word *tapir* is evidently of Tupi origin.

Toucan. I have quoted Buffon as saying that this word means 'a feather,' which is not satisfactory; also the opinion of Burton, that the bird is named from its cry. Cavalcanti is also of the latter opinion. Beaurepaire says: The Guaranis called the bird *tucã*, and it is supposed that the Tupis had a similar term, for the word *tucano* is generally employed

throughout Brazil. Cabral follows the notes of Caetano,—who was much esteemed as an authority on Tupi-Guarani, and gives a very curious solution. He says: *Toucan* is the French way of writing the Portuguese *tucano*; and adds, with reference to the Guarani *tucã*, this remark: The true etymology is from *tĩ*, nose+*cáng*, bone; *i.e.* a nose of bone.

Now the bill of this bird is so very remarkable that it seems hardly possible that it should have been named for any other reason; so that we may be allowed, perhaps, to hope that this is correct. I observe that Cavalcanti, in his Grammar, p. 143, gives the word for 'nose' as *tim*. Since the Portuguese final *m* is nasal, this is precisely the word which Cabral spells *tĩ*.

Notes upon Words of Peruvian Origin.

Alpaca. The Peruvian Dictionary (see **Condor** below) gives: "*Pacocha*, o [or]*Paco*, Carnerillos de la tierra lanudos, y chicos para carne," *i.e.* small sheep of the country, woolly, and not very fleshy; p. 268, col. 1. The prefix *al-* is the common Span. prefix (of Arabic origin).

Condor. The etymology of this word, from the Peruvian *cuntur*, I have already given. By way of verification, I find that the Cambridge University Library possesses a copy of a very curious book, which is no other than a Peruvian-Spanish Dictionary of an early date, and I suppose we can have no better authority. The title is "Vocabulario de la lengua de Peru," by D. Gonçalez, printed in 1608 at "la Ciudad de los Reyes," the city of the Kings. I am sorry to say I do not exactly know what place is meant, unless it is Cuzco, the ancient capital. At any rate, it was printed in Peru, after a primitive fashion, with peculiar type and ink. At p. 47, col. 2, is the entry, "*Cuntur*, el aue condor," *i.e.* the bird called the condor.

Guanaco (Span.-Peruvian). The term *guanaco* is given in the New English Dictionary, s.v. *alpaca*, in company with

the alpaca. Pineda's Spanish Dictionary gives: "*Guanaco*, a Beast in the *West-Indies*, like a great Sheep, in which the Bezoar Stone is found." The Peruvian Dictionary gives: "*Huanacu*, carnero silvestre," *i.e.* wild sheep; p. 175, col. 2. The rendering of the Peruvian *h* by Spanish *g* recurs in the word *guano*, q.v.

Guano. The Peruvian Dictionary gives: "*Huanu*, estiercol," *i.e.* dung, p. 176, col. 2.

Jerked Beef. It is said that this is a corruption of the Peruvian name. The Peruvian Dictionary gives: "*Ccharqui*, tassajo o cecina o cuerpo seco o el flaquissimo," *i.e.* slice of flesh or hung beef or dried body or that which is very weak, p. 90, col. 1. Also: "*Ccharquini*, hazer tassajo o cecina," *i.e.* to make hung beef. And, as a matter of fact, it is *from this verb* that the word is really derived. This is proved by the fact that the older form of the word in English was not *ierked beef*, but *jerkin beef*; the word *jerkin* being evidently adopted as coming nearer than any other English word to the Peruvian *ccharquini*. It should also be noted that these Peruvian words are given with Spanish spelling, and that *qui* is the Spanish method of indicating *ki*. A very early example of the English form appears in the Works of Capt. John Smith, ed, Arber, p. 63, under the date 1607–9. "Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or broyle it so long on hurdles over the fire; or else, after the Spanish fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, till it be *as drie* as their *ierkin beefe* in the west Indies, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrefying."

Llama. I have copied, in my Dictionary, the statement by Prescott, that "*Llama*, according to Garcilasso de la Vega, is a Peruvian word signifying *flock*." I have tried to verify this by help of the old Peruvian Dictionary mentioned under *Condor* above. At p. 204, col. 1, I find "*Llama*, carnero de la tierra," meaning, as I suppose, "the sheep of the country." Pineda's Spanish-English Dictionary, 1740, says that the Spanish sometimes called the *Llama* by the name *Carnero de las Indias*, i.e., sheep of the Indies; and he gives a long

account of the animal, copied from Acosta, who wrote a Natural History of the West Indies.

I also find: "*Llamamichic*, pastor," *i.e.* shepherd. There are two other entries which refer to the word, and seem to convey the idea that *Llama* could be used, in a general sense, for quadruped or animal. I copy them as I find them.

Llamacuna, o [*i.e.* or] *manayuyakcuna*, todos los animales," *i.e.* all animals. And, just below, "*ñauraycunallama*, o *ricchakcunallama*, toda bestia, o animal terrestre," *i.e.* every beast, or land animal. I conclude that there is no good reason for supposing that *llama* meant 'a flock.' It was simply the Peruvian name of the animal still so called, and probably meant originally no more than 'beast' or 'quadruped.' *Llamacuna* is merely the plural of *llama*; see **Vicuna** (below).

Oca. Miss Margaret Haig kindly informs me that *oca* is supposed to be a Peruvian word, and that it designates the *Oxalis crenata*, or notched wood-sorrel, "a tuberous-rooted esculent cultivated in Peru . . . introduced into England from Lima in 1829, and [which] was rapidly spread over the continent"; see E. S. Delamer, 1861, The Kitchen Garden, p. 49. Now the Peruvian Dictionary has the following entry:—"*Occa*, cierta rayz llamada assi de comer," *i.e.* a certain edible root so called, p. 262. This is evidently the same word, and proves that the supposed Peruvian origin is correct.

Pampas. The Peruvian Dictionary gives "*Pampa*, plaça, suelo llano o llanada, pasto, çauana, o campo," *i.e.* place, flat ground or plain, pasture, savannah, or field; p. 273, col. 1.

Puma. The Peruvian Dictionary gives: "*Puma*, leon," *i.e.* lion; "*puma puma*, o [or] *ñauraycuna puma*, todas las heras;" *i.e.* all wild animals; p. 293, col. 1.

Quinine. This is not in the above Dictionary. The *qui* is the Span. *qui*, sounded like *ki*. (See my Etym. Dict.)

Vicuna. This seems to be another name for the *alpaca*. I do not find this word in the Peruvian Dictionary, and suspect it to be a corruption. But it is worth noting that the Peru-

vian Grammar (in the same volume) tells us that *-cuna* is the common plural suffix of substantives; and the Peruvian origin of the word cannot be doubted.

NOTE.—One of the best authorities on West-Indian words is Acosta's Natural History of the Indies, written in Spanish in 1590, and translated into French in 1600, and into English in 1604. He gives *paco* and *guanaco* in bk. iii. c. 20; *condor*, *guano*, iv. 37; *llama*, the general name for sheep, iv. 31; *cuschargui*, dried flesh, iv. 41; *oca*, iv. 18; *vicuña*, iv. 40. See also Pineda's Spanish-English Dictionary (1740).

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VII.—CELTIC DECLENSION.

By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., Hon. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and Correspondent of the Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions).

THE objects of this paper are, first, to give a complete set of the declensional paradigms of Old-Irish—the Gothic, as Schleicher called it, of the Celtic languages—and to put under their respective declensions several Old-Irish nouns and adjectives which have hitherto been ignored or misplaced; secondly, to state the relics of the Celtic declensional system to be found in the British languages; thirdly, to set out the oldest monuments of Celtic speech; and, lastly, with the aid of these monuments and of the laws of Irish desinence,[1] to restore the principal protoceltic declensions.

OLD-IRISH DECLENSION.

The process of discovering the true system of the Irish declensions has taken a long time. For the native grammarians, being unacquainted with the methods of comparative philology, and having no access to Old-Irish codices, went hopelessly astray;[2] and (with the exceptions of Bopp and

[1] Most of these have been established by Windisch, in his paper *Die irischen Auslautsgesetze*, in Paul und Braune's Beiträge zur Gesch. d. deutsch. Spr. iv. 204–270. Translated in *The Scottish Celtic Review*, Glasgow, 1881, pp. 28-40, 81-106.

[2] For instance, the best of them, O'Donovan (*A Grammar of the Irish Language*, 1845), has, like the old Latin grammars, but five declensions. Of the first his paradigms are *bárd* 'poet,' a masc. *o*-stem, *srothán* 'streamlet,' a masc. *o*-stem, and *fúsach* 'wilderness,' a masc. (in Old-Irish neut.) *o*-stem, which passes in the plural over to the *s*-declension. Of the second his paradigms are *cailleach* 'hag,' a fem. *ā*-stem, *fearnóg* 'aldertree,' a fem. *ā*-stem, and *cēim* 'degree' a stem in *mén*, and he places under this declension the *i*-stems *obair* 'work,' *cūis* 'cause,' *eurnail* 'a kind,' *gnūis* 'the countenance,' the fem. *u*-stem *deoch* 'a drink,' the fem. *ī*-stem *inis* 'island,' and the *d*-stem *coill* 'a wood,' Of the third his paradigms are *treas* 'battle,' a masc. *u*-stem, *aoibhneas* 'delight,' a masc. *u*-stem, and *mallacht* 'curse,' a fem. *n*-stem, and he places under it *i*-stems such as *seanoir* 'old man,' *gabhdil* 'taking,' *leanamhain* 'following,' *e*-stems like *lāir* 'mare,' and *Ainmire*, masc. *n*-stems like *breitheamh* 'judge,' stems in *men* such as *greim* 'morsel,' *naidhm* 'lien,' and stems in *tar* such as *athair* 'father,' *brāthair* 'brother.' Of the fourth his paradigms are *easbha* 'defect,' phonetic spelling for *easbhaidh* (Old-Irish *esbaid*), a fem. *i*-stem, and he places under it masc. *io*-stems such as *iasgaire* 'fisherman,' *d*-stems like *draoi* 'druid,' and *t*-stems like *teine* 'fire.' Of the fifth his paradigm is *lānamha* 'a married couple,' a corruption of the Old-Irish fem. *i*-stem *lānamain*, and he places under it stems in *n* like *uchs* 'beard,' the *t*-stem *teanga* 'tongue,' the *d*-stem *file* 'poet,' the

Pictet) foreign writers on the neoceltic languages were content to follow their guidance. It is now forty-seven

g-stem *rí* 'king,' and, lastly, participial stems in *nt* like *cara* 'friend.' He then gives as "irregular substantives," *día* 'god,' a quite regular masc. *o*-stem = Lat. *dieus*, *lá* 'day,' an *o*-stem, *cno* 'nut' (O. Ir. *cnú*), a fem. *ā*-stem, *o* (leg. *ō*) or *ua* 'grandson' (O. Ir. *haue*), a masc. *io*-stem, *ga* 'javelin' (O. Ir. *gái*, Gaul. *gaison*), a masc. *o*-stem, *mí* 'month,' a stem in *ns*, *caora* 'sheep,' a *c*-stem, *brú* 'womb,' a stem in *nd*, *bean* 'woman,' a fem. *a*-stem, *ceo* 'fog,' a *e*-stem, *crē* 'clay,' a *d*-stem, and *cro* 'hut,' an *o*-stem. He classes adjectives under four declensions. Of the first his paradigm is *mōr* 'great,' an *o*-stem, of the second *mīn* 'smooth,' an *i*-stem, of the third *geanamhail* 'lovely,' also an *i*-stem, and of the fourth *dona* 'miserable,' an *io*-stem. Leo (*Feriensehriften*, Halle, 1852) follows O'Donovan.

C. H. H. Wright (*A Grammar of the Modern Irish Language*, 2nd edition, 1860) and Bourke (*The College Irish Grammar*, 5th ed. 1868) also follow O'Donovan. Wright's paradigm of the first declension is *ball* (limb), a masc. *o*-stem; of the second, *cos* (foot), a fem. *ā*-stem; of the third, *fígheadóir* (weaver), an *i*-stem; of the fourth, *fāinne* (ring, O. Ir. *āinne*), a fem. *iā*-stem; of the fifth, *comharsa* (neighbour), a stem in *n*. He puts the stems in *tar* and in *e* under his third declension.

O'Molloy (*Grammatica Latino-hibernica*, Romae, 1677) gives only one paradigm, namely *cos*, a fem. *ā*-stem. Edward Lhuyd (*Archæologia Britannica*, Oxford, 1707, pp. 302, 303) copies this paradigm from O'Molloy: says that "there are no inexceptionable directions for the Declension of Nouns, besides the Authority of approv'd Writers; and that the Dative and Ablative Plural must end constantly in *ibh*;" and observes that "there are several Nouns that have no Variation of Case, especially in the Singular, as *Duine* 'A man,' *uisge* 'water,' and such like; and others which in the singular number vary only in the Genitive: as *fear* 'A Man or Husband,' Gen. *an fhir*, etc." MacCurtin (*The Elements of the Irish Language*, London, 1728) has five declensions, the first *io*- and *ia*-stems; the second stems in *nn* (*derna*), *t*, *d* and *nt*; the third stems in *o* (including nouns ending in *ach*), *u*, and *s*; the fourth stems in *a* (*inghen*), the fifth stems in *i* and *o* (*dair*). Vallancey (*A Grammar of the Iberno-celtic or Irish Language*, Dublin, 1773) follows MacCurtin. His paradigm of the first declension is *bogha*, a stem in *io*; his paradigms of the second are *dearna*, *fala*, and the *t*-stem *slighe*; of his third the paradigms are *foghmhar*, *soighneann*, *dealoghadh*, *manach*, *éanach*, *sruth*, *rann*, and the *s*-stem *teach*; of his fourth the paradigms are the fem. *a*-stems *inghean*, *cos*, *aindear* and *tulach*; of his fifth the paradigms are five *i*-stems (*foghluidh*, *foghail*, *muir*, *luibh*, *inis*), two *e*-stems (*Teamhair* and *dair*), and *cailín*, which is, I think, an *o*-stem. The Rev. Wm. Neilson (*An Introduction to the Irish Language*. Dublin, 1808, which O'Donovan says was the joint production of Dr. Neilson and Patrick Lynch, a native of the Co. Down) has four declensions, the first *o*-stems, the second *a*-stems, the third *i*-stems, and *r*-stems; the fourth stems in *io*, *g*, *d*, and *s*. Owen Connellan (*A Practical Grammar of the Irish Language*, Dublin, 1844) has six declensions, the first *o*-stems, the second fem. *ā*-stems, an *n*-stem (*im*), and an *u*-stem (*beannughadh*); the third *i*-stems; the fourth *io*-stems, *t*-stems (*teine*), and *g*-stems; the fifth *n*-stems; the sixth *c*-stems. John H. Molloy (*Forus Teangan na Gaéilge*, *A Grammar of the Irish Language*, Dublin, 1878) has six declensions, the first *o*-stems, the second *a*-stems, the third *i*-stems, under which he puts the *men*-stem *druim*, the fourth *io*-stems, the fifth *n*-stems, the sixth *c*-stems. He closely follows Connellan. The most wonderful of all is the Rev. Paul O'Brien (*A Practical Grammar of the Irish Language*, Dublin, 1809), who begins by stating that "the ancient Irish never inflected their nouns by *terminations*, but by initials," and, accordingly, has only three declensions: the first comprising "all nouns whose genitives begin with vowels"; the second, "all nouns whose primitive [he means 'initial'] consonants in the genitive singular retain their natural sounds"; the third, "all nouns whose initial consonants require aspiration in the genitive singular." Our wretched lexicographer O'Reilly, in the Grammar prefixed to his *Irish-English Dictionary*, Dublin,

years since Bopp[1] found out that the aspirations and eclipses of the modern Irish declension are due to the after-action of the old case-endings of the article. Bopp and Pictet[2] also recognized the consonantal *n*-stems and the nouns of relationship in *tar*. Then Zeuss, in the first edition of the *Grammatica Celtica* (1852), gave (in his

1821, follows Paul O'Brien in principle and says (p. 4): "I think that our initial variations should determine the number of our declensions, and I shall call that class of nouns, beginning with vowels that take no variation in the initials of the cases of the singular number, but are aspirated in the genitive, the first declension. The nouns beginning with vowels, that require *t* prefixed to the nominative and accusative cases singular, and allow no initial change in the gen. singular, I shall call the second declension. All nouns beginning with mutable consonants, that suffer aspiration in the nominative and accusative singular, and preserve their simple powers in the genitive singular, I call the third declension; and all nouns whose initials are aspirable consonants, but do not suffer aspiration in the nominative or accusative singular, and are aspirated in the genitive singular, are of the fourth declension." His paradigms are, of his first declension *an oigh*, 'the virgin,' a fem. *a*-stem, rectius *ōgh*; of his second, *an t-iasg* 'the fish,' a masc. *o*-stem; of his third *colam* 'dove,' *sigh* [leg. *sīdh*] 'sprite,' *slat* 'rod'; of the fourth, *sop* 'wisp,' an *o*-stem, and *sruth* [leg. *sruith*] 'a learned [leg. *old*] man,' an *i*-stem. The *u*-stems and consonantal stems are left out in the cold or placed among the "heteroclites," of which he gives a list of fifty-one, almost all of which are quite regular.

The Highlander Stewart (*Elements of Gaelic Grammar*, second edition, Edinburgh, 1812) is equally astray. He distributes all his nouns into two declensions, the first comprehending those in which the last vowel of the nominative is a 'broad vowel' (i.e. *a*, *o*, or *u*); the second, those in which the last vowel of the nominative is a 'small' vowel (i.e. *e* or *i*). His paradigms of the first declension are, accordingly, *bard* (a masc. *o*-stem) and *cluas* (a fem. *a*-stem). His paradigms of the second declension are *cealgair* (a corruption of the masc. *io*-stem *celgaire*) and *clais* (a fem. *i*-stem).

The Manxman, Kelly (*A Practical Grammar of the Antient Gaelic, or Language of the Isle of Man, usually called Manks*, Douglas, 1859), makes five declensions. Of the first his paradigms are *sooil* (eye), Ir. *sūil*, a fem. *i*-stem, *cass* (foot), Ir. *cos*, a fem. *a*-stem, *thie* (house), Ir. *teg*, an *i*-stem, *baase* (death), Ir. *bās*, a neut. *o*-stem, *bannish* (wedding), Ir. *banais*, a fem. *i*-stem. Of the second his paradigms are *eaggey* (war), Ir. *cocad*, *gloyr* (glory), Ir. *glóir*, and *cruinney* (globe) Ir. *cruinne*, all *c*+*n*-stems in Manx, making their pl. in *-aghyn*. Of his third declension the paradigms are *sourey* (summer), Ir. *samrad*, a masc. *o*-stem, *moir* (mother), Ir. *māthair*, a *tar*-stem, *feill* (flesh), Ir. *feoil*, an *i*-stem, and *cloan* (children), Ir. *cland*, a fem. *a*-stem. Of the fourth declension his paradigms are *cagliagh* m. (boundary), which seems to be the Ir. *cocrīch*, a fem. *a*-stem; *raantagh* (a bail), of which I know not any cognate, *cleive* (sword), Ir. *claideb*, *annym* (soul), Ir. *anim*, an *n*-stem, *keeill* (church), Ir. *cell*, a fem. *a*-stem, *bleïn* (year), Ir. *bliadain*, an *i*-stem. His fifth declension is exemplified by *doarn* (fist), Ir. *dorn*, *crom* (mast), Ir. *crann*, *kione* (head), Ir. *cenn*, *mac* (son), *fer* (man), *bolg* (belly), *kellagh* (cock), Ir. *cailech*, *modde* (dog), Ir. *matad*, all *o*-stems, *booa* (cow), Ir. *bō*, a diphthongal stem, *guiy* (goose), Ir. *gēd*, a fem. *a*-stem, and *keyrrey* (sheep), Ir. *caera*, a *c*-stem. Leo, in the Grammar which he made out of the Manx New Testament (*Ferienschriften*, Halle, 1847), gives no paradigms—only lists of substantives making their nom. pl. in what he supposes to be the same way, and a list of 17 nouns of which the genitives sg. occur in the N.T.

[1] Ueber die Keltischen Sprachen vom Gesichtspunkte der vergleichenden Sprachforschung, Berlin, 1838.

[2] De l'affinité des langues celtiques avec le sanscrit, Paris, 1837.

Ordo Prior) paradigms of the masc. and neut. stems in *io*, *i*, *u*, the feminine stems in *iā* and *ā*, and also (in his Ordo Posterior) paradigms of stems in *n*, *r*, *c* and *d*. But he did so, apparently, without seeing the identity of these stems with the similar stems in the other Indo-European tongues. The credit of expressly recognizing this identity, and of seeing that Zeuss' Ordo Prior was the vocalic, his Ordo Posterior the consonantal, declension, is due to Ebel, who in his paper, *Celtische Studien* 4. *Die Declination*,[1] showed that Zeuss' first series comprised *io*-stems, his second *o*-stems, his third stems in *i* and in *u*, his fourth feminine *iā*-stems, his fifth feminine stems in *ā* and *i*. He also showed that Zeuss' second series comprised *n*-stems, *r*-stems and *d*-stems, and he saw, by comparison with Welsh, that *fili* (poet) and *traig* (foot) were stems in *t*. He also saw that the so-called datives pl. in *-aib* were really instrumentals representing the Skr. *-abhis*. Siegfried then suggested that the non-aspirating gen. sg. of Irish fem. *ā*-stems represented a Gaulish *-ēs*, which caused the "legionis secund*es* Italic*es*" of a Latin inscription at Vaison; explained the *-ea* of the gen. sg. of *u*-stems as = *-εος* in (*e.g.*) *ἡδέος* (an Indo-European *-evos*), and the *-a* of pronominal genitives as=Lat. *-ius*; and found in the dat. sg. of the neut. *men*-declension a trace of the instrumental in *-bi*.[2] To these discoveries I was able in 1858 to add those of *c*-stems, a solitary *g*-stem, participial stems in *nt*, nominal stems in *ns*, and adjectival stems in *i*. I also quoted instances of the locative and ablative singular, explained the *t* of the article, and pointed out the light derivable from the comparison of Gaulish and Ogmic inscriptions.[3] And in my *Irish Glosses*, 1860, I gave paradigms of vocalic stems in *o*, *io*, *i*, *u*, *ā*, *iā*, and of consonantal stems in *c*, *g*, *d*, *n*, *men*, *nt*, and *r*. Schleicher, then, in his *Compendium der vergl. Gram-*

[1] Printed in 1858, in Kuhn und Schleicher's *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*.

[2] Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge, i. p. 452, where he compares the Greek *κλισίη-φι*, *κοτυληδόνο-φιν*.

[3] See Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge, i. 334, 340, 449, 451, 452, 454, 457, 458, 461, 464.

matik, confronted with the corresponding stems in the other Indo-European languages, the Irish consonantal stems in *g*, *n*, *nt*, and *-tar* and vocalic stems in *u*, *i*, *o*, *ā*, *io*, and *iā*. Some years afterwards, Ebel discovered that seven Irish neuters belonged to the *es*-declension.[1] And in 1871 he published, in the second edition of the Grammatica Celtica, paradigms of the following stems, omitting, however, the locative and ablative :

Ordo Prior.—Series I. *a*. masc. o-stems, *b*. masc. io-stems. Ser. II. masc. i-stems. Ser. III. masc. u-stems. Ser. IV. *a*. fem. ā-stems, *b*. fem. iā-stems. Ser. V. fem. i-stems.

Ordo Posterior.—Ser. I. masc. d-stems and masc. nt-stems. Ser. II. c-stems. Ser. III. tar-stems. Ser. IV. ion-stems and iōn-stems. Ser. V. neut. men-stems. Ser. VI. s-stems. The diphthongal themes would, he says, constitute a seventh series, but of these there is only one sure example, namely, *bó*=*βοῦς*, *bōs*, from *bons*, in some of the oblique cases.

Since 1871, so far as I know, the only advances made in the knowledge of the Irish declension have been Windisch's discovery of the instrumental singular in *o*- and *ā*-stems ; Zimmer's explanation of the plural ending *-a* of the pret. passive as the nom. pl. in *-āses* of a participle ; Mahlow's explanations of the voc. pl. of masc. *o*-stems, the gen. sg. of neut. *men*-stems, and the oblique cases of *ben* (woman) ; my own observation on those neuters ending in *-ach*, *-ech*, which decline in the singular like *o*-stems, in the plural like *s*-stems ; Thurneysen's discovery of fem. *i*-stems ; and such new results set forth in the present paper as may stand the scrutiny of competent philologists.

It will have been observed that Ebel gave no paradigms of neuter stems in *o*, *io*, *i* and *u* ; that he omits altogether to notice the fem. *i*-stems and the neuters ending in *-ach* ; that his arrangement of the consonantal stems is faulty ; that he gives no paradigms of *g*-stems, *nc*-stems, *t*-stems, or *nd*-stems. Furthermore, though he has (pp. 222, 253) a scheme of the protoceltic case-endings of the consonantal stems and the masc. *o*-stems, he has no such scheme

[1] *ibid.* vi. 222.

for the other stems ending in vowels. Lastly, in one instance (*bith* voc. sg.) his paradigm is incorrect: in his lists, four examples, namely, *Corpimaqvas*, *formet*, *strid*, *arcon*, are non-existent: some nouns and adjectives, e.g. *imm* (butter), *dasian* (asperitate, δασεῖα), *menman* (mentis, p. 267), *sétche* (uxoris), *crann* (tree), *meith* (fat), *Brusccos*, are placed in series, or under cases or genders, to which they do not properly belong; and his paradigms of the flexion of the numerals 2, 3, and 4 are insufficient.

Windisch (Irische Grammatik, 1879) gives a far completer set of paradigms. But his arrangement of the consonantal stems resembles Ebel's; he omits the vocative of *u*-stems; he ignores fem. stems in *u* and *ī*, neuters ending in *-ach*, pl. *-aige*, and adjectives ending in *-amail*; he misplaces the *o*-stem *Ulaid*[1] 'Ulstermen' with the stems in *d*. Lastly, in his paradigms of the neuter stems in *i*, *u*, *men* and *es*, he inserts in the nom. and acc. singular the transported *n*, which, when it does occur, is merely syntactical and due to the false analogy of the neuter stems in *o* and *io*.

In the paradigms I have prefixed the article so as to exhibit the initial mutations in the case of words beginning with vowels and the consonants *c*, *t*, *g*, *d*, *b*, *f*, and *s*. I have also used a turned comma (') to denote the vocalic infection, or (as Irish grammarians say) 'aspiration' of following consonants. And throughout this paper I shall use a horizontal stroke to denote a long vowel, and keep the acute accent to mark a tonic vowel.

A. Vocalic Declension.

1. Masculine stems in O.

Example: *ball* 'member' = φαλλός.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	in ball	in dā' ball	in' baill
Gen.	in' baill	in dā' ball	inna mball-n
Dat.	don' baull, bull	dondib mballaib	donaib ballaib
Acc.	in mball-n	in dā' ball	inna baullu
Voc.	a' baill		a' baullu

[1] The meaning appears to be *barbati*, cf. Skr. *pula* 'horripilation.' In Gaulish we seem to have it in the tribe name *Tri-ulatti*, Plin. iii. 20. 24, where *tri* is an intensive prefix and *ulatti* a mistake for *ulati* (*ulātī*?).

The loc. sg. would be *baiil*, but this case occurs too rarely to justify its insertion in the paradigm. The only sure instance is *cinn* (nom. sg. *cenn* 'head'), which occurs in the gloss *cinn* (gl. capite) Tur. 54, and in the phrases *cind nói mis* (at the end of nine months), *cind bliadna* (at the end of a year), *cinn rehe* (at the end of the space), Wb. 4c 11. The adv. *etir*, *itir* (omnino), protoceltic *enteroi*, may be added. The peritonic voc. sg. is due to the old ending *-e*=Lat. *ĕ*, Gr. *-ε*. The gen. dual points to a protoceltic *-ō*, which agrees with Zend *-ō*, Old Slav. *-u*, Lith. *-ū*. Ebel's theory, that this case has been replaced by the gen. pl., will not hold, for the transported *n* is never found after the gen. dual. The datives dual and plural are originally instrumentals, the protoceltic terminations being respectively = *-abin*, *-abis*. In the nom. plural, the Irish agrees with Greek and Latin in using the pronominal *-i*. A trace of the old ending *-āses* (Vedic *āsās*, Goth. *ōs*, from *āses*) is found in the *-a* of the pret. passive, which, as Ebel saw, was originally a participle. The vocative *-û* comes from *ōs*, and is only accidentally like the accusative *-u* from *ōss*, *ons*.

Like *ball* are declined *arg* (hero)=ἀρχός; *bard* (poet); *bond* (sole)=Lat. *fundus*; *bran* (raven)=Slav. *vranŭ*, Lith. *varna-s*; *brott* (goad); *carn* (heap of stones); *clō* (nail)=Lat. *clavus*; *coll* (hazel)=O.H.G. *hasl* m.; *fer* (man)=Lat. *vir* (Skr. *vīra*); *colomb* (dove)=Lat. *columbus*; *cūl* (back)=Lat. *cūlus*, *dia* (god)=Lat. *dīvus* (Skr. *deva*), gen. *dée*; *ech* (horse)=Lat. *equus* (Skr. *açva*); *eo* (yew-tree)=A.S. *īw*, O.N. *ŷr*; *fēn* (wagon)=O.N. *vagn*; *fescor* (evening)=Gr. *Fέσπερος*; *frass* (shower)=Skr. *varsha*; *giall* (hostage)=O.N. *gisl*; *glonn* (calf), gen. *gluinn*; *gort* (field)=Lat. *hortus*, Gr. χόρτος; *iasc* (fish), Goth. *fisks*; *less*=plexus; *losc*=λοξός; *nett* (nest)=Lat. *nīdus*; *orc* (pig)=Lat. *porcus*; *suan* (sleep)=ὕπνος; *tarb* (bull)=Lat. *taurus*, Gr. ταῦρος from ταρFος; *tromm* (elder-tree), gen. *truimm*; *uan* (lamb)=Lat. *agnus*; and the loan-words *aingel* (angelus); *apstal* (apostolus); *articol* (articulus); *borgg*, *borc* (burgus); *carmocol*[1] (carbunculus); *catt* (cattus); *cercol*

[1] From **carmnocol*=a Low-Latin **carbnuculus*.

(circulus); *clérech* (clericus); *epscop* (episcopus); *felsub* (philosophus); *fích* (vicus); *láech* (hero)=laicus; *lebor* (liber), *loc* (locus), *manach* (monachus), *mod* (modus), *múl* (mulus), *pardos* (paradisus), *popul* (populus), *salm* (psalmus), *senod* (synodus), *son* (sonus), *sorn* (furnus), *súg* (sucus), *trop* (tropus), *ymmun* (hymnus).

It will be seen that all these agree not only in meaning, but in gender and declension, with their respective reflexes in Latin, Sanskrit and Gothic. The originals of some loan-words belonging to this declension are in classical latinity feminine, as *senod* (synodus), or neuter, as *corp* (corpus), *fial* (velum), *ídol* (idolum), *ifurnn* (infernum), *tempul* (templum). But it is possible that in the Low-Latin, whence the Irish got them, they were masculine.

To the *o*-declension belong the following names from the Book of Armagh: *Dubthach*, gen. *Dubthaich*; *Erc*, gen. *Eirc*; *Slan*, gen. *Slain*; *Fiacc*, gen. *Feecc*, better *Féicc*; *Níall*, gen. *Néill*; *Ulaid* (Ulidians), acc. pl. *Ultu*, 8^{b}, 1; *Amolngad*, gen. *-gid*; *Dallbrónach*, gen. *-bronig*; *Cairten*, gen. *Cairtin*; *Locharnach*, *Lugar* (gen. *-air*); *Eogan*, gen. *Eogin*; *Cuilenn* (gen. *-inn*); *Gabrán*, *Colomb*, gen. *Coluimb*; *Dall*, gen. *Daill*; *Feradach*, *Cronán*, *Sarán*, *Fáilán*, *Failgnad*, *Sechnassach*. *Laigen*, acc. pl. *Laigniu*; *Boidmal*, gen. *Boidmail*; *Cetgen* (=Cintugenos); *Crimthann*, dat. *Crimthunn*.

2. Neuter stems in O.

Example: *dliged* 'law,' W. *dylyed*, *dyled*, protoceltic *dligeto-n*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	a ndliged-n	in dá ndliged	inna *dliged, dligeda
Gen.	in dligid	in dá dliged	inna ndliged-n
Dat.	don dligud	dondib ndligedaib	donaib dligedaib
Acc.	a ndliged-n	in dá ndliged	inna *dliged, dligetha
Voc.	a dliged-n		*a dliged, a dligetha

So are declined *arm* (weapon), *biad* (food, *βίοτος*), *cenél* (nation, W. *cenetl*), *cét*=Lat. *centum*, *crann* (tree)=W. *prenn*, protoceltic *qerno-n*, cognate with Lat. *quernus*; *grán*=Lat. *grānum*; *leth* (half); *míl* (beast)=Gr. *μῆλον*; *síl* (seed); *trían* (a third), perhaps also *iarn* (iron). So also the loan-words

grād (gradus), *caissel* (castellum), *ōr* (aurum), *sraigell* (flagellum), *ifern* (infernum).

Instrumentals sg. are, perhaps, *triun* in the phrase *mo triun arailiu* (greater than another third), Brocc. h. l. 80; *dessiul* (righthandwise) in phrases like *dothoet dessiul*; and *cenēul* in the adv. *in dechenēul* (gl. bigenere).

The original ending (*-ā*) of the plural nom., acc. and voc., would, according to the laws of desinence, be lost; and accordingly we find *sé tarmorcenn* (six terminations), *arm aili* (other arms), *membur* (membra), *trī-chēt* (three hundreds), G. C.^{2} 226=Ved. *trī çatā* (Windisch), to which may be added *inna comtherchomrac* (gl. conuenticula) Ml. 81, *fess* (scita), *inna gran* (Lat. *grana*) Sg. 184^b. Forms in *-a* are due to the analogy of the feminine *ā*-stems, and (e.g.) *cenēla* (nationes) may be compared with Ital. *le arme*, Lat. *illa arma* (Ebel).

Whether Irish ever possessed fem. stems in *o*, like the Lat. *fagus*, Gr. φηγός, is doubtful. *Fróech* (heather, cognate with ἐρείκη) makes its nom. pl. *inna dærcae fróich* (gl. uaccinia calta), Sg. 49^a 10. *Étar*, the name of Gand's wife, seems to make *Étair* in the gen. sg., LL. 194^b.

3. Masculine stems in IO.

Example: *cēle* 'companion,' W. *cilydd*, protoceltic *cēlió-s*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	in cēle	in da chēle	in chēli
Gen.	in chēli	in dā chēle	inna cēle-n
Dat.	don chēliu(-i)	dondib cēlib	donaib cēlib
Acc.	in cēle-n	in dā chēle	inna cēliu
Voc.	a chēli		a chēliu

These stems are to be compared with Latin like *filius*, Goth. like *hairdeis*, Gr. ἄλλος from ἀλιος.

Like *cēle* are declined *aicme* (tribe), *haue* (grandson, descendant)=παῖς ex παFjo-ς, *dalte* (pupil), *daire* (oakwood), *ére* (burden), *tigerne* (lord), *uisce* (water), and the loan-word *cuthe* (puteus). So are declined the participles pret. passive. So, too, are declined the following names from the Book of Armagh: *Dāire*, gen. *Dāiri*; *Lōiguire*, gen. *Lōiguiri*, *Lōiguri*; *Machthene*, gen. (*Maccu*)*machtheni*; *Colpde*; *Ferchertne*; *Liphe*

(the Liffey), gen. *Liphi*; *Blaitine*, dat. *Blaitiniu*; *Laithphe*, gen. *Laithphi*; *Tuirtre*, gen. *Tuirtri*; *Dagre*, gen. *Dagri*; *Sege*, gen. *Segi*; *Taidcne*, gen. *Taidcni*; *Coithrige*, gen. *-gi*; *Cothirbe*, gen. *-bi*; *Cuine*, gen. *-ni*; *Cerrige*, gen. *-gi*; *Nairne*, dat. *-niu*; *Caere*, *Segene*, *Coirpre*, *Maine*, *Caitne*, *Ende*, *Icne*, *Sebuirge*, *Lugne*, *Cumméne*, and *Sētne*, gen. *Sētni*. *Dagdae*, dat. *Dagdu*, also belongs to this declension, and *Ogma*= Gaul. *Ογμιος*.[1]

4. Neuter stems in IO.

Example: *cride* 'heart,' W. *craidd*, protoceltic *cradio-n*: cf. *καρδία*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	a cride-n	in dā chride	inna cride
Gen.	in chridi	in dā chride	inna cride-n
Dat.	don chridiu	dondib cridib	donaib cridib
Acc.	a cride-n	in dā chride	inna cride
Voc.	a chride-n		a chride

Sg. voc. *na briss indiu, mo chride* (break not to-day, my heart!), Longes mac nUsnig.

In *ba mó amru arailiu* (it was greater than [any] other marvel, *amre*), we have, according to Windisch, an instrumental sg. of this declension.

Like *cride* are declined *arbe*, *orpe* (heritage)=Goth. *arbi*, *bēlre* (language), *fiadnisse* (testimony)=A.S. *ge-witnesse*, *trēde* (threeness), Skr. *tṛtaya*. Perhaps also *síde* (elf), which Windisch connects with Skr. *sādhya*, and the loan-word *caille*=*pallium*. They correspond with Latin nouns like *odium*, Gr. like *ἐρείπιον*.

5. Stems (of all genders) in I.

Example: *fāith* 'prophet,' protoceltic *vāti-s*, Lat. *vates*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	in fāith	dā fāith	ind fāithi
Gen.	ind fāthō (-o, -a)	dā fātho	inna fāthe-n
Dat.	dond fāith	dib fāithib	donaib fāithib
Acc.	in fāith-n	dā fāith	inna fāithi
Voc.	a fāith		a fāthi

[1] Rhŷs (Lectures, pp. 293–295) equates W. *ofydd* (written *ouit* in the Black Book of Carmarthen) with *Ogma*, *Ὄγμιος*. But could the group *ogm* become *ov*? Can *ofydd*, which in Old Welsh means 'leader,' be connected with Ir. *uḃl* (sword-point), root *pug* in *pungo*?

There is one example of a loc. sg. fem.: *mebuir* (in memoria) Wb. 20ᵃ, one of a locative sg. neut.: *ni domnu ni muir* (there is nothing deeper in the sea), Sg. Incant., and one, perhaps, of an instrumental: *is uaisliu cech duil* (it is nobler than every creature), Ml. 25ᵃ. That the *-o* of the gen. sing. was long in the oldest Irish is proved by the form *aloo* 'rupis,' which occurs in the Book of Armagh, fo. 20. b. 1.

Like *fāith* are declined *aig* (ice)=O.N. *jaki*; *aird* (point)=ἄρδις; *būain* (harvest), protocelt. *bogni*; *Boind*, gen. *Boindeo*; *bliadain* (year), *cruim*, f. (worm)=Lat. (*c*)*vermis*, Lith. *kirmis*, Skr. *kṛmi*; *clūain* (meadow), *dūil*, f. (element)=Skr. *dhūli* (dust)[1]; *fēith* (sinew), Lat. *vītis*; *flaith* (kingdom), *fochaid* (tribulation), *fochricc* (reward), *liaig* (physician)=Goth. *leikeis*; *gnūis* (countenance); *mil* (honey)=Lat. *mel*; *tāin* (a driving, **tu-ag-ni*); *būaid*, n. (victory); the loan-word *suist* (fustis); and many loan-words, such as *enair* (Januarius), *proind* (prandium), *bēist* (bestia), *stoir* (historia), *fīs* (visio), from stems in *-io*, *-ia*, *-ion*. The infinitive stems in *-i* (Ved. *-aye*) and *-ti* (Lith. and Slav. *-ti*, Ved. *-taye*) also belong to this declension.

To this declension belong the following names in the Book of Armagh: *Ailill*, gen. *Ailello*; *Fedilmid*, gen. *Feidilmedo*, *Fedeilmtheo*, *Fedelmtheo*; *Forfailid*, gen. *Forfāilto*; *Hercaith*.

By analogy to the neut. stems in *o*, the neut. stems in *i* sometimes take an *n* after the nom., acc. and voc. sg. Thus: *muir n-Icht* (the Ictian sea); *a buaid n-ōc n-Ulad* (O victory of the warriors of Ulster!) LU. 100ᵃ. In the nom. and acc. pl. they have *-a* or (where the root-vowel is *ī*) *-e*. The nouns *rind* (sidus) and *mind* (insigne) also drop the ending in the nom. and acc. plural.

One or two fem. *i*-stems have no ending in the gen. sg. Thus: *ind firinne inna stoir* (the truth of the story) Ml. 53; *tomailt na feoil* (the consuming of the flesh) Tāin bō Frāich, 53; *Tāin bō Flidais* (cattlespoil of Flidais) LL. 247ᵃ. So the masc. loan-words *posit* (positivi), *superlait* (superlativi), *abbgitir* (abgitorii, *i.e.* alphabeti).

The neut. *i*-stems *gein* (birth) and *tīr* (land) make their

[1] Fick compares Lith. *dulkes* and Lat. *fulīgo*.

gen. sg. *gene* and *tire*. Of these *gene* may perhaps belong to the *s*-declension and be=γένεος, *generis*.

6. Masculine and neuter stems in U.

Example: *bith* m. 'world,' W. *byd*=Gaulish *bitu-s*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	bith	dā bith	bithi
Gen.	betho	dā betho	bithe-n
Dat.	biuth	dib mbethaib	bethaib
Acc.	bith-n	dā bith	bithu
Voc.	a betho		a bithu

Voc. sg. 'mi domine *Aido*,' Book of Armagh, 20a. 1. *Aido mecc Bricc* benibula, Mone's Hymni Latini Medii Aevi, iii. 181, where for '*mecc Bricc*,' the MS. has *mech Prich*.

A locative sg., *congaib lethu Āth Fithot* (he sets up with them at F.'s ford), occurs in Ar. 18a. 2, and a gen. dual *da loch* occurs in Brocc. h. 20.

Like *bith* are declined *āth*[1] (ford), *ith* (corn)=Skr. *pitú* (nährung), *fid* (wood)=O.H.G. *vitu*, *giun* (mouth)=Skr. *hanu* (jaw), *mug* (slave)=Goth. *magu*; and *cath* (battle)=O.H.G. *hadu-*, AS. *heaðo*: probably also *breo* (flame; *in breo taith-neamach*, O'Dav. s.v. caindelbra), from **bresu*: the names *Oingus*, gen. *Oingusso*, *Fergus*, gen. *Fergusso*, *Ross*, gen. *Rossa*, *Fenius*, gen. *Feniusa*: verbal nouns (infinitives) in *-ud*=*iyatu* and *-ad*=*ayatu*; and the loan-words *cīs* (census), *fers* (versus), *fīn* (vinum), *sēns*, *sians* (sensus), and *spīrut* (spiritus).

Neut. stems in *-u* are *loch*=Lat. *lacus*, *suth* (fetus) and *dorus* (door), protocelt. *dvorestu*; *mid*=μέθυ, *recht* (right), *tes* (heat). By analogy to neut. stems in *o* they sometimes take *n* after the nom. and acc. sg., and add *-a*, *-e* in the nom. acc. and voc. pl. In one instance, however, there is no ending (*frisna torus* 'ad portas,' Ml. 98, but voc. *a doirsea*, Ml. 98).

Daur (oak), Sg. 38ª 9, whence *daurauth* (gl. quercetum) 53ª 6, *daurde* (quernus), 38ª 10, gen. *daro*, *dara*=W. *derw-en*, and cognate with δόρυ, Skr. *dāru*, seems to belong to this declension.

[1] Cognate with Skr. *path*, Gr. πάτος, Lat. *pon(t)s*.

Two instances (obscure to me) of the dat. sg. of a masc. *u*-stem ending in a vowel are *don spirutu nóm* (to the Holy Ghost) LU. 31[b], and *dia mogha manchuine* (to his workingman) Laws ii. 22. A nom. pl. in *-ea* is tri *tuimthea* glēso in letraim dēdenach (three dippings of the tool (pen) in the last page) Arm. 78a. 2.

The dat. dual and pl. *-aib*, not *-uib*, is probably due to the false analogy of stems in *o* and *ā*. In the adverb *dib-ĭnaib* (e duabus partibus, utrimque) we seem to have the old instrumental meaning.

Feminine Stems in U.

There seem to have been feminine stems in *u*. Thus *deug* Tur. 71, later *deog*, *deoch* 'drink,' points to a protoceltic *degu*, but in the oblique cases it has gone over to the fem. *ā*-declension. Examples are: sg. gen. *riathar inna dige* Ml. 43, acc. *innan-dig* (in eorum potum), Wb. 27[a]. So the *u*-infection in *triub* (tribus), sg. acc. *triub* Ml. 37[r], gen. *trebe*, pl. acc. *tribu*, Ml. 34[d] 9, points to a protoceltic *trebu*. *Fiad* (deer), gen. *fiada*, and *gabul* (fork, protoceltic *gablu-s*?), sg. gen. *na gabla*, dat. *gabul*, dual gen. *dā gabul*: pl. nom. and acc. *gabla*, seem, at all events in the gen. and dat. singular, to belong to this declension. The name *Medb* generally makes its gen. *Medba*, as if it were an *u*-stem; dat. *do Medb*, LU. 65[a], acc. *la Medb*, 63[b], but sometimes in this case (*Meidbe*), and generally in the dat. (*Meidb*) and acc. (*Meidb-n*), it agrees with the *ā*-stems. The names *Būan* and *Samer* also make their genitives in *-a*. So *ferb* (cow), sg. gen. *ferba brachtche*, LU. 109[a].

7. Feminine stems in Ā.

Example: *tūath* 'folk,' W. *tud*, Osc. *tovto*, Goth. *þiuda*, protoceltic *toutā*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	in tūath'	in dī thūaith	inna tūatha
Gen.	inna tūaithe	in dā thūath	inna tūath-n
Dat.	don tūaith'	dondib tūathaib	donaib tūathaib
Acc.	in tūaith-n	in dī thūaith	inna tūatha
Voc.	a thūath'		a thūatha
Loc.	tuaith		

One or two other locatives singular of this declension are quotable: *cach conair* (in every way, *conar*) LU. 16[a], 39[b],40[b], *tuarcain* (conterendo) Sg. 184[b], and perhaps the adverbs *anechtair*, *sechtair* (extrinsecus). An instrumental, perhaps, is *lia turem* (more than can be counted). And Windisch thinks *ūare*, *ōre* (quia) is the abl. of *ūar*, a fem. *ā*-stem; the gen. and abl. sg. coinciding as in Sanskrit. But this is questionable. The postposition *etar*, *etor*, in the adv. *immanetar*, *immenetor*, 'invicem'=Lat. *intrā(d)*, is an abl. sg. of this declension. So the prepositions *echtar*=Lat. *extrā*, and *for* (aspirating)= Lat. *s-upra*, Gr. *ὑπερη-*.

The non-aspirating genitive points to a protoceltic *-ēs*: the European *ās* (*χώρας*, *familiās*, *gibos*) is represented by *mnā*, gen. sg. of *ben* (woman). The peritonic accusative is due to an invasion by the *i*-declension. I know not what case is *diis* (nom. sing. *dias* 'duitas'), which occurs with the possessive pronouns in such phrases as *attaam arn-diis* (we two are), *mani bet an-diis* (unless they two are).

Like *tūath* are declined *cennadach* (province); *ciall* (intellect) =W. *pwyll*; *cētach* (mantle); *cloch* (stone)=*κρόκη*; *cumal* (she-slave); *cos* (foot)=Lat. *coxa*; *err* (tail, from *ersa*)= *οὐρα* (from *ὄρσα*); *faed* (cry, W. *gwaedd*)=Gr. *ἀ-Foιδή*; *ferg* (anger)=Gr. *ὀργή*; *glass* (fetter), *frass* (shower), Skr. *varsha*, *Hī* (Iova), gen. *Iae*; *ingen* (girl); *lām* (hand)= Lat. *palma*, *παλάμη*, O.H.G. *folma*; *lecc* (flag-stone)= Lat. *planca*; *muinter* (family); *rūn* (secret)=Goth. *runa*; *serc* (love)=W. *serch*=*στοργή*; *tulach* (hill, *τύλη*, *τύλος*); and the loan-words *almsan* (eleemosyna), *baislec* (basilica), *braissech* (brassica), *cell* (cella), *cland* (planta), *clūm* (pluma), *conson* (consona), *corcur* (purpura), *croch* (crux), *fedb* (vidua), *fiugor* (figura), *focul* (vocula), *gluas* (glōssa), *liter* (littera), *lurech* (lorica), *mīas* (mensa), *not* (nota), *persan* (persona), *pīan* (poena), *plag* (plaga), *Rōm* (Roma), *rīagol* (regula), *senister* (fenestra), *saiget* (sagitta), *scol* (schola), *sillab* (syllaba).

To this declension belong the following river-names from the Book of Armagh: *Dea*, gen. *Dee*; *Muad*, gen. *Muaide*; *Boand*, dat. *Boind*: *Slicech* gen. *Slicichæ*, and the women's

names *Coigell, Fedelm.* The nom. pl. in *-ea*: *foirrgea*, Arm. 14^{b} 2, and acc. pl. *coirnea* (gl. coronas) ibid. 180^{a} 2, are obscure.

8. Feminine stems in IĀ.

Example: *soillse* 'light,' protoceltic *svalnastia.*

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	in t-soillse	in dī soillsi	inna soillsi
Gen.	inna soillse	in dā soillse	inna soillse-n
Dat.	don t-soillsi	dondib soillsib	donaib soillsib
Acc.	in soillsi	in dī soillsi	inna soillsi
Voc.	a soillse		a soillsi

A locative, perhaps, is *Toicuile*, Tīr. 2. Ablatives are *cobre* (cupidine) Wb. 29; *felire* (gl. codice), the adverb *slāne* (fully, lit. in, or with, fulness) Fēl. Oct. 30, *hi sochaide* (in a multitude) Patrick's h., *Maccuil diMane* 'M. of (the isle of) Man,' Ar. 6^{b} 1. (W. *Manaw*, Pliny's *Monapia*, leg. *Manaria ?*) and de *Vertrige*, ib. 15^{a} 1.

The *i-* in the acc. sg. and nom. and acc. pl. is due to an invasion by the *i*-declension. Like *soillse* are declined *Ailbine, aille* (praise), *Machae* (Armagh), *erdathe* (judgment), *fertae* (grave), *tūare* (food), *Slāne* (Slane), *Sleibte* (Sletty), the river-name *Succae* (=Gaul. *Suppia*?), and the loan-words *caimmse* (camisia), *fellsube* (philosophia), *pairche* (parochia), *ungae* (uncia), *usca* (axungia).

These stems correspond with Latin like *filia* (*aciē-s*, according to Schleicher), Skr. like *vrajyā́* (wandering), *vidyā* (science), and represent Gr. nouns like *δότειρα, Θρᾳσσα, Κρῆσσα*, respectively from *δοτερια, Θρᾳκια, Κρητια.*

9. Feminine stems in Ī.

Ebel (Kuhn's *Beiträge*, i. 180) says that by-forms like *muing* (mane) appear to be *ī*-stems, and at p. 340 of the same volume I gave a paradigm, which lacks the dual and is wrong in the gen. sg. and nom. pl. Thurneysen was the first to show that those fem. nouns, which in the nom. sg. resemble *i*-stems, but which make their dat. and acc. sg.

as if they were *iā*-stems, belong to the ī-declension. They correspond, in Europe, with Greek feminines like ἐλπίς and Old-Norse like *ylgr*=Skr. *vṛkīs*.[1]

Example: *inis* 'island,' W. *ynys*, protoceltic *enestē*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	inis	inis	insi
Gen.	inse, inseo, inis	inse ?	inse-n
Dat.	insi, inis	insib	insib
Acc.	insi-n, inis-n	inis	insi
Voc.	inis		insi

Sg. *Muchatocc Inse Faīl* Arm. 18ª 2, gen. familia *Dam-inse* 15ª 2, *Augustin Inseo Bicæ* 18ª 2; dat. *in insi, ond insi*, Saltair na Rann, 4008, 4009. So is declined *Brigit* (Skr. *bṛhatī*), gen. *Brigtæ*, Arm. 19ª 1, *Brigte, Sanctbrigte*, Brocc. h. 13, 15, 95, *Brigta* 35, 43 (*Brigtæ* in the Franciscan copy), *Brigte* 89, 103, 104, dat. *Brigti*? acc. *Brigti-n* (*ar sanchtbrigti*, Brocc. h. 23, *la Brigte*, 70=*la Brigtæ*, Franciscan copy); *mēit* 'greatness,' (W. *maint*) gen. *mēite*; *sētig* 'wife,' gen. *sētche*, Wb. 10ª; dat. acc. *sēitchi* ibid., *adaig* (night), gen. *aidche*, dat. *aidchi*, G. C. 253.

We also find the genitives sing. *airlise, bliadne* (anni), *brithe* (ferendi) Wb. 25ᵇ, *cuile* (secessus), Arm. 15ª 2, *fuile* (sanguinis) Wb. 2ᵇ, *fochricce* (praemii) Wb. 10ᵇ, *lubae* (fruticis), *Scirte*, Arm. 15ᵇ 1, *taidchrecce* (redemptionis) Wb. 21ª, *tesbuithe* (defectus) Cr. 3ᵇ, which come respectively from the nominatives *airlis, bliadain, brith, cuil, fuil, fochricc, luib, Scirit, taidchricc, tesbuith*: the datives sg. *gruade* (leg. *gruaidi*), *Lupaiti, maisi, samuisci*, which come respectively from *gruaid* (cheek), *Lupait* (name of a sister of S. Patrick), *mais* (mass), *samaisc* (heifer).[2] And the accusa-

[1] Mahlow: Die Langen vocale a, e, o, Berlin 1879, p. 146, where the oldest flexion of ἐλπίς is thus given: *ἐλπῖς ἐλπιδος *ἐλπῖ *ἐλπῖν and ἐλπιδα, Voc. *ἐλπῖ, *ἐλπιες. ἐλπιδων, ἐλπῖσι ἐλπῖς and ἐλπιδας, where δ has come from *j*.

[2] *cuinnegar dia gruaide gris* (it is levied from his ruddy cheek) O'Dav. 64: *dia flair* .i. *Lupati* (to his sister, *i.e.* Lupait) Trip. Life, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6a 2: *isé donp cetni rotheip Dia asin maisi* (now this is the first thing that God severed from the mass) Laws, i. 26: *dia n-airbera samuisci cona huulib iardaigib* (if he eats a heifer with all her . . .) O'Dav. 97.

tives sing. *airlisi*[1] (septum), *bliadni* (annum) Cr. 32[b] (G.C.[1] p. 1050), *fēli* (feriam; *admunter a fēli* 'thou veneratest his festival,' Fél. Oct. 2), *fuili* (sanguinem), Wb. 31[b] (G.C.[1] 1040), *glaissi* (rivulum: *rodoirt-si intansin blegon na n-erc isin-glaissi*, she then spilt the milk of the cows into the stream, *glais*, Rev. Celt. vi. 188): *issin monai* (into the bog, *moin*) LU. 62[b], *forsin monai*, LU. 131, l. 1, *rathi*, (fort, 'sonum . . . gentilium . . . facientium *rathi*,' Ar. 6[b]. 1), *frisin rig ocus in rignai* (to the king and the queen, **rigain*[2] = Skr. rājnī) Tāin bō Fraich, l. 54, *tuc tānai mbō a Feraib Roiss* (he took a driving—*tāin*—of kine out of Fir Roiss) LL. 124[a] 10. Pl. gen. *rignæ* (reginarum) Cod. S. Paul, quoted Ir. Texte i. 3. 20.

The loan-word *trīndōit* (Trinity) has gen. sg. *trīndoti* Ml. 2[d], 2, *trīnōite* Fiacc h. 42, *trinoit* Patr. h., the dat. *din trindoti*, Ml. 15[b]. It may be compared with *cvetate* (=civitate) in *Giansi-cvetate*, Quicherat, 114. The loan-word *eclis* (ecclesia) makes its gen. sg. *æcilse* Wb. 22[a], but also *ecolso*, *æcolsa*, *æccalsa*. In the name *Mag-inis* (Lecale), we seem to have a genitive like *stoir*, *feoil*, supra.

There is one example of the loc. sg. of this declension: *rāith* (*con-congab raith Foalascich* 'till he set up at Fālascach's fort'), Tīr. 2.

For purposes of comparison I give from Whitney, § 356, the corresponding Vedic forms.

Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom. nadīs	nadīā	nadīas
Gen. nadīas	nadīos	nadīnām
Dat. nadīe	nadībhyām	nadībhyas
Acc. nadīam	nadīā	nadīas
Voc. nādi		

These explain well enough the Irish gen. sg. in *-e*, dat. in *-i*, acc. in *-i-n*, and nom. and acc. pl. The Irish nom. sg.,

[1] *i sechmall na athgabhala do breith in-airlisi airech aird no eclasa* (neglecting to bring the distress into the pound of an Aire Ard or the Church), Laws i. 96.

[2] I have only met with the nom. sing. *rigan*. The gen. sing. *rigna* (in *sinnach na banrigna* 'the queen's fox,' Franciscan Lib. Hymn. p. 42) seems to come from an i-stem.

the nom. and acc. dual, and the by-forms in the gen. (*-eo*) and dat. sg. seem to be due to an intrusion of the *i*-declension.

Whether there were Irish masc. stems in *i*, like Skr. *rathí-s* (charioteer), is doubtful: the gen. sg. *Dūnlinge* (nom. sg. *Dunlaing*) occurs in the Book of Armagh, fo. 10^{b} 1, 15^{b} 1, 18^{b} 1, and '*muinæ buachaele*' (nom. sg. *buachail*, *βουκόλος*) ibid. fo. 15^{a} 1, and *Maccu-Greccae*, Arm. 5^{b} 2, Iustianus *mac hīi Daimēne*, 9^{b} 1, *Macc Ercae*, 14^{b} 2, *Macc Rime*, 14^{b} 2, *Corcu-Theimne*, 15^{a} 2, '*tir Gimmæ*,' *ingen Anfolmithe*, 17^{a} 2, *Fergus mór macc Nise*, 18^{b} 2 (of which I do not know the nominatives).

B. Diphthongal Stems.

Of these there seem to be only three, namely, *bō* 'cow,' *glao*, *glō* 'ball,' and *nau*, *nō* 'ship.' *Glao*, *glo* (=Skr. *glāú*) occurs only in composition with *snáthe* 'thread.' *Nau*, *nō* (Skr. *nāú*, Gr. *ναῦς*) is quotable only in the sg. nom. (*nau*, *nō*), gen. (*naue*, *noe*), dat. (*nōi*, *nōe*) and the pl. dat. (*nōib*). And *bō* (Lat. *bōs*) is irregular, forming its nom. sg., dual and pl., from a stem *bōv*, dat. and acc. sg. from a stem *bon*, or *bōna*: and its acc. pl. from *bō* (cf. acc. pl. *βοῦς* from **βωνς*). *Bō* is thus declined:

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	bō	dī ba	bai, ba
Gen.	bou, bō	dā bō	bō-n
Dat.	boin	dīb mbuaib	buaib
Acc.	boin-n	dī ba (boin)	bū

The vocative I have not found. Gen. dual: *mac dā bō*, Corm. s.v. *dedel*.

In *ōi* (sheep)=*ŏῖς*, *οἶς*, *ovis*, and *rōi* (a plain) from **rúsi*, cogn. with Lat. *rus*, the diphthong has been produced by the regular loss of intervocalic *v* and *s*.

C. Consonantal Stems.

These may be arranged as follows: 1, guttural stems; 2, lingual stems (stems in *r*); 3, dental stems (stems in *t*, *d*, *nt*); stems in the dental nasal, *n*: stems in the dental sibilant *s*.

1. Guttural Stems.

(*a*) stems in C.

Example: *cathair* 'city,' W. *caer*, protoceltic *castrix*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	cathair	dī chathraig	cathraig
Gen.	cathrach	dā chathrach	cathrach-n
Dat.	cathraig	dib cathrachaib	cathrachaib
Acc.	cathraig-n	dī chathraig	cathracha
Voc.	a chathair		a chathracha

So are declined *ail* (rock), *dair* (oak=Lat. *larix*), *fál* (hedge), *fáil* (ring), *lasair* (flame), *lettir* (hill-slope), *Lugaid* (a man's name), *nathir* (snake), *noill* (oath), *sail* (=salix), *scē* (white-thorn), *telluir* (earth), *Temair* (Tara), *teol* (thief). These correspond with Latin nouns like *vortex*, Greek nouns like *φύλαξ*. *C*-stems like *aire* (temple), *ruire* (lord), *Ainmire*, seem stems in *-iac*. And *caera* (sheep), *ceo* (mist), gen. *ciach*, *eo* (salmon), gen. *iach*, *mala* (eyebrow), *Cuana* (*Coona*, Arm. 13[a] 1), *Fiacha*, *Fiachra*, gen. sg. *Fiechrach*, Arm. 17[a] 1, *tethra* (scaldcrow), ending in the nom. sg. in a broad vowel, seem stems in *-āc*, like *θωρᾶξ*, Lat. *edāx*.

The name *Eochu* makes its gen. *Echach*, Arm. 5[b] 2. *Findubair*, gen. *Findubrec*[*h*], Arm. 298. *Echnach* and *Teloch*, Arm. 10[b] 2, seem gen. sg. of names belonging to this declension. Loan-words ending in *r* are, from false analogy to *cathair*, *lasair*, *lettir*, *nathir*, often declined like *c*-stems. Thus: *altōir* (altāre), gen. *altōrach*, *mainistir* (monasterium), gen. *manistrech*, *saltair* (psalterium), gen. *saltrach*.

In the gen. sg. these stems sometimes go over to the *i*-declension: thus *ail* (rock), gen. aeclessia *Alo find*, Arm. 11[b] 1, de fonte *Alo find*, ibid. 11[b] 2, *Temair*, gen. *Temro*, and perhaps the Ogmic *Apilogdo*.[1] So in the dat. pl. *caera* (sheep) makes *cāiṛib*, Arm. 17[a] 2.

The dat. dual is not exemplified in the Gr. Celtica: *con dib failgib ōir* (with two rings of gold), Chron. Scot. p. 290, is an instance.

[1] The name represents the gen. sg. of an Irish *Find-Lugaid*, *Api* standing for *Albi*. Bishop Graves, indeed (*Trans. R.I.A.* xxvii. p. 33), says that the name is "the Ogham equivalent of *Aedhlogodh*," and grounds this assertion on two propositions, that "Irish scribes frequently made *p* to stand for *bh*," and that "the English *v* sometimes took the place of the Irish *dh* in proper names." The second proposition is irrelevant, the first is erroneous. *P* is sometimes written for *bb* and for unaspirated *b*, but never for *bh*.

(*b*) stems in G.

Example: *rī* 'king,' W. *rhi*, protoceltic *rīx*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	rī	dā rīg	rīg
Gen.	rīg	dā rīg	rīg-n
Dat.	rīg	dib rīgaib	rīgaib
Acc.	rīg-n	dā rīg	rīga
Voc.	a rī		a rīga

So seems declined *bri* (hill), gen. *breg*, dat. *brīg* (leg. *brig*?), Brocc. h. 51, LH. (Franciscan copy)=*bri*, LH. (T.C.D.), acc. *brig-n* (*cingit go brigh*, O'Dav.), acc. pl. *Brega*, Arm. 2^{b}. 1. These stems correspond with Latin, like *rēg* in *rex*,=Skr. *rāj* in *Dharma-rāj*, and Gr. like φλογ in φλόξ.

The dat. dual is not exemplified in the Gr. Celtica: *ar dib rigaibh*, Corm. B. s.v. *lotar*, is an instance.

(*c*) stems in NC.

Example: *lia* m. 'stone,' protoceltic *livanx*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	lia	dā liic	liic
Gen.	liac	dā liac	liac-n
Dat.	liic	dib liacaib	liacaib
Acc.	liic-n	dā liic	liaca

This is a dissyllable, as appears from the line *blog don līic lōgmair* (a fragment of the precious stone), Félire, Oct. 5. It is, perhaps, cognate with Gr. λαῖγξ.

Dual nom.: *commemdatar in da liic* (so that the two stones broke) LU. 59^{b}. An abl. sg. occurs in Sg. 65^{a} 1: *dorōnta dia dind liac* (a god was made of the stone).

The so-called absolute form of the cardinal 10, the dissyllable *deac*, is a gen. sg. belonging to this declension, and seems to stand for a protoceltic *digancos*, cognate with Goth. *tigu* and (if this mean 'sum of the fingers') Lat. *digitus*.

2. Lingual Stems.

Example: *athir* 'father'=Lat. *pater*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	int-athir	in dā athir	ind athir
Gen.	ind-athar	in dā athar	inna n-athre-n
Dat.	dond athir	dondib n-athrib?	donaib athrib
Acc.	inn-athir-n	in dā athir	inna athrea
Voc.	a athir		a athrea

So are declined the *er*-stems *brāthir* (brother), *māthir* (mother), perhaps *amnair* (maternal uncle), and the *or*-stem *siur, siuur, fiur* (sister), gen. *sethar, fethar.* The Highland *piuthair* (sister) comes from *fiuur*, as *pill* from *fill.*

Teoir, the fem. form of the numeral 3, gen. *teora-n*, dat. *teoraib*, acc. *teora*, belongs to this declension. The corresponding Skr. forms are *tisras, tisṛṇām, tisṛbhis, tisras.* We have also the fem. *cethir* 'four'=Dor. *τέτορες* and *cetheora*= Skr. acc. *catasras.*

The nom. sg. of the *er*-stems points to a protoceltic *-ēr=ēr*: that of the *or*-stem to a protoceltic *-ōr*: cf. *φράτωρ*: the nom. dual, to a protoceltic ending in *-e*=Gr. *-ε*, Skr. *-a*, in the dual compound *mātara-pitarau* (Mahlow, 39).

In Middle-Irish these stems pass over to the *ā*-declension (*ar ecnairc do māithre*, Fēl. Ep. 526), and the *c*-declension (n.pl. *sethracha*, LU. 2[b]). Even in Old-Irish *uasalathair* (patriarch), influenced, perhaps, by the desinence of Lat. *patriarcha*, passes in the pl. to the *c*-declension.

3. Dental Stems.

(*a*) Stems in T.

Example: *cing* (warrior), Gaul. stem *cinget.*

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	cing	dā chingid	cingid
Gen.	cinged	dā chinged	cinged-n
Dat.	cingid	dib cingedaib	cingedaib
Acc.	cingid-n	dā chingid	cingeda
Voc.	a ching		a chingeda

Locative, probably, *cingid*: cf. *in-huraid* (last year), where *huraid* is=*πέρυτι*, (*p*)*aravati.* So are declined *cin* (crime), *eirr* (the fighter in a war-chariot), *Doath*, gen. sg. Arm. 17[a]. 1, *luch* (mouse) acc. pl. *lochtha*, LL. 207[a]. 2, *nia* (nephew)= Lat. *nepos*, *seir* (heel), n. dual *dā seirith*, Corm. s.v. prull; *traig* (foot), W. *troed*, and the loan-words *abb* (abbas) and *mīl* (miles).

These stems are the weak forms of *nt*-stems.

To this declension also belong stems in *-aiat*, like *ara* (charioteer), *asca* (rival); stems in *-iat*, like *fili* (poet,=W.

gwyliat seer), *lēine* (shirt), *ōigi* (guest), *slige* (road), *tene* (fire), *tenge* (tongue), dat. pl. *tengthaib*, LU. 30: stems in *-iōt*, like *coimdiu* (lord); stems in *-tōt* (from *-tāt*), like *bethu* (life)= *βιότης*, *ōentu* (unitas), *ītu* (thirst); and stems in *-ntōt* (from *-ntāt*), like *dānatu* (audacia), *foirbthetu* (perfectio).

Locatives sg. of *iat*-stems are: *tōided remuinn sligid saethraig* (let him go before us on a toilsome way), Pref. to Félire, *amal doratad Recht tall arthus tenid* (as the Law was there given at first in fire), LB. 52[a]. Compare Skr. forms like *juhvati*.

The aspiration after *abb* in *abb Thīre dā glas*, note to Fēl. May 1, tends to show that in protoceltic these stems had not the case-sign *s* in the nom. sg.

(*b*) Stems in D.

Example: *drui* 'wizard,' W. *dryw*, protoceltic *druis*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	drui	dā druid	druid
Gen.	druad	dā druad	druad-n
Dat.	druid	dib ndruidib	druidib
Acc.	druid-n	dā druid	druide
Voc.	drui		a druide

Ablative, probably *drued*. So is declined *crē* (clay)=W. *pridd*.

As intervocalic *t* often becomes *d*, and as *th* is sometimes miswritten for *d*, it is impossible to say of several nouns whether they are stems in *t* or stems in *d*. Thus *briuga* (hospitaler), *caur* (champion), *dui* (fool), *sui* (sage), *sab* (chief). And as Indo-Eur. *dh* becomes *d* in Celtic, some Irish stems in *d* may correspond with Greek stems in *θ*, like *ὄρνις*.

(*c*) Stems in NT.

Example *cara* 'friend,' W. *car*, protoceltic *cariass*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	cara	dā charit	carit
Gen.	carat	dā charat	carat-n
Dat.	carit	dib cairtib	cairtib
Acc.	carit-n	dā charit	cairtea
Voc.	a chara		a chairtea

These stems correspond with the Latin and Greek participles in *-ant*, *-ent*, *-οντ*, *-ιεντ* (*χαρίεις*) and Gothic nouns like *fijand-s*. The numerals for 20 (*fiche*), 30 (*tricha*), 40 (*cethracha*),

50 (*cóica*, contracted from *cōicecha*), 60 (*sesca*), 70 (*sechtmoga*), 80 (*ochtmoga*), 90 (*nocha*) are declined like *cara*. So are *brāge* (neck), *lōche* (lightning=Lat. *lūcens*), *namae* (foe), *tipra* (well). *Sul* (sun), gen. *sulut* (leg. *sulot*?), is a stem in *-ont*. The *u* in *dīnu* (lamb), *fiadu* (God), and *Nuadu* points to protoceltic stems in *-ōnt*. *Echredd*, Arm. 10[b] 2, *Tolat*, 13[d] 2, may be genitives sg. of names belonging to this declension.

(*d*) Stems in ND (NN).

These correspond with Greek nouns like ἕλμις, gen. ἕλμινθος, πείρις, Τίρυς. The substantives *brū* (womb), gen. *bronn*: *heirp* (deer), n. pl. *herbind*; *oub*, *ob* (river), gen. *obann*, and perhaps *rētglu* (star) belong to this declension.

In composition, when the first element is a dental stem, we sometimes find it in the nominative sg. Thus: *sui-epscop*, *tene-folt* (gl. rufus).

Nasal Stems.

Of these there are six kinds: stems in *on*, stems in *ōn*, stems in *ian*, stems in *tiōn*, stems in *ián*, and neut. stems in *én*.

(*a*) Stems in *-on*.

Example: *brithem* 'judge,' protoceltic *britemo*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	brithem	dā britheman	brithemain
Gen.	brithemon	dā britheman	britheman-n
Dat.	brithemain	dīb mbrithemnaib	brithemnaib
Acc.	brithemain		brithemna
Voc.	a' brithem		a brithemna

Sg. gen. *suide bri(th)emon* (gl. tribunal) Arm. 187[b] 1. Ebel compares such stems with Greek in *-μον*, e.g. ἡγεμών.

So are declined the masc. *Airem*=Skr. *Aryamâ*, *brō* (quern) =Skr. *grāvan*, *dūlem* (creator), *fēchem* (debtor), *flaithem* (lord), *ollam* (chief poet), and the fem. *anim* (soul), *escung* (eel), *suainem* (rope), *talam* (earth), and the loan-words *bendacht* (benedictio), *mallacht* (maledictio). *Cruinniuc*, gen. *Cruincon*, *derucc* (acorn), gen. *dercon*, and *Miliuc*, gen. *Milcon*, acc. *Milcoin*, belong to this declension. *Cū* (hound, W. *ci*), gen.

con, is=Skr. *çvā*, gen. *çunas*. The name *Dichu* and *Muirchu* in the Book of Armagh is declined likewise.

A case which Ebel doubtfully calls the ablative is exemplified by *ben bīs oc bleth brōn* (a woman who is grinding at the quern), Corm. s.v. Cumal, and by *dobur di threthan* (water from sea, nom. *triath*), *ibid.* s.v. Coire Brecain.

(*b*) Stems in *ōn*.

Example: *āru* 'kidney,' W. *aren* f.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	āru	dā ārain	ārain
Gen.	āran	dā āran	āran-n
Dat.	ārain	dib n-ārnib	āirnib
Acc.	ārain-n	dā arain	ārna
Voc.	āru		a ārna

So are declined *Almu* (a woman's name), *Anu* ('mater deorum hibernensium'), *aursu*, *irsu* (door-post), *cethramthu* (quarter), *Cruachu* (gen. *Crōchan*), *fiadu* (witness),[1] *idu* (birth-pang), *lachu* (duck), *lecco* (cheek, Pruss. *laygnan* for *laycnan*, Windisch), *lutu* (little-finger), *ordu*, f. (thumb), *patu* (hare), *Mumu* (Munster), perhaps *Lathru* de genere *Lathron*, Arm. 15ª 2. Also, in Mid. and Mod. Irish, the loan-word *persa* (persōna). The Gaulish *Κουριωνές*, Ptol., belongs to this declension.

Compare Latin nouns like *homō*, *Nasō*, Gr. like *δαίμων*, Lith. like *akmů* (G. Meyer, p. 268).

(*c*) Stems in *-ion*.

Example: *inge* 'nail,' W. *ewin*, protoceltic *ingio*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	inge	dā ingain?	ingain
Gen.	ingan	dā ingan?	ingan-n
Dat.	ingain	dīb n-ingnaib	ingnaib
Acc.	ingain-n	dā ingain	ingna
Voc.	a inge		a ingna

Compare for the stem-ending N.H.G. *hase* ex *hasjan*.

Like *inge* are declined *Alba* (Scotland, urkelt. *Albion-*), *lurga* (crus), *menme* (mens), *ulcha* (beard).

[1] Acc. sing. *fiadain*, Ml. 48ª 11.

(*d*) Stems in *-tiōn*, weak *-tin*.

Example: *toimtiu* f. 'meaning,' protoceltic *tumentiō*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	toimtiu	dū thoimtin	toimtin
Gen.	toimten	dā thoimten	toimten-n
Dat.	toimtin	dib toimtenaib	toimtenaib
Acc.	toimtin	dā thoimtin	toimtena
Voc.	a thoimtiu		

So are declined *áigthiu* (fearing), *air-mitiu* (honos, cf. Lat. *mentio*), *apthu* (exitium), *Maistiu* (Mullaghmast), dat. *Maistin*, Arm. 10ª 2, *Foimsiu*, gen. *Foimsen*, Arm. 13ª 2, *Tailtiu* (Teltown), *epeltu* (perishing), *foditu* (endurance), *tuistiu* (generation, child), and the loan-words *coibse* (confessio), *genitiu* (genetivus), *liachtu* (lectio).

The aspiration of *c* in *foditu chruche* (toleratio crucis), Cam., shows that in protoceltic the nom. sg. had no case-sign *-s*.

In the oblique cases the weak form of the suffix prevails.

Caisiu (sight), protoceltic *castiō*, and the compounds *aicsiu*, *dēicsiu*, *frescsiu* (expectation), *immcaisiu* (consideration), *remdeicsiu* (providence), belong to this declension. Its instrumental (?) sg. occurs in the gloss *caisin sochmacht* (well able to see), Aug. Sol. 98.

(*e*) Masc. and fem. stems in *-iáṅ*, weak *-áṅ*.

Example: *goba* m. 'smith,' W. *gof*, protoceltic *gobiā́*.[1]

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	goba	dā gobainn	gobann
Gen.	gobann	dā gobann	gobann-n
Dat.	gobainn	dib ngobannaib	gobannaib
Acc.	gobain-n	dā gobainn	gobanna
Voc.	a goba		

So are declined *bara* (anger), *derna* (palm), and the loan-word *obla* (oblatio), gen. sg. *oblann*, Arm. 77ª 1. So *Cuala* mac Breogain diata Sliab *Cualann*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 81ᵇ 2, and *dile* (diluvium), gen. sg. *dilenn*. A group of nouns with *-iu* in the nom. sg. and *-enn* in the gen., seems to be stems in *iōn*. Thus *adirclíu* (cornix), *iriu* (land), and the proper names

[1] Cf. the Gaulish names *Gobannitio* (Fabricius), *Gobannicno*, and the British place-name *Gobannium*. With these Windisch connects Gr. γο-μ-φόω (I fasten with bolts or nails).

Airiu, Bricriu, Ebliu, Ēriu(=W. *Iwerddon*), *Derdriu, Ethne* (*Ethniu* ?), gen. *Eithnend, Goibniu, Ualu.* The gen. *Huimnonn* in 'episcopus et antestes *Arddae Huimnonn*,' Arm. 6^{b} 1, belongs to this declension, but I know not the nom. sg.

(*f*) Neuter stems in *én, ēn,* and *mén.*

Example: *ainm* 'name,' W. *enw,* protoceltic *anmén* = Lat. *nomen,* Church-Sl. *imę.*

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom. acc. voc.	ainm	dā ainm	anmann
Gen.	anme	dā anmann	anmann-n
Dat.	anmaimm	dib n-anmannaib	anmannaib

So are declined *āmm*=Lat. *agmen, ex-āmen*; *bēim* (blow), protocelt. *benmén*; *boim* (bit), *cēim* (step), *cindruimm* (alveus), *cuirm* (ale, *κοῦρμι*, W. *cwrw*), *deilm* (noise), *feidm* (effort, service), *dirim* (multitude), *dithim* (delay), *druim* (ridge, protocelt. *drosmén*, Lat. *dorsum*), *fordiuclaim* (swallowing up), *fuaim* (noise), *ingreim* (persecution), *gairm* (cry), and its compounds *togairm*, etc., *lēim* (leap), *loim* (sip), *naidm* and its compounds *fornaidm* (nexus), etc., *rēimm* (course), *seinm* (sounding), *sesbeim, sleidm* (sanies), *sruaim* (stream), *teidm* (disease), *tomaidm* (outbreak), *totaim* (a falling), *ūaim* (cave). The gen. dual is not exemplified in the Grammatica Celtica : *Inis dā drumand* (isle of two ridges), Cogad Gōedel, etc., is an example.

Imb (butter)=Lat. *unguen*, sg. gen. *imbe*, dat. *im*[*m*]*im*, Laws ii. 254, and *mīr* (bit, protoceltic *micré*(*n*), cogn. with *σμικρός*), acc. pl. *mirenn*, LU. 111^{b}, seem neuter *én*-stems. *Arbe* (corn), gen. sg. *ind arbe*, Wb. 10^{d}, pl. acc. *na harbhanna*, Bk. of Fermoy cited by O'Reilly s.v. *Arbha*, is a neut. stem in *ēn*, like Slav. *imę, sěmę*, which Leskien refers to *enmēn* and *sēmēn*, and compares (for the ending) with Skr. *nāmā.*

Here (as Siegfried showed) the dat. sg. is really an old instrumental. As it aspirates (*isind anmmaimm chētnidiu* : *hi togarmim frecndairc*), it ended in a vowel, and represents a protoceltic *anmenbi.* The double *nn* in the plural seems due to the accent.

In the gen. sg. the *-e* is from the old ending *-ens* which Mahlow compares with Skr. *pitur* from **pitars*. In the Book of Armagh *druim* makes its gen. sg. *drommo*, and the dat. is sometimes like the nom. Thus: *in Druim moccu-Echach*, 5[b] 2, *in Druim Findich*, 18[b] 2, *i Fordruim*, ib.

Neuter Stems in S.

Example: *teg, tech* 'house,' W. *ty*, =τέγος.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom. Acc.	teg, tech	dā thech	tige
Gen.	tige	dā thige	tige-n
Dat.	tig	dib tigib	tigib

So are declined *au, ó* (ear), gen. *aue*=Slav. *ucho*, gen. *učese: dūn* (fortress), *glenn* (valley), *glūn* (knee), *gnē* (form), *leth* (side)=Lat. *latus*, *lōg* (reward), *mag* (plain)=Skr. *mahas*; *onn* (stone), gen. *uinde* = Lat. *pondus*; *nem*, better *neb*, (heaven)=Skr. *nabhas*, Gr. *νέφος*, Slav. *nebo*; *sāl* (sea), Gr. *σάλος*; *sliab* (mountain)=W. *llwyf?* and the compounds of *teg*, such as *dāltech, sotech*, etc. So, perhaps, *baa* (good) =*φόως*, *favōr*, *clū* (fame)= Skr. *çravas*, Gr. *κλέος*, *crū* (blood)=Lat. *cruor*, Gr. *κρέας* (flesh), and *lī* (colour)=Lat. *liror*.

In Middle-Irish the fem. *ā*-stem *rūn* (secret)—from analogy to *dūn* and *glūn*?—passes in the plural over to this declension.

In the nom. and acc. sg. these stems sometimes, by false analogy to the neut. *o*-stems, take a transported *n*.

Examples of the dual are: nom. *a dá glún*, LU. 89[a]. *a da glūn inadiaid*, Talland Etair, LL. gen. *cechtar a dá glune* (each of his two knees), LM. 85[b]. acc. *con-dernai da leth* LU. 53[b]: *talam isil itir da sliab* (low ground between two mountains), H. 2, 16, col. 107, *etir da tech* (between two houses), Laws ii. 234, 238.

The isolated gen. sg. *Menueh* in the Inchaguile inscription (*Lie Luguaedon macci Menueh*) perhaps belongs to a stem in *us*, and is=Skr. *manushas*.

Stems in NS.

Example: *mí* 'month,' W. *mis*, Gr. *μήν*, Ion. *μείς*.

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	mī	(dīa mīs)	mīs
Gen.	mīs	(dā mīs)	mīs-n
Dat.	mīs	(dib mīsaib)	mīsaib
Acc.	mīs-n	dīa mīs	mīsa
Voc.	a mī?		

Dual acc. *dīa mīs ondiu doberthar duit anīsin*, LU. 131, l. 25.

The comparatives in *-iu* (protoceltic *-iōs*, = Lat. *-ior*, *-ius*) and *-a* (protoceltic *-ās*) were doubtless originally so declined. But of these stems no declensional ending appears in the oldest MSS.

There are no stems in neo-celtic corresponding with Greek and Latin labial stems, such as *γύψ*, *χάλυψ*, *κατῆλιψ*, *coelebs*, *forceps*.

Irregular Nouns.

These in Irish, as in other languages, are mostly nouns of which two stems exist, or which are declined as if such stems existed. The most numerous are neuter nouns ending in *-ch*.

Example: *étach* 'garment.'

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom. Acc.	ētach-n	dā n-ētach	ētaige
Gen.	ētaig	dā ētach	(ētaige), ētach
Dat.	etuch	dib n-ētaigib	ētaigib

Here the singular conforms to the *o*-declension; but the plural (perhaps, as Windisch suggests, from false analogy to *tech*) conforms to the *s*-declension. So in German, nouns like *grab* (ex *graba-m*) make their plural *grabir* (ex *grabisa*, *grabasa*), now *gräber*. A somewhat similar case of heteroclisia is Gr. *σκότος*, sg. gen. *σκότου* (*o*-declension) and *σκότους* (*s*-declension).

According to this paradigm are declined *ainech* (face, honour),[1] *airenach* (forefront), *apach* (entrails), *aslach* (temp-

[1] Skr. *anīka* n., Gr. *ἔνωπο* (*κατ' ἔνωπα ἰδών*, Il. xv. 320, where Bekker has *κατενῶπα*), Mahlow 79.

tation), *aurddrach* (phantom), *coblach* (a fleet), *ertach* (refection), *fāsach* (wilderness), *gōethlach* (marsh), *ōenach* (a fair), *ordlach* (inch), *sonnach* (palisade), *timthach* (array), and the loan-word *domnach* (church). And in modern Irish many nouns in *-ach* and *-each*, which can hardly have been neuters, are declined like *étach*. Thus *bromach* (colt), *coileach* (cock), *cullach* (boar), *searrach* (foal), *sionnach* (fox).

Ard (a height) makes its gen. *airdd* in Arm., but also *arddae*.

Bē (woman), sg. voc. *bē*, seems=Skr. *jāyā*, Lat. *Gaja*. But it is preceded by the neut. article (*am-bē*, Saltair 5974), and is sometimes followed by the transported *n* (*be n-Anann*, Corm. sv. Buanann, *be n-imroma* .i. *merdrech*, L. Lecain Voc. 108).

Ben (woman) is in the nom. sg. from a stem *génā*=Goth. *qino*, O.Bulg. *žena*: in the gen. dual and pl. from a stem *gánā* (which we also find in compounds); and in the other cases from a stem *gnā* (*bnā*, *mnā*)=Skr. *gnā* (gen. *gnās* in *gnās-pati*), O. Bact. *ghena*, Gr. γυνή, *βανά*.[1] It was thus declined:

Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom. bén	mnái ?	mná
Gen. mná	ban	ban-n
Dat. mnái	mnáib ?	mnáib
Acc. mnái-n	mnái	mná
Voc. a' bén		a' mná

The loan-word *casc* (pascha) and its compounds *minchasc*, *samchasc*, make the gen. *casc*, dat. *caisc*, acc. *caisc*(*n*).

Duine (homo) forms its singular and dual. from a stem *donio* (cf. *θν-ητός* ?), its plural perhaps from a stem *doinio*, root *dyai*=Skr. *dhyai* 'to contemplate'; whence also the name *Doinus*, Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 197.

Rē (space) f. makes its gen. *rēe*, acc. *rē-n*; pl. nom. *rei*, dat. *reib*. The acc. sg. seems to belong to a masc. or neut. stem. Thus: *boe Dauid rē mōr foleith* (David was for a great space of time apart), Saltair, 6265.

[1] See Mahlow and Schmidt in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxv. 129.

Sēt (a way, W. *hynt*, Goth. *sinths*), gen. sg. *sēta*, dat. *sēt* and *sēit*, pl. nom. *sēit* and *sēti*, acc. *seotu*.

Sēt (a treasure) pl. nom. *sēuit*, *sēoit*, and *sēuti*.

Triath (sea), stem *treiton*, makes its gen. *trethan* from a stem *triton*.

Adjectival Stems.

These all differ in declension from substantive stems in having no dual, dual nouns taking plural adjectives (so in Welsh—*deu was ieueinc*—and in Hebrew, Gesenius Gr. 188). Stems in *o* make the acc. pl., for all genders, in *-a* (e.g. *rētu nōiba* 'res sanctas,' Sg. 33[a]). And the stems in *i* and *u*, in certain cases, pass over to other declensions.

10. Adjectival stems in O, fem. in A.

Example: *marb* 'dead,' = W. *marw*, protoceltic *marvos*, *marvu*, *marvon*, Gr. *μαῦρος*.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neuter.*
Sing. nom.	marb	marb	marb-n
gen.	mairb	mairbe	mairb
dat.	maurb	mairb	maurb
acc.	marb-n	mairb-n	marb-n
voc.	mairb	marb	marb-n
Plur. nom.	mairb	marba	marba
gen.	marb-n	marb-n	marb-n
dat.	marbaib	marbaib	marbaib
acc.	marba	marba	marba
voc.	marba	marba	marba

So are declined *ard* (high) = Lat. *arduus*; *becc* (little) = W. *bach*; *bodar* (deaf) = Skr. *badhira*; *caech* = Lat. *caecus*; *camm* = Gr. *σκαμβός*; *clōen* = Goth. *hlains*; *cloth* = Gr. *κλύτος*; *coel* (narrow); *crīn* (withered); *dall* (blind) = Goth. *dvals*; *deed* (deses); *dess* (right, W. *deheu*) = Goth. *taihsvs*; *erc* (speckled) = *πέρκος*; *fās* (waste) = Lat. *vastus*; *fīr* = Lat. *verus*; *garg* (fierce) = *γοργός*; *gēr* (sharp); *gnāth* = *γνωτός*; *lān* = Lat. *plēnus*; *mael* (bald); *meld* = Goth. *milds*; *nocht* (naked) = Goth. *naqaths*; *nōeb* = O. Pers. *naiba*; *ōac*, *ōc* (young, W. *iouenc*) = Goth. *juggs*; *olc* (bad) = *ὀλύγος* from *ὀλγος*; *ruad* (red) = Goth. *rauds*, Lat. *rōbus*, *rūfus*, *sesc* = Lat. *siccus* (from *siscus*); *sōer* (noble) = Skr. *sutīra*; *trēn* (strong); *uar* (cold) = W. *oer*, protoceltic *ogro-s*, and the loan-word *amprom* = Lat. *improbus*.

Tana (thin, W. *teneu*, protocelt. *tenevós*) belongs to this declension, and is=Gr. *τανα(F)ός*. Like *blā*=Lat. *flāvus*, and *bīu* (alive)=Lat. *vīvus*, and the future participles pass. in *-ī*, *-i*= Lat. *-īvus*, it has no case-endings. Adjectives in *-ech* make the dat. sg. masc. and n. in *-euch* (*aittoitech* gl. fulgido, Ml. 40^{d}, 4, is a scribal error): adjectives in *-ach* (from *āco*) have no change in the dat. sg. masc. and n. In the nom. pl. neut., *īsel* (low, from **inslos*, **indtlos*), has *isle*. This, no doubt, is due to progressive assimilation.

Superlatives in *-am*,[1] *-em*,[2] *-imem*, belong to this declension: Thus sg. dat. *hin uachtarchom* (in supremo), Saltair, 669, pl. n. *nessaim*, ibid. 534, dat. *or comnessmaib* (a proximis nostris) LB. 67^{a}, acc. *carait immurro a comnesmu mar nos-carait fēn* (gl. proximos hautem ut se ipsos diligunt), LB. 67^{b} 40.

It is only when used as substantives that masc. adjectives have *u* in the acc. and voc. pl. Correct, accordingly, Gr. Celt. 227.

In the adverb *in-biucc* (gl. paulatim) we have, according to Windisch, the instrumental singular of an *o*-stem, to be compared with O.H.G. *mit muatu*. Similar adverbs are *in-rembic*[3] (gl. paulo ante) Aug. Solil. 28, and *in-nephdilius* (gl. improprie). And in the phrases *creitmech sin as messa ancreitmech* (fidelis illa quae est deterior quam infidelis) and *ind adaig thūssech* (in the first night) we have, according to Windisch, instrumentals of fem. *ā*-stems. They rather seem ablatives, to be classed with *ō menmain naimtinech* (obnoxio animo) Ml. 65^{b} 10, *fon cheill toissech* (in relation to the primitive meaning), Sg. 67^{a} 9.

11. Adjectival stems in IO.

Example: *núe* (*nuie*, Wb. 4^{b} 29), 'new,'=Welsh *newydd*, Gaulish *noviós*, *noviá*, *novión*.

[1] Cf. Gr. *ὄρχαμος*.
[2] Cf. Lat. *minimus*.
[3] Here *iu* seems to have become *i*, just as in *gin* (mouth) for *giun*: so final *-iu* has become *-i* in the datives sg. *duini*, *tigerni*, Wb. 4^{b} 8d.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neuter.*
Sing. nom.	nūe	nūe	nūe-n
gen.	nūi	nūe	nūi
dat.	nūu	nūi	nūu
acc.	nūe-n	nūi-n	nūe-n
voc.	nūi	nūe	nūe-n
Plur. nom.	nūi	nūi	*nūe, nūi
gen.	nūe-n	nūe-n	nūe-n
dat.	nūib	nūib	nūib
acc.	nūi	nūi	*nūe, nūi

Adjectives of this declension seem to have an ablative sg. in *-id* used adverbially, which Ebel compares with the Gaulish *brātu-de* (ex decreto). Examples are *in-bastaid* (gl. letaliter), *in-doractid* (gl. dorice). A fem. abl. sg. is *cētne*, in *isin chētne tuiste* (in the first creation). In the acc. pl. masc. *-iu* has been shortened to *-i*.

Like *nūe* are declined *annse* (difficult) = W. *anhawdd*; *buide* (yellow) = Lat. *badius*; *dōe* (slow), protocelt. *dausio-s*, cogn. with O.H.G. *tusic* (stultus): [1] the ordinals *cētne* (first), *tānise* (second): also the participles pret. passive. Stems in *aio*, like *madae* = μάταιος, have, in the singular, no change in the case-endings.

12. Adjectival stems in I.

Example: *maith* 'good,' W. *mad*, protoceltic *mati-s*, neut. *mati*.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neuter.*
Sing. nom. and *voc.*	maith	maith	maith
gen.	maith	maithe	maith
dat.	maith	maith	maith
acc.	maith-n	maith-n	maith-n
Plur. nom. acc. and *voc.*	maithi	maithi	maithi
gen.	maithe-n	maithe-n	maithe-n
dat.	maithib	maithib	maithib

So are declined *airdirc*, *erdirc*, *urdairc* (conspicuous), *álaind* (lovely), *allaid* (wild), *angid* (wicked), *arsaid* (old), *bind* (melodious, from *bandi*, cf. Skr. *bhandishṭha*), *blaith* (gentle), *brisc* (fragile), *cennais* (gentle), *cóair*, *cóir* (meet), *cruaid* (hard), *dereoil* (trifling), *decming* (difficult), *demin* (safe), *dilmain* (free), *diuit* (simple), *ecmailt* (unusual), *écndirc* (absent), *ēcoir* (incongruous), *emilt* (troublesome), *ēnirt* (infirm), *essamin*

[1] Windisch, Kuhn's Beitr. viii. 428.

(fearless), *failid* (blithe) *fairsing* (ample), *feuchuir* (severe), *frecndirc* (present), *fudomain* (deep), *fulumain* (volubilis), *gair* (short), *garait* (short), *glicc* (cunning), *goirt* (bitter), *indemin* (imbecillus), *inmain* (dear), *inricc* (worthy), *lēir* (industrious), *meduir* (jocund), *mīn* (smooth), *mithig* (meet), *ōibinn* (delightful), *saim* (pleasant), *sain* (different), *seim* (slender), *sochoisc* (teachable), *sonairt* (firm), *sulbair* (eloquent), *suthain* (perennis), *tais*[1] (soft), *tin*[2] (tender). Of many of these adjectives the corresponding substantives are *o*- or *ā*-stems, just as in the case of Lat. *inermis*, *infamis*, etc.

Except in the case of compounds of *(s)amail*=Lat. *similis*, adjectival *i*-stems in the masc. and neut. gen. sg. pass over to the *o*-declension. So sometimes in the gen. dual: *fēil dā Sinchell suthain* (the feast of two perennial Sinchells), Fēl. March 26. In the gen. pl. of all genders they still keep to the *i*-declension: *secht cēt mīled mblaithe* (seven hundreds of gentle soldiers), Fēl. Sep. 18; *dā nōi mīled maithe* (two nines of goodly soldiers), ibid. July 23; *fil and mōr n-ard n-aille* (there is therein much of delightful assonances, *ard* fem.), ibid. Ep. 83. But in Early Middle Irish we find *bind-n* as the gen. pl. fem.: *coinnmed teora mbliadan mbind* (a feast of three melodious years), LH. 34[a] 2; *oc cantain salm mbuan mbind* (a-chanting lasting, melodious psalms), Fēl. Feb. 17, note; *crocni loeg n-allaid* (skins of fawns, lit. wild calves), ibid. March 5, note. In the fem. gen. sg. they pass over to the fem. *ā*-declension.

But compounds of *(s)amail*, such as *banamail* (womanly), *barramail* (stately), *cosmil* (like), *dathamail* (comely), *ēcsamail* (unlike), *feramail* (manly) *genamail* (lovely), *glasamail* (greenish), *sainemail* (excellent), in Modern Irish, and therefore presumably in Old-Irish, make the gen. sg. for all genders in *-amhla*.

By analogy to the neut. *o*-adjectives, neut. *i*-adjectives have a transported *n* in the nom. and acc. sg. Thus *is dilmain ndo chechtar* (it is free to each of the two), *inmain n-ainm* (a dear name).

[1] Cf. the Gaulish name *Taxi-magulus*.
[2] Cf. the Gaulish name *Teni-genonia*, and perhaps the Old British *Tin-commios*

13. Adjectival stems in U.

Example: *tiug* 'thick,' W. *tew*, protoceltic *tigu-s*, neut. *tigu*, Lith. *tingù-s*, O.N. *thykki*.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neuter.*
Sing. nom.	tiug	tiug	tiug
gen.	tig	tige	tig
dat.	tiug	tig	tiug
acc.	tiug-n	tig-n	tiug
voc.	tig	tiug	tiug
Plur. nom.	tigi	tigi	tigi
gen.	tige-n	tige-n	tige-n
dat.	tigib	tigib	tigib
acc.	tigi	tigi	tigi
voc.	tigi	tigi	tigi

So are declined *anbsud* (unstable), *cobsud* (stable), *dīriug*, *dīriuch* (direct), *dub* (black), *fiu* (worthy, Skr. *vasu*), *fliuch* (moist), *follus* (clear), *il* (many=Goth. *filu*),[1] *lau*=ἐ-λαχύς: *lobur* (infirm), *ocus* (near), *teo* (hot=Vedic *tapu*), comparative *teou*, Ir. Texte, 190, l. 30. The forms in the oblique cases are mostly hypothetical. *Mall*, from *maldus*=βραδύς from μραδύς, probably belonged to this declension. With the fem. gen. sg. cf. ἡδείας from ἡδυς. In *cetu* (primò) we seem to have the abl. sg. of *cēt*=Gaul. *cintu*.

Adjectival stems belonging to the consonantal declension are rare. I know only *tee* (hot), an *nt*-stem,[2] and the stems in *d*, *bidbu* (guilty), *indba* (rich), and *dindba* (poor).

British Declension.

Before proceeding to the next portion of this paper, namely, the oldest monuments of Celtic speech, let us take a glance at the British languages.

Most of the relics of the declensional system to be found in these time-worn tongues have been collected by Rhŷs, in the *Revue Celtique*, ii. 115, and in his *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 2nd ed. pp. 143–153. Siegfried had previously

[1] Très souvent *il* est placé après le substantif: *in tomais il* (gl. multi ponderis) Ml. 20ª, *cosin taidbse il* (gl. cum multa ostensione) Ml. 30ᵇ. (Nigra).

[2] Sg. nom. *tee*, Ld. 62ª *te* (leg. *tē*?), LH. Goid.² p. 141, pl. n. l. *tēit* Wb. 29ª 1 (=tepentes): dat. *-tetib* (leg. *-tētib*), Fēl. prol. 40. A similar *i*-stem *tēith* (=*tepeti-s*) also occurs: *lacht tēith*, Corm. s.v. lemnacht, and in composition *srotha teith-millsi*, LU. 131, l. 32.

explained the plurals in *-ou*, *-au*, as belonging to *u*-stems: Ebel had discovered traces in Welsh of stems in *o*, *i*, *t*, *n*, and *r*; and both Siegfried and Norris had observed the dat. sg. in *er-byn*.

O-stems: sing. gen. *duiu*=*deivī*, Lat. *dīvi*, nom. *diu*, now *duic*=*deivos*, nom. *pen* (=*pennos*, *cvennos*, 'head'), dat. *pyn* (=**pennū* in the nominal prep., *er-byn* (against)=Ir. *ar-chiunn*. Acc. *peunyd* (quotidie)=*peupn-dyd*, Br. *bem-dez*. Dual nom. *deu Wydel uonlwm* (two bare-soled Irishmen, *Gwydel bonlwm*), *deu was penngrych* (two curly-headed youths, *gwas*),[1] *deu uab* (two sons), and the loan-word *deu vul gadarn* (two strong mules, *mul*). Plur. nom. *guyr* (men,=*virī*, sg. *gur*=*vir*), *beird* (bards,=*bardī*, sg. *bard*), *geifr* (goats,=*gabrī*, sg. *gafr* =Ir. *gabor*, Gaul. *gabro-s*), *meirch* (horses,=*marcī*, sg. *march*), *wyn* (lambs, sg. *oen*=Ir. *ūan*, protocelt. *ognos*), and hundreds of other peritonic plural nouns. So in loan-words: *sant* (sanctus), pl. *seint* (sancti). The Ir. acc. pl. in *-u*, protoceltic *-ōs*, Lat. *-ōs*, Gr. *-ους*, is, I think, represented by Welsh plurals in *-ī*, e.g. *weiri*=Ir. *saeru* (fabros) and the loan-word *menechi*=Ir. *manchu* (monachōs). For Welsh *ī*=*ū* cf. *ci*, *cit*, *din*, *glin*, *rin*=Ir. *cū*, *cūl*, *dūn*, *glūn*, *rūn*. Ebel (G. C. 1087[a]) approved of this conjecture. Rhŷs (Lectures 28–30) identifies the plural *-i* with the affix in masc. abstract nouns like *caledi*, *trueni*, and explains this affix as=*isya*, *asya*: cpg. *ἀλήθεια* from *ἀλήθεσια*. But this is not convincing. In the British languages, when the tonic accent preceded the *ya*-suffix, either the suffix became *i* or the semivowel was assimilated; but when this accent was on the suffix, the semivowel developed a *d* and then dropt. Thus *Τόβιος* becomes W. *Tywi*, and *álios* (Ir. *áile*, Gr. *ἄλλος*), becomes W. *all*. But the oxyton Skr. *sasyá* (seed), and *priyá* appear in Welsh as *haidd* (barley), and *rhydd* (free); the oxyton Gr. *νειός* (new land, ex *νεϝιός*) appears in Welsh as *newydd* (new); and the old collectives in *yā*, represented in Greek by the oxyton *ἀνθρακιά*, *δωρεά* (*δωριά* Hesych.), *μυρμηκιά*, *νεοττιά*,

[1] The instance *deu deirw burrcymnion* (two pure white bulls, *tarw*, pl. *tairw*), cited by Rhŷs, *Lectures*, p. 151, is an instance of the plural wrongly used for the dual. *Yr Eifl* (the Forks), which he quotes in the same page as a dual, is also a plural, the *g* of *Geifl* being infected.

σποδιά, *στοιά*, and in Skr. by *gavyā́* (a herd of cows), *paçyā́* (a quantity of cords), appear in Welsh as plurals in *-edd* (Corn. *-eth*, Br. *-ez*).

Tlawd (poor, needy)=*πλητός*, is an adj. belonging to this declension. A plural adjective is *ysgeifn*, sg. *ysgafn* (light).

Corresponding nouns in Cornish are *margh* (horse), pl. *mergh*, and the loan-word *sans* (sanctus), pl. *syns*. In Breton we have: *gaffr* (goat), pl. *gueffr*, and the loan-words *escop* (episcopus), pl. *esquep*, *sant* (sanctus), pl. *sent*.

YO-stems: *cilydd* (fellow)=Ir. *cēle* (protoceltic *cēlió-s*);[1] *carennydd* (friendship)=Ir. *cairde* (protoceltic *carantió*); *defnydd* (material)=Ir. *damnae*, *efydd* (bronze)=Ir. *umae*; *haidd* (barley)=Skr. *sasyá-m*, Zend *hahya* (corn);[2] *lleferydd* (utterance)=Ir. *labra*: *leguenid*, now *llawenydd* (joy)=Ir. *lāine*, Lat. *Lavinia*: *tewydd* (thickness)=Ir. *tige*: the adjectives *rhydd*=Skr. *priyá*, Goth. *frei-s*, *rhewydd* (lewd)=O.N. *Frigg*, gen. *Friggjar*: *hawdd* (easy)=Ir. *sa* (in *an-sa* 'difficult'), *newydd* (new)=Ir. *nūe*, and the ordinals *trydydd* (third), *pedwarydd* (fourth), protocelt. *trityó*, *qetvaryó*, cognate with Skr. *tṛtīya*, *(ca)turīya*. In *mynci* (hame)=Ir. *muince*, the *-io* seems to have become *ī*, as in the surname *Tyfi*=*Tobyos*, gen. *Toβίου*, Ptol. The adjectives *oll*=Ir. *uile* and *arall*=Ir. *araile*, protoceltic *ólyo*, *arálio*, were also originally *yo*-stems, the semivowel here being assimilated to *l*.

I-stems. As *i* does not cause umlaut in Welsh, Cornish, or Breton, we cannot expect to find any trace of the *i*-declension in the nom. sg. of British stems. Comparison with Irish shows that the following probably belonged to this declension: *bod* (being)=Ir. *buith*, *budd* (gain)=Ir. *būaid*; *bwyell* (axe)=Ir. *biail*, stem *biali*; *gawr* (clamour), Ir. *gāir*: *gwis-g*=*ves-tis*: *gwlad* (region)=Ir. *flaith* (realm); *haul* (sun)=Ir. *sūil* (eye); *mor* (sea)=Ir. *muir*, Gaul. *mori*, Lat. *mare*; *peth* (piece)=Ir. *cuit*; *prem*, now *pryf* (worm)=Ir. *cruim*, Lat (*c*)*vermis*; *rhyn* (headland)=Ir. *rinn*; *tir* (land)

[1] The pretonic *ē* is weakened in Welsh to *i*. Had the *ē* been accented, we should have had *cwyli* or *cwyll*.

[2] The Gaulish *sasia*, if this be the word underlying Pliny's corrupt "Secale Taurini sub Alpibus *asiam* vocant." Here the final *s* of *Alpibus* may have caused the scribe to drop the initial *s* of the following *sasiam*.

=Ir. *tīr*. The ending *-oedd*, by which all these nouns (with the exceptions of *budd*[1] and *pryf*[2]) make their plurals,[3] seems to descend from *-oyes*, or *-oyis*, the proto-Britannic ending of the *i*-stems in the nom. plural.[4] Nouns in *-tit* (e.g. *duiutit*) correspond with Latin nouns in *-tūti*, Gothic in *-duthi*. The noun *lu* = Ir. *luib*, which occurs compounded with *garth* = Ir. *gort* in *lluarth* (garden, Ir. *lubgort*), pl. *luird* for *lu-irth*, doubtless belonged to this declension.

Adjectives originally belonging to this declension are *hafal* =Ir. *samail*, Lat. *similis*; *han* (gl. alium)=Ir. *sain* (cognate with Lat. *sine*, Goth. *sun-dro*); *hylafar* (eloquent), Ir. *sulbair*; *hynerth* (firm) = Ir. *sonairt*; *llwyr* (total) = Ir. *lēir*; *llyfn* (smooth) =Ir. *slemain*; *mad* (good) =Ir. *maith*; *melys* (sweet) =Ir. *milis*, and *mynych* (frequens) =Ir. *menicc*. *Gwyllt* (wild), perhaps borrowed from A.S. *vild*, does not change its *y* to *e* in the fem., and therefore, possibly, belongs to this declension.

Masc. *U*-stems. A clear instance is Corn. *maw* (servant), which R. Williams[5] calls "another form of *mâb*," but which is obviously (with the regular loss of intervocalic *g*)=Ir. *mug*, Goth. *magu-s*. The corresponding Welsh word is (as Rhŷs has seen) in *meu-dwy* 'hermit,' lit. 'servus Dei.' Another instance is *briw* from *brūsu*, where intervocalic *s* has disappeared. Other British *u*-stems are *braut*, *brawd* (judgment)=Ir. *brāth*, Gaul. *brātu*; *byd* (world) = Ir. *bith*, Gaul. *bitu*; *cat*, *cad* (battle)=Ir. *cath*, Gaul. *catu*; *dawn* (gift)= Ir. *dān*; *drus*, now *drws* (door), pl. *dressou*, Laws L. 8 = Ir. *dorus*; *gnif* (toil)=Ir. *gnīm*; *gwydd* (a wood)=Ir. *fid*, Gaul. *vidu*; *hencass* (old tale), pl. *hencassou*, Juv. p. 49 = Ir. *senchas*, proto-celt. *seno-castu*; *medd* (mead) = Ir. *med*, Gr. *μέθυ*; *pryd* (aspect) = Ir. *cruth*; *rhaith* (rule) = Ir. *recht*; *tant* (string), Ir. *tēt*, Skr. *tantu*; *yd* (corn)=Ir. *ith*, Skr. *pitú*; and the loan-word *llwch* (lacus), O. Corn. pl. *lichou*, Bodl. 572, fo. 44^b. Probably also nouns in *-awd*, e.g. *diot* (drink), √*dhē*, *cernawd*,

[1] *gwladoedd*, *heuloedd*, *moroedd*, *rhynoedd*, *tiroedd*.
[2] pl. *buddion*.
[3] pl. *pryfed*.
[4] The Gaulish and prehistoric ending of the nom. pl. of the *i*-stems was *-e-is*, from *-ey-es*. Both *-oy-es* and *-ey-es* may descend from an Indo-European *-ayas*.
[5] *Lexicon Cornu-britannicum*, p. 248.

penawd, which Rhŷs connects with Latin nouns like *magistrātus* (Rev. Celt. ii. 118). These all make their plurals in *-ou* (now *-au*), or, with an intercalated *i*, *i-ou* (now *i-au*). This ending may descend from *-ŏv-ĕs* or *ŏv-ĭs*, the proto-Britannic ending of the *u*-stems in the nom. plural.[1] The proper names *Guorgust*=Ir. *Fergus*, and *Ungust*=Ir. *Oengus*, belong to this declension.

Adjectives belonging to this declension are: *agos* (near) =Ir. *ocus*; *du* (black)=Ir. *dub*; *gwiw* (worthy), Skr. *vasu*, Ir. *fiu*; and *teu*, now *tew* (thick) = Ir. *tiug*, where, as in Corn. *maw*, intervocalic *g* has disappeared, and *w* represents the stem-vowel.

Cornish *u*-stems are (besides *maw*) *dagr* (tear), pl. *dagrou*, *daras* (door), pl. *darasou*.

Breton *u*-stems are *dazr* (tear), pl. *dazrou*, *dazlou*, and the loan-word *speredou* (spiritûs).

Fem. *U*-stems. A trace in Old-Br. *treb*, pl. *trebou* (gl. turmae)=Lat. *tribus*, f. Umbr. *trifus*. The corresponding W. *tref* is fem.

Fem. *A*-stems: *awr* (hour)=Ir. *ūar*; *ben*=*benna*; *byddin*= Ir. *buiden*; *coes* (leg)=Ir. *coss*, Lat. *coxa*; *delw* (image)= Ir. *delb* (protocelt. *delva*); *gweddw* (widow)=Ir. *fedb*, Lat. *vidva*; *gwledd* (feast)=Ir. *fled*; *llâth* (rod) = Ir. *slatt*; *llaw* (hand)=Ir. *lām*, Lat. *palma*, Gr. παλάμη; *mefl* (disgrace) = Ir. *mebul*; *merch* (girl), Lith. *merga*; *rhan* (part)=Ir. *rann*; *rhin* (secret)=Ir. *rūn*; *rhod* (wheel)=Ir. *rath*, Lat. *rota*, and the loan-words *cilcet*, *cylched* (culcita), *maneg* (manica). To these may be added nouns in *-ell* (ex *-illa*) and *-es* (ex *-issa*). Other nouns (like the loan-word *llythyr* m.=*littera*) seem to have gone over to the masc. *o*-declension; *amser* m. (time)=Ir. *aimser*, f. *pwyll* (reason)=Ir. *cīall* f.; *serch* m. (love)=Ir. *serc* f.; *ton* (skin), Ir. *tonn* f., *tud* m. (region)=Ir. *tuath* f. and the loan-word *gramadeg* (grammatica). Nominatives plural of this declension are, perhaps, *adar* (birds), cognate with πτερόν for πετερον; *moch* (pigs)=Ir. *mucca*; *plant* (children)=Ir.

[1] The prehistoric ending of the nom. pl. of the *u*-stems seem to have been *e-is*. from *ev-is*; cf. Gr. *-εϝες* (the Epic βραδέες, εὐρέες, ἡμίσσεες, ὀξέες, πολέες, ταχέες, ὠκέες, κ.τ.λ., Gustav Meyer, *Griech. Gramm.* § 353), Skr. *sunavas*.

clanda; and the loan-words *gem* (gems)=Ir. *gemma*, *llythyr* (letters) = Ir. *litre*, and *pluf* (feathers)=Ir. *clūma*.

A trace of masc. *ā*-stems is perhaps to be found in *Cymraes* (Welshwoman) and *Cymraeg* (the Welsh language).

Feminine adjectives of this declension are, *brech* (freckled), protocelt. *brecca*; *gwen* (white), protocelt. *vinda* (root *vid*, cf. Skr. *vinnā*, Gr. *ἀ-ϊδνή*); *gwleb* (wet), protocelt. *vliqva*; *melen* (yellow), protocelt. *mēlina*=Gr. *μηλίνη*; *crom* (curved), protocelt. *crumba*; *trom* (heavy), protocelt. *trumba*; and the loan-words *fferf* (firma) and *sech* (sicca).

Fem. *IĀ*-stems. These fall into two classes. In the first *d* has been developed before the semivowel of the accented ending; in the second the toneless *iā* has become *ī*. Examples of the first class are: *anhunedd*=Lat. *insomnia*; *camedd* (curvature)=Ir. *caimme*, acc. *cammi*, Ml. 99[d] 1; *caredd* (iniquity) =Ir. *caire*; *cledd* (left hand) = Ir. *clé* (protocelt. *cliyá*, Goth. *hlei-duma*); *culedd* (leanness) = Ir. *cōile*; *chwerwedd* (bitterness)=Ir. *serbe*; *gwirionedd* (truth)=Ir. *fírinne*; *guiled*, *gwyledd* (bashfulness)=Ir. *fēle*; *llonedd* (fulness—found only in compounds)=Ir. *lāine*; *llyfredd* (cowardice)=Ir. *lobre*; *moeledd* (baldness)=Ir. *māile*; *noethedd* (nakedness)=Ir. *nochtae*; *truedd* (wretchedness)=Ir. *trōige*; *trugaredd* (mercy)=Ir. *trōcaire*. Of these *gwirionedd* and *trugaredd* are said to be masc. But if so, they must have been originally feminine. The common plurals in *-edd* may be added, if Rhŷs be right in regarding them as feminine abstracts, and in comparing the Old-Bulg. *bratija* (brotherhood) used as the pl. of *bratŭ* (brother).

Examples of the second class are *breni* (gl. proram), Ir. *bráine*; *celli* (grove), from *cáldia*, cognate with Ir. *caill* from *caldit*; *gweddi* (prayer) = Ir. *fóigde*, protoceltic *vúgadia*.

It is possible that some feminines ending in *-i* may represent Greek stems like *ναυτία*, with the accent on the *ι*, and that some feminines ending in *-edd* may represent oxytons like *ἀγυιά*.

Ī-stems: *maint*, Ir. *mēit*, is an instance of a masc. *ī*-stem. Perhaps *ynys* (island), pl. *ynysoedd*, is an instance of a fem In *riain garedd* (delight of ladies) we have a gen. plural=Ir. *rignae*-(*n*).

Consonantal Stems.

c-stems: None quotable.

g-stems: sg. n. *bre* (hill), dat. *fry*, used as an adverb; *rhi* (king)=Ir. *rī*, Gaul. *rīx*, *reix*, nom. dual *dou rig*; *Cymro*, plur. nom. *Cymry*, gen. *Ciwed Gymru*=civitas Combrogum.

r-stems: *brawd* (brother), pl. *brodyr*. In *chwaer* (sister)= *svesṛ*, pl. *chwiorhydd*=*svesōr-yo*, we have addition of a suffix used to make plurals to the equivalent of Lat. *sorōres*, Skr. *svasāras*. *Mawdr* 'mother'=Gaul. *mātr*, occurs only in the compound *modr(f)ydaf* 'beehive.' The fem. numerals *teir* (three), *pedeir* (four), belong to this declension.

t-stems: *tan* (fire)=Ir. *tene* gen. *tened*; *llyg* (fieldmouse)= Ir. *luch*, gen. *lochad*, and the loan-word *ciwed* (civitas). Oblique cases are represented by *undod* (unity), Ir. *ōintaith*, nom. sg. *ōintu*, and *troed* (foot)=Ir. *traigid*, nom. sg. *traig*.

d-stems: *dryw*=Ir. *drui*[1] (soothsayer, √*dru*, Teut. √*tru*); *pridd* (earth, soil)=Ir. *crēid*, dat. sg., or *crēid-n*, acc. sg. of *cré*.

nt-stems: *car* (friend), pl. *carant* (Mab. ii. 30, l. 3)=Ir. *cara*, nom. pl. *carait*; *ney* (nephew), pl. *nyeint*; *Nudd*= Ir. *Nuada*, gen. *Nuadat*; *breuant* (windpipe) = Ir. *brāgait*, dat. sg., or *brāgait-n*, acc. sg., of *brāge*; *gof* (smith), pl. *gofaint*; *ugain* for *ugaint* 'twenty,'=Ir. *fichit* dat. sg., or *fichit-n*, acc. of *fiche*. Corn. *car*, pl. *kerens*.

nd-stems: *bru* (womb)=Ir. *brū*, gen. *bronn*.

masc. *n*-stems: *ci* (hound) pl. *cwn*=Ir. *cū*, pl. n. *cona*; *ewin* (nail)=Ir. *ingin*, dat. sg., or *ingin-n*, acc. sg., of *inge*; *gorsin* (doorpost) = Ir. *ursain*, dat. sg., or *ursain-n*, acc. sg., of *ursa*; *safn* (mouth), Zend *çtamān*; *elin* (elbow)= Ir. *uilinn*, dat. sg. or *uilinn-n*, acc. sg. of *uille*; *Iwerddon* (Ireland)=*Ērinn*, dat. sg., or *Ērinn-n*, acc. sg. of *Ēriu*, protoceltic *Iveriō*; *ych* (ox), pl. *ychen*, Goth. *auhsans*; and the loan-words *lleydyr* (latro), pl. *llatron*, and *lleng* (legio), gen. pl. *lleon* in *Caer-lleon*, *Carreg y lleon*. For the dual the nom.

[1] The noun *derwydd*, which Rhŷs quotes as an oblique case of *dryw*, seems to be = O.-Bret. *dorguid*, a compound of *der*, *dor*=*tu*+*ar*, and *gwydd*=*guid*, a derivative of the root *vid*.

sg. is employed in *deu vilgi vronwcynnion vrychion* (two white-breasted, brindled greyhounds, *milgi*=Ir. *milchu*). But here the infection of the initials of the adjectives *bronwcynn* and *brych* points to an original vocalic desinence of the noun with which they agree.

Cornish *ky* (hound), pl. *kuen* (i.e. *kūn*), and the loan-word *lader* (latro), pl. *laddron*. Bret. *qui* (hound), pl. *con*, and the loan-word *lazr* (latro), pl. *lazron*.

In Breton *anafvon* (souls), and *gadon* (hares), seem to belong to this declension.

neut. *n*-stems: *ymen-yn* (butter)=Lat. *unguen*.

neut. *men*-stems: *anu* (name), pl. *enuein*, Mart. Cap. 1 a.b. 11 a.a.; *cam* (gradus), pl. *cemmein*; *garm* (cry)=Ir. *gairm*, G. C. 821; *ruim* (vinculum), pl. *ruimmein*, Juv. p. 55; *trum* (ridge), pl. *ar drumain mor* (on a sea's ridges), Cynddelw, cited by Pugh, s.v. *truman*. And in Cornish *bram* (crepitus ventris), pl. *bremmyn*; *colm* (nodus), pl. *colmen*; *hanow* (name), pl. *hynwyn*; *bom* (blow, Ir. *bēim*), pl. *bommyn*; *tam* (frustum), pl. *tymmyn*. The umlaut here points to collectives in *-ya*.

s-stems: *din* (fortress)=Ir. *dūn*; *glin* (knee)=Ir. *glūn*; *ma* in *cibrac-ma* (battlefield), *Gwynfa*=Ir. *Findmag*, Gaul. *Vindomagos*; *nef* (heaven)=Ir. *nem*, better *neb*; *ty* (house), pl. *te*, *tai*=Ir. *teg*, n. pl. *tige*, Gr. τέγεα. *Maes* seems from **mag's*, protoceltic *magesos* (Ir. *maige*) or *magesi* (Ir. *maig*), as *nos* (night), from **nots*, **nocts*.[1]

ns-stems: *mis* (month) = Ir. *mīs*, dat. sg., or *mīs-n*, acc. sg., of *mī*. To this may certainly be added the comparatives in *ach*, ex *ass*, *ans*; though I cannot see why, in the former case, *ns* should have become *s*, and, in the latter, *ch*.[2]

[1] Rhŷs (*Lectures*, p. 32) explains words like *cawr* (giant), pl. *cewri*, *maen* (stone), pl. *meini*, as instances of nouns which in the singular belong to the *o*-declension, in the plural to the *s*-declension. This, though improbable, is possible. But his attempt to explain *benyw* (female) and *teu* in *teu-lu* (household) = Ir. *teglach*, protoceltic *tegoslougos*, as the genitives sg. of stems in *s*, and equal, respectively, to *benesos* and *tegesos*, seems to me a failure from the phonetic point of view.

[2] *-ach* from *ass*, *ans*, seems also in *trach* (beyond) = Lat. *trans*, but also *traws*. The pl. ending *-ach* in *plantach* (little children) is probably an abstract ending, like *-assus* in Goth. *ibnassus* ἰσότης. So in *bocsach* (gloriatio), *cyfeddach* (comessatio). *cyfeilliach* (amicitia).

Old-Celtic Inscriptions.

Now, to cleave to the great principle of passing from the known to the unknown, rather than from the unknown to the known, we must, before attempting to restore the protoceltic forms of the principal Old-Irish declensions, set out, first, the more important monuments of the Old-Celtic dialects; and, secondly, the changes which comparison with cognate tongues proves that the desinences have undergone in the passage from protoceltic to Old-Irish.

Of these relics of the Old-Celtic languages the most valuable are the Gaulish inscriptions, now about twenty-eight in number.[1] They may be divided into three groups, the first written in North-Etruscan characters, and found in Italy; the second written in Greek letters, and found in Southern Gaul, that is, not far from the Greek colony of Massilia; the third written in the Roman alphabet.[2] In trying to interpret these inscriptions I shall assume, first, that Gaulish belongs to the Indo-European family, and, secondly, that its nearest relatives are the neoceltic languages.

I. Inscriptions in North-Etruscan Characters.

1. *The Bilingual of Todi.*[3]

(Letters in parenthesis are not now legible.)

(ATEGNATO)	(ATEGNATO)
(DRVTEI VRDVM)	(DR)V(T)EI VRDVM

[1] "Vielleicht sind jetzt im ganzen gegen drei Dutzend bekannt (einige mehr oder einige weniger), in denen gallische Wörter und Namen mit gallischen Endungen auftreten."—*Keltische Sprachen*, in Ersch und Grüber's *Encyclopädie*, s. 144, col. 1.

[2] Collections of them are in Roget de Belloguet's *Ethnogénie gauloise*, 2 éd. Paris, 1872; *Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule*, t. 1, Paris, 1875; Kuhn und Schleicher's *Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachforschung*, ii. 100, iii. 162–172.

[3] Now in the Museo Gregoriano in Rome. Printed in the Corpus Insc. Lat. i. 262. In Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 66, Lottner points out the impossibility of regarding the non-Latin parts of this bilingual as Umbrian. If they were Umbrian, (1) they would have been written from right to left, and (2) we should have had *Trutikns* instead of *Trutiknos*, *lokam* instead of *lokan*, and a nomen gentile instead of the patronymic *Trutiknos*. To these arguments Becker (Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 180) added (3) that the diphthong *oi* (in *Koisis*) does not occur in Umbrian (*Voisienier* in the Asisi inscription is a mistake for *Volsienier*); (4) that the compounds with *gnatos* and *cnos*, the nom. sg. in *is* (*Koisis*), the gen. sg. in *-i*, the verbal ending in *-u*, are distinctly un-Umbrian; and (5) that the names *Ategnatos* and *Drutos* (Druta) occur in Keltic localities. These arguments are confirmed by the subse-

(C)OISIS
DRVTEI . F. FRATER
EIVS
MINIMVS . LOCAV
IT . ET . STATVIT
ATEKNATI . TRVT
IKNI . KARNITV
ARTVA⋈ KOISIS . T
RVTIKNOS

(C)OISIS DRVTI . F
FRATER . EIVS
(M)INIMVS . LOCAVIT E(T)
(ST)ATVITQVE
(AT)EKNATI . TRVTIKN(I)
(KAR)NITV . LOKAN . KO(ISIS)[1]
(TR)VTIKNOS

The Latin seems to mean "For Ategnatus (son) of Drutus Coisis, son of Drutus, his youngest brother, placed and erected a barrow." I conjecture that the *ἅπαξ λεγομένον urdum* means 'tumulum,' and is a deriv. from √*vardh*, as *tumulus* from √*tu*. As the North-Etruscan alphabet had no signs for G and D, and as ⋈ represented a sharp *s*, we are entitled to transcribe the Gaulish parts thus:

Ategnati Druticni carnitu artvass Coisis Druticnos.
Ategnati Druticni carnitu logan Coisis Druticnos.

In each of these sentences *carnitu* is obviously the verb governing the singular *logan* in the one, the plural *artvass* in the other. *Coisis Druticnos* are nominatives singular, and *Ategnati Druticni* are genitives. With *Coisis* compare, for the ending, the names *Amadis*, *Cosmis*, *Iunis*, *Mastucis* (Becker, Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 348), and, for the meaning, the Skr. *keça* 'hair' (for *kaisa*), and the names *Kesarin*, *Keçava*. The diphthong in *Coisis* shows that the non-Latin part of this inscription was not (as Aufrecht and Kirchhoff supposed) Umbrian.[2] It occurs in the Gaulish names *Coinus*, *Coinagus*, *Doiros*, and *Koipus*. *Ategnati* is the gen. sg. of *Ategnatos*, the masc. of the fem. *Ategnata*, which occurs on two Pannonian inscriptions. It is a compound of the prep. *ate*, Ir. *aith*, W. *ad*,

quent discovery of *karnitus* on the Novara inscription, the celticity of which cannot possibly be doubted. All this is ignored by Mommsen, *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* (1863), t. i p. 262, where he calls Drutus and Coisis "praenomina Umbra," and also by Bücheler, in his *Umbrica*, 1883, p. 175.

[1] Campanari has KO . . . , Mommsen *et*.

[2] Of the characters of the Novara inscription (No. 2) Mommsen writes (Corpus Inscr. v. p. 720): "Alphabetum idem atque aureorum Salassorum *et inscriptionis Todertinæ* [*i.e.* the non-Latin part of the Todi bilingual], vol. i. No. 1408, hodie proprium iudicatur Gallorum probabiliter." He does not say why the Umbrians should have used an alphabet "proprium Gallorum."

and *gnatos*=Gr. γνητος in *κασί-γνητος*, Lat. *gnatus* in *agnatus*, *co-gnatus*. *Druticnos*, sg. gen. *Druticni*, is a patronymic, like *Oppianicnos*, *Nantonicn(os)*, *Versicnos*, *Toutissicnos*, infra, *Ἀρτικνος* (*Μούσανος Ἀρτίκνου*, Murat, p. 643), and *Gobannicnos* ('Gobannilno,' Murat. p. 1384, 4). *Dannotalicnoi*, infra No. 2, is the same patronymic in the nom. plural. In the first part of these names (*Druti-*, *Oppiani-*, *Nantoni-*, *Versi-*, *Toutissi-*, *Arti-*, *Gobanni-*, *Danotali-*) Pictet and Becker saw genitives sg. governed by *-cnos*. But Flechia, with more reason, finds here forms phonetically modified from the themes *Druto-*, *Oppiano-*, etc., and compares Lat. *coelicola* from *coelo-cola*, *terrigena* from *terra-gena*. Certainly in the Gaulish *Maina-cnos* and *Taranu-cnos* we have no genitives. With *-cnos*, pl. n. *-cnoi*, the Ir. *cenél*, W. *cenedl*, and the Ir. verb *cinim* 'I descend,' are connected. So, too, seem the Oscan *loufrikonoss* ('liberigenos,' ingenuos), Corssen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xi. 417; Skr. *kanā*, *kanyā* (girl). *Drutos* (fem. *Druta*, infra No. 21) is now represented by W. *drud* 'hero,' and is=Lith. *drútas* 'firm.'

So much for the nouns in the nom. and gen. *Logan* is the acc. sg. of *loga* = Old-Welsh *lo* (in the Llanfechan Ogham, *Trenaccat lo* 'Trenaccat's tomb'), and cognate with Ir. *lige* (bed), *laige* (to lie), Lat. *lec-tus*, *lec-tica*, Gr. λέχος, λόχος, Goth. *lagja* (lay), *liga* (lie). *Artvass*, acc. pl. of *artva*, is cognate with Gaul. *Artemia*[1] and Ir. *art* (stone, gravestone), *artḗini* (pebbles) Corm., which, with regular loss of initial *p* and metathesis of *r*, seems = *πέτρα*. For the termination compare the Oscan *ekass*, *viass*, *teremniss*. *Carnitu*, in form identical with the Latin supine in *-tu*, is either cognate with the neoceltic *carn* (congeries lapidum, tumulus), *carric* (rock), and the Greek *κραναός* (rocky), or is a denominative from the stem *carno* (=Skr. *caraṇa*, effectio, confectio, opus, root *kar*), thought to be found in the names *Carnavi*, *Carnonacae*, *Carnuntum*, *Carnuntes*. The latter sug-

[1] Name of a 'petra' mentioned in the life of Domitian, Abbot of Susa (Segusio, in Gallia Transpadana), Boll. Iul. i. 53. *Artaios*, an epithet for Mercury (*Rev. Celt.* iv. 17), and the name *Artos* (*ibid.* i. 293) may also be cognate.

gestion is Flechia's. But the absence from the neoceltic languages of any derivative from the root *kar* is strongly in favour of the former. The following may therefore be given as a tentative translation:

Ategnati Druti filii lapides sepulchrales congessit Coisis Druti filius.

Ategnati Druti filii tumulum congessit Coisis Druti filius.

This sepulchral record may be compared with the inscription at Penmachno:[1] *Carausius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum:* with the following extract from Nennius, § 73: "Arthur postea congregavit congestum lapidum sub lapide in quo erat vestigium canis sui, et vocatur *carn Cabal*:" and with the following extracts from two of the oldest Latin writings of the Irish: "Et sepiliuit illum aurigam Totum Caluum id est *Totmáel*, et congregauit lapides erga sepulcrum," Book of Armagh, 13a, 2: "post expleta baptizationis ministeria . . . eodem in loco consequenter obiit, ibidemque socii, congesto lapidum aceruo, sepeliunt," Adamnán's Life of Columba, ed. Reeves, p. 63.

2. *The Inscription of Novara.*[2]

TEKOS TOVTIV(S)

K(VI)TESASOIOIKEN
TANOTALIKNOI
KVITOS
LEKATOS
ANOKOPOKIOS
SETVPOKIOS
ESANEKOTI
ANAREVI⋈EOS
TANOTALOS
KARNITVS

[1] Hübner, *Inscriptt. Brit. Christianae*, No. 136. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 166.

[2] *Di un' iscrizione celtica trovata nel Novarese*, par G. Flechia, Torino, 1864. Reviewed by Ebel, Kuhn's Beiträge, iv. 486. There is a photograph of this inscription in the *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule*, t. i. inscriptions gauloises, No. 10, and a cast in the Museum of Saint Germain. Flechia dates it about the middle of the seventh century of Rome, say 154 B.C. In the Corpus Inscr. t. v. p. 719, Mommsen gives the first line as "esaioivil(?)ani" and the lateral line as "takos (?) k(?)ositosit. . . ." I hope I shall not be thought wanting in the respect due to a great scholar, if I say that the notes of interrogation are the best parts of these lections.

That is, substituting medials for dentals where necessary, and inserting the omitted letters where there has been 'singling,' or assimilation and singling:

Kvi[n]tes asoioiken Dannotaliknoi, Kvi[n]tos, Legatos, Andokobogios, Setubogios, Esandekotti, Andarevisseos, Dannotalos karnitus. Tekos toutiu(s).

"(This sepulchre) the grandsons (?) of Quinta, (who were) also the sons of Dannotalos, (namely) Quintos, Legatos, Andocombogios, Setubogios, Exandecottis, Andarevisseos, (and) Dannotalos, heaped together. Tecos (being) magistrate."

Here *karnitus* (pl. of *karnitu* in the Todi inscription) is obviously the verb. The nominatives in the commemorative part of the inscription are six singulars, namely, *Kvitos*[1] (borrowed from Quintus), *Legatos* (borrowed from Legatus), *Andocombogios*, *Setubogios*, *Exandecotti[s]*, *Andarevisseos*, and *Dannotalos*, and two plurals, viz., *Dannotalicnoi*, or sons of Dannotalos, and *asoioi*, which denotes, perhaps, the 'grandsons' of *Kvita* (Quinta), with the gen. sing. of whose name the first line begins. For the dropping of *n* in *Kvitos* and *K(vi)tes* compare Lat. *Quite* in Wordsworth, Early Latin, p. 23. As to the patronymic *Dannotalicnoi* see No. 1. *Asoioi*, nom. pl. of *asoios*, which, like *as-an* 'blood,' Goth. *ast-s*, may be a derivative of the root *as* (werfen, schiessen). As there is no suffix *-oio*, *asoios* must stand for *asovios*, with the same loss of intervocalic *v* that we find in *Ioincata*, *Ioincatius*, *Ioincissius*, compared with *Iovincillus*. With **asovios* compare *Lexovii*, *Segovii*, and the town-names *Segovia*, *Οὐιννούιον* (*Vinnovion*). The Latin *Pacuvius*, *Vesuvius*, *Lanuvium*, the Umbr. *Krapuvio* (later *Grabovio*), *Fisovio* may also be compared. With *Ando-com-bogios* cf. the *Andocum-borius* of Cæsar, Glück, K.N. 26. The prefix *ando* seems = Skr. *ádha* in *adhara*, *adhama*. *Setu-bogios* occurs, latinised, in De Wal, p. 200 (*Setubogius Esuggi f.*). Like *Ando-com-bogios* it is a compound of *bogios*, which occurs

[1] *Quintus* also occurs in the place-name *Quintiacum* now *Quincieux* (Isère).

in *A-brextu-bogius*, *Ad-bogius*, *Tu-bogius*, *Ver-com-bogius*, and is perhaps cognate with Slav. *bogŭ* 'good,' Skr. *bhaga*. With *Setu-* cf. *Setonius* and possibly *Nappi-setu*, infra No. 27. *Ex-ande-cotti* is for *-cottis*, as *Sumeli*, infra No. 24, for *Sumelis*. With *cottis* are cognate *Cottius*, *Cottos*, *Melo-cottius*, *Ate-cotti*, and Corn. *coth* (old), Br. *coz*. *And-arē-visseos*, like *Visionius* (Steiner, 800), seems derived from the root *vid* (*visseos* ex *vid-teos*): with the first part of the word cf. the coin-legend *Annoroveci*, Rev. Celt. ii. 95.

Danno-talos is a compound of *talos* (forehead), which we find also in *Argio-talus*, *Carrio-talus*, *Dubno-talus*, *Ro-talus*, *Samo-talus*, and W. *Tal-iesin*. The first element, *Danno* (if this be the true reading), occurs infra No. 18, and also in *Danno-marus*, *Danno-rix*, Rev. Celt. iii. 165. *Danus* and *Dano-tale*, with a single *n*, also occur, *ibid.*

Tekos toutiu(s) is a nom. absolute. *Tekos* in neoceltic is represented by W. *tec* (in *Tecmed* 'Fair-neck'), now *têg* 'pulcher' (cf. the Latin names *Pulcher*, *Pulcheria*). *Toutiu(s)* (=the τοουτιους of No. 6 infra) must be a masc. stem in *t*, *d*, or *n*, related to *touta*, Ir. *tuath*, W. *tud*, as Goth. *thiudans* (rex) is to *thiuda* (folk). As the gen. *Toutionis* occurs (Mommsen, Inscr. Helv. No. 284), *toutiu(s)* probably is a stem in *n*.

The *ken* is probably a conjunction, but its etymology is obscure.

3. *The Inscription of Voltino* (Lago di Garda).[1]

TETVMVS
SEXTI
DVGIAVA
SA⋈ADIS
TOWEDECAVI
OBVLDINV TINV.

Tetumus (filius) Sexti, Curator Sassarensis, me addixit Obuldino Tino.

[1] Drawn in Mommsen's *Nordetruskische Alphabete*, taf. ii. 17, and in Kuhn's Beiträge, iii. 170, No. 16: "immurato in campanile d'una delle chiesiccinole de' monti Cenacensi non molto lungi da Limone." The first three lines are in Roman letters.

The third character of the fifth line (W) occurs in other inscriptions in the names RAWEANA, IAWO, LELLAWO, SOWILI (Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 205), which must be read *Rameana, Iamo, Lellamo, Somili.* But two of the characters in which the last two lines are written do not occur elsewhere. They are ⁝·⁝ , which occurs at the beginning of the fifth, or ⁘◦⁘, which is the ninth character of the sixth line, and letters like arrows in the fifth place of line 5, and in the fifth place of line 6. The first of these characters must be either a vowel or a consonant. It cannot be a vowel, for all the vowels *a, e, i, o, u* are represented otherwise in these two lines. It must therefore be a consonant, not *b, c, l, m, n,* nor *v,* which are otherwise represented in these lines: it must, in other words, be *d, f, g, h, p, q, r,* or *t.* Of these *t* is preferable, as it yields in the last line an intelligible *Tinu,* dat. sg. of the name of the deity=Etr. *Tina,* and in the penultimate line the intelligible prefix *to-*=Ir. toneless *do-.* The signs like arrows must then be either *d, f, g, h, p, q,* or *r.* Of these *d* is preferable, as we then get in the penultimate line the intelligible *-decavi.*

Here *dugiava* (obviously in apposition with the *u*-stem *Tetumus*) may be a masc. *ā*-stem, like *Ateula,* infra; and cognate with *dugeonteo,* No. 18, and the names *Dugius, Dugenius,* a woman's name, *Dugiavva,* Rev. Celt. iii. 167, and see the Corp. Inscr. lat. v. p. 512, No. 4887. *Sassaris* (the D of the inscription is probably to be read *r*), an adjectival *i*-stem agreeing with *dugiava*; *to-* may be=the Old-Irish accented prepositional prefix *tú*; the WE (i.e. *me*) may be the infixed pronoun; *to-decavi,* a pret. act. sg. 3 from a verb of which the O.-Ir. *dodéchaim* is the neoceltic reflex, and which is cognate with Lat. *dico,* Gr. δεικ-νυ-μι, Goth. *teiha* (nuntio). *Obuldinu Tinu* seems the name of the deity (*Obuldinos Tinos*) in the dat. sg., to whom was dedicated the object on which the inscription is found. *Tinos* may be the Gaulish reflex of the Etruscan *Tinia, Tina,* which corresponded with the Gr. Zeus (Preller, *Römische Mythologie,* 1865, p. 165).

For the omission of a word corresponding with 'filius' before the father's name, compare *Doiros Segomari,* infra No.

17, *Martialis Dannotali*, No. 18, and in Greek *Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου*.

4. *The Inscription of Verona.*[1]

SENOSIPEVKIHKAVOSAQSSIIHSEIMEROKIQOININAQ

This inscription is written from right to left. The sign (like o with a perpendicular tail) here represented by Q[2] is read *θ* by Mommsen and regarded as a mark of interpunction by Cuno. But it closely resembles the Greek sign for the *koppa*, the Semitic guttural *qōph* occuring in *qορινθόθεν*, *γλαυqώπιδι*, *Ἔqτωρ*,[3] *κ.τ.λ.* For *ss* the inscription has the sign (⋈), used also in the Todi inscription, to denote the sharp *s*, which descends from *ns*. Read therefore:

Qaninio Qikoremies hiiss qasova khik Vepisones.

Here *Qaninio*, *hiiss* and *qasova* are obviously nominatives singular, and *Qikoremies* and *Vepisones* are genitives sg.

Qaninio (like *Sosio* infra) is a fem. *iā*-stem = *Caninia*, Steiner, No. 2225, the fem. of *Caninius*, Knabl, *Mitth. d. hist. V. f. Steiermark*, 4, 197.

Qikoremiēs, gen. sg. of *Qicoremio*, another fem. *iā*-stem, cognate with *Cicaru* (Fröhner cited Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 188). For the suffix compare *Artemia*, *Artemius*, G.C.

Hiiss may represent an earlier *pīens*, *pīen(t)s*, a participial formation from the root *pī*=*πā*, whence *παός*, *πηός* 'kinsman.' For the change of *p* to *h* compare the Irish *haue*, *Hēriu*, *hilar*, *hetho*, *honn*, *huide*, cognate, respectively, with *πάϊς*, *Πιερία*, *πολύς*, Skr. *pitu*, Lat. *pondus*, Skr. *padya*.

Qasova may be the fem. of *Cassavus*, Glück, K.N. 85, 105, and cognate with the Gaulish *casamo*, *cassamo* (gl. adsectator), *Casatus* (Gruter, 643, 1), the Ir. *casaim* (flecto, verto, from *qastāmi*), *casal* (gl. paenula, lacerna, from *qastlo*) and Lat. *quasillus*, *-um*, √*quas*.

[1] On a metal plate found near Verona. Mommsen, *Nordetruskische Alphabete*, s. 210, tafel ii. n. 19. Cuno, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik*, 66. 113 u. 114, ss. 227-229.

[2] The sound is rendered, Latin-fashion, by QV in the names *Sequano*, *Quadiates* (Orelli, 626), and *Quigo*, *Quordaio* (Steiner, 2817), which last may be connected with W. *porth* (auxilium, subsidium), *Texquisius* (Steiner, 1486).

[3] See G. Meyer, Griechische Grammatik, 1880, § 191.

Khik (leg. *kve-k* ?),[1] a double copulative particle, like *eti-c* infra and Lat. *at-que, a-c.*

Vepisones, gen. sg. of *Vepi-sona*, a compound of which the first element seems connected with the Gaulish names *Vepus*, *Vepo*, *Veponius*, *Veponia* (W. *gweb* 'visage'), and the second with *sonos*, *sonios* in the names *Togisonus*, *Vegi-sonius*, and perhaps *Tarbei-sonius* infra, No. 14.

The following is a tentative translation:

"Caninia, a kinswoman of Cicoremia and also a follower of Vepisona."

5. *The Inscription of Este.*[2]

TARKNO VOSSENO.

This is only a woman's name. Two fem. *ā*-stems in the nom. sg. (Ebel, Kuhn's Beitr. v. 80, note). Three explanations of *Tarkno* have been suggested. It may be abbreviated for *Tarikno* 'daughter of Taros' (cf. the names *Ταρό-δουνον*, *Brogi-taros*), a fem. form corresponding with masc. patronymics in *-cnos*, like *Drutiknos* supra. It may, secondly, be a compound of *-kno* with the prepositional prefix *tar*, which we have in *Tar-con-di-motus*. It may, lastly, be the Gaulish reflex of the Etruscan *Tarchnas*. Here, as elsewhere, we must practise the ars nesciendi. As to *Vosseno*, for the root compare *Vossis*, *Vossius*, Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 405, and for the suffix, *Advolenus*, *Advolena*, *Belenus*.

II. Inscriptions in Greek Characters.

6. *First Inscription of Vaison.*[3]

CEΓOMAPOC
OYIΛΛONEOC
TOOYTIOYC
NAMAYCATIC
EIѠPOYBHΛH
CAMICOCIN
NEMHTON

[1] 𐌊𐌉𐌄𐌊 *kvek* might easily be miscopied by the engraver as 𐌊𐌉𐌇𐌊 *khik*.

[2] Auf dem bauche eines thongefässes von rother farbe, 0,14 meter hoch, 0,70 brest. Gefunden bei *Este* in den von *Obizzi* veranstalteten ausgrabungen, jetzt im museum von Catajo (Oberitalien), Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 172, 173.

[3] Inscription votive gravée en lettres grecques cursives sur une petite dalle de pierre blanche à peu près carrée, provenant de Vaison, aujourd'hui au musée d'Avignon, Dictionnaire Arch., Inscr. Gauloises, No. 2.

That is: *Segomāros Villoneos, toutius Namausatis, eiōru Belesami sosin nemeton.*

"Segomaros, son of Villonos, a magistrate of Nemausus (Nîmes), made for Belesama this temple."

Here *Sego-māros* (gen. *Segomari*, No. 17) is a compound of the adj. *māros* (Ir. *mār*, *mōr* 'great,' W. *mawr*) and the stem of *segos*, which seems to have had two meanings, (1) 'strength,' (2) 'sagacity.' *Sego-s* 'strength' (in *Sego-briga*, *Sego-dunum*, and in the derivatives *Segomo*, *Segovia*), comes from the root *sagh*, whence Skr. *sahas* 'strength,' Gr. ἔχω, ἐχυρός, ὀχυρός, the Teut. *sigis*, *Sigmar*, and the mod. Irish *sedh*, *seadh* (strength, Four Masters, A.D. 1568), which seems misspelt for *segh*, *seagh*. *Segos* (sagacity) comes from the root *sag*, whence also Lat. *sagio*, *sagax*, and Ir. *seaghmhar* (Gael. *seadhmhor* 'sagax'), which seems exactly the reflex of our *Segomaros*.

Villoneos (= *Villonius*, Gruter 488, 5), like *Condilleos*, *Litumareos*, *Elusconios*, *Illiakeos*, *Tarbeisonios*, and *Liscius*, is a patronymic, formed like Greek *Ἀπολλώνιος*, *Διονύσιος*, Lat. *Marius*, *Octavia*, and Skr. *Kauravya-s* (Bopp, V.G. § 899). The father's name, *Villonos*, may be connected with Ir. *fell* 'horse,' which points to a protoceltic *villos*.

Toutius (also perhaps in the Novara inscription, No. 2) seems nom. sg. of a consonantal stem, meaning some kind of magistrate.

Namausatis an adj. in *-ati* formed from *Namausos* = *Νέμαυσος*: cf. *dunatis*, *randosatis*, Gaulish epithets of Mars, and *sinquatis*, an epithet of Silvanus.

Eiōru, written *ieuru* in seven other inscriptions (Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20), is obviously the verb of the sentence. It seems to be compounded with the prep. *ei* = Gr. *ἐπι*, Skr. *api*, with regular loss of *p*. The root may be *ur* 'to make,' which Mowat[1] finds in the Lat. *ur-na* (cf. *fictilia* from *fi-n-go*), and which may also be the source of Gr. *ὕρ-χη*, whence Lat. *urceus*. In Irish this root

[1] *Explication d'une inscription céramique gauloise*, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions, Décembre, 1880.

apparently occurs, compounded with *i*=ἐπι, in *íurad* (gl. factum est), Arm. 189[b]. 1, and in the following forms from the Lebor na hUidre[1]: *mairg ïuras inn-orgain sa! for Lomna* ('woe to him who causes this destruction!' says L.), LU. 87[b]., *íurthar ind orgain* (let the ruin be wrought), 88[a]., *íurthar lat ind orgain innocht* (let the ruin be wrought by thee to-night), 88[a]., *mad mo chomarle dognethe and, nī iurfaithe ind orgain* (if my advice had been acted upon, the ruin would not have been wrought), 88[a].

Belesami, dat. sg. of Belesama, a Gaulish Minerva, the *Belisama*, of an inscription of Conserans (Orelli, 1431; De Wal, 52).[2]

Sosin, also in No. 18 for *sosion* (as Old Latin *alis*, *alid*, for *alius*, *aliud*, and in Umbr. *ocrem Fisim* 'montem Fisium'), seems a demonstrative pronoun agreeing with the accusative *nemeton*=Ir. *nemed* (gl. sacellum), and also in *Δρυ-νέμετον* (Strabo), *Αὐγουστο-νέμετον* and *Νεμετο-βριγα* (Ptol.), *Nemeto-cenna* (Cæsar) and *Nemetodurum*, later *Nemptodorum*, the phonetic equivalent of *Nemthor*, Fiacc's hymn, 1.

7. *First Inscription of Nîmes.*[3]

ΓΑΡΤΑΒ : : ΙΛΛΑΝΟΥΙΑΚΟΣ ΔΕΔΕ
ΜΑΤΡΕΒΟΝΑΜΑΥΣΙΚΑΒΟΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕ

That is: *Gartab(os) Illanoviacos dede Mātrebo Namausicābo brātude.*"

"Gartabos, (son) of Illanoviax, placed (this) for the Nemausian Mothers by decree."

[1] Quoted by Kuno Meyer, Rev. Celt. vi. pp. 191, 192. From constant association with the noun *orgain*, the verb *ïuraim* seems to have got in later Middle-Irish the meaning 'to destroy.' Thus: *ro-iurtha macc secht mbliadan di cech brothairniu* (a seven-years child was destroyed for every hair), LL. 252[b]. So O'Clery: *iúr* 7 *úr .i. orgain*. The Old-Irish forms *friss-iurr* (gl. auersabor), *fritamm-ior-sa* (gl. me adficiet), *fritamm-iurat* (me adficient) are connected by Thurneysen (Rev. Celt. vi. p. 95) with *fris-n-orr* (quod inficiet), *fris-n-orgar* (afficitur), *fris-oirctis* (adversabantur), and seem to be *s*-futures from the compound verb **ī-orgim*, the simple stem *orgs* regularly becoming *orr*, *ors*, *orr*, and even *or*.

[2] Ce surnom de Minerve peut s'interpréter par *bellicosa*, de *bel* guerre, en gallois, et de *sama*=Scr. *sama*, Gr. ὁμος, Lat. *similis*, anc. irl. *samal*, *amal*, etc. Cf. le goth. et anc. all. *sama*, et *sam* dans les composés analogues, *arbeitsam*, *ersam*, *ratsam*, etc. (Pictet).

[3] Sur le tailloir d'un chapiteau, en beaux caractères grecs d'une époque ancienne

Here *dede* (also in Nos. 8 and 13) is the verb, cognate with *τί-θημι*, Skr. *dadhāmi*.

Matrebo Namausicābo are the datives pl. of the names of the mother-goddesses[1] to whom the object was dedicated: with *-abo*, cf. the *abus* of Lat. datives, Wordsworth 50.

Brātu-de is a formula (also in Nos. 8, 12 and 13) corresponding to the Latin 'ex imperio,'[2] 'imperio' or 'jussu.' The theme of *brātu-de* is *brātu*[3]=Ir. *brāth*, W. *brawd*, and the *-de* is compared by Pictet with the *dha* of Zend ablatives such as *qafna-dha* (somnio) *çraoshādha* (obedientiâ), *ākhstaē-dha* (pace). I rather think our *de* (Ir. *di*) is=Lat. *de*, here used as a postposition like the Umbrian *-anter*, *-aḍ*, *-kum*, *-en*, *-tu*, and *-per* in *nomne-per*, *okri-per*. Similar postpositions occur in neoceltic. Thus Mid. Br. *boed-er larg* (gl. large en viande, *boet*), Rev. Celt. i. 398, *tuhen* (leg. *lech-en*) *uhel* (gl. locus alt[us] in quo), Corn. *cnes-en* (in skin) Meriasek, 3144. Remain the first two words, which the analogy of Nos. 3, 17, and 18 leads one to regard as the donor's name, followed by the gen. sg. of the name of the donor's father, rather than (as Pictet thinks) the donor's own name followed by an adjective in the nom. sg. m. *Gartabos* is formed like *Arabus*, *Intarabus*, and the place-names *Cenabum*, *Aballaba*. With *Illanoviax*, cf. *Illanvissa* (Steiner, 1862), and the Irishman's name *Illann Find*, one of the actors in the tale of Deirdre.

8. *Second Inscription of Nîmes.*[4]

KACCITAΛOC
OYEPCIKNOCΔ
EΔEBPATOYΔ
EKANTENAΛA
. . . . . .

qu'on ne peut pas préciser. — *Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule*, Inscr gauloises, No. 1 (where it is drawn). Translated by Siegfried, in Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge, i. p. 451. Now "dans le temple de Diane," near which it was found in 1742.

[1] As to these goddesses, see Vallentin, Rev. Celt. iv. 27.

[2] For instance: *Matronis Aſliabus M. Marius Marcellus pro se et suis ex imperio ipsarum*, De Wal, *De Moedergodinnen*, p. 88.

[3] Also in *Bratu-spantium*, cognate with *Mandu-bratius* and *Cassi-bratius*.

[4] d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Revue des Sociétés savantes*, t. iv. 6e série (1876), p.

That is: *Cassitalos Versicnos dede brātude cantena La* . . . .
"Cassitalos, son of Versos, placed by decree *cantena* to La . . . ."

The fifth line has been read MIEINOVII; but this is almost certainly wrong.

Cassi-talos 'fair-brow' (supra, No. 3): *cassi* from *cad-ti*.[1] *Versos* is cognate with Skr. *varshīyas* (upper), Lat. *verruca*, from *versuca*, Ion. *οὖρος* (mountain), *Ὀρέστης*, O. Sax. *urriselik* ('riesig'). As to the formula *dede brātude*, see No. 7. *Cantena* is an acc. pl. neut. The meaning is unknown.

9. *Third Inscription of Nîmes.*[2]

ECKIΓΓO
PEIΞKO
NΔIΛΛE
OC

That is: *Escingoreix Condilleos*, "Excingorix, son of Condillos."

Escingo-reix is a compound of *ex-cingo-s* (pervalidus) and *reix* (rex). As to the patronymic in *-eos*, v. supra, No. 6.

266. E. Ernault, *Bulletin Mensuel de la faculté des Lettres de Poitiers*, Février, 1885, p. 88.

[1] d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Revue des Sociétés savantes*, t. iv. 6e série, 1876.

[2] Revue Celtique. t.v. p. 120. The original has disappeared, but a copy by Séguier is preserved in the library at Nîmes. In his text he gives KONΔEIΛΛEOC, but in his transliteration Κονδιλλεος. M. Ernault thinks, perhaps rightly, that this inscription is Greek. He also thinks that the inscription of Gargas (Vaucluse)—ECKEΓΓAI BAΛOOYIKOYNIAI "to Excinga, daughter of Balovicunos"—is Greek, the two words being datives.

The same may perhaps be said of the letters on a stele in the museum at Avignon (*Bull. Soc. Antiquaires*, 1879, p. 128).

OYAΛIKIO
ONEPECT
AIOYNIAI

"On a trouvé," writes M. Gaidoz (24 Juillet, 1879), "dans une armoire du musée de Nîmes un fragment d'inscription longtemps negligée, mais qui est Gauloia, si la seconde ligne contient, comme il est probable, le mot *tooutious*. Voici le fragment, en lettres Grecques:

. . . . MBATI . . . . . .
. . . . TOOY . . . . .
. . . . . TIM . . . . .

La seconde ligne est seule entière. La première est mutilée par le haut, la troisième par le bas."

10. *The First Inscription of St.-Remy (Nîmes).*[1]

BIMMOC ΛITOYMAPEOC

That is: *Bimmos Litumareos*, "Bimmos, son of Litumāros." On a stele.

As to the patronymic in *-eos*, v. supra, No. 6.

11. *The Second Inscription of St.-Remy.*[2]

OYPITAKOC
HΛOYC
KONIOC

That is: *Uritācos* (*Vritācos*?) *Ēlusconios*, "Uritacos (Vritacos?), son of Ēlusconos." On another stele.

With *Uritacos* M. Mowat (Explication, etc., ubi supra) connects *Urittius*, *Ate-uritus*, *Aturita*, and refers them all to the root *ur* (facere), which we have already found in *eioru*. As to the patronymic in *-ios*, v. supra, No. 6.

12. *The Inscription of Malaucène (Vaucluse).*[3]

///ΛOYC/
/IΛΛIAKEO/
MACEΛOYB
PATOYΔE
KANTEΛA

That is: . . . *lous(os) Illiakeo(s) maselu brātude cantela.* ". . . . lusos, son of Illiācos, by order set (these) *cantela*."

As to the patronymic in *-eos*, v. supra, No. 6. As to

[1] [2] *Revue Celtique*, t. iii. p. 506, citing the *Congrès archéologique de France*, 1877, p. 523–528.

[3] E. Ernault, *Bulletin mensuel de la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers*, Février, 1885, p. 86, where the third line is read (from a plaster-cast) MACEΛOYB. "La 3e ligne," says M. Ernault, "a été lue, par M. Allmer, MACEΛOY, et par M. H. de Ville-fosse PACEΛOYB (Bulletin épigraphique, mai-juin, 1884, p. 141), puis IACEΛOY, puis avec M. Rochetin (Γ)PACEΛOY (*Arria*, p. 136, 1; 136, 3)." There is an almost illegible heliogravure of this inscription in the Revue Archéol. for Nov. Dec., 1884, p. 380.

brātu-de, supra, No. 7. In *go-bedbi* we shall find a verbal prefix *go-*, and in the verb *ma-selu*, the *ma-* is perhaps another verbal prefix = the Vedic *sma*: the root may be that of στέλλω (*ἐ-στάλην*), *stellen*. For the loss of *t* cf. W. *seilio* (fundare), *sail* (fundamentum), also from √*stal*; W. *safn* (os, oris), Br. *staffn* (palatum), Gr. στόμα, Zend *çtaman*; W. *ser-en* (stella), Br. *ster*, Zend *çtare*; W. *sain* (sonus), στόνος, √*stan*; *sarn* (stratum), √*star*, whence *sterno*, στόρνυμι; *sefyll* (stare), √*sta-m*: *serch* (love), Ir. *serc*, Gr. στοργή: *serfyll* (caducus), √*starb*; *sofl-yn* (stipula). The acc. pl. *cantela* should possibly be read *cantena*, see supra No. 8, and infra No. 13. It may be cognate with *cantus*, *camb-tos*, Thurneysen Keltoromanisches, 53.

13. *The Inscription of Colias* (Gard).[1]

ΞΚΟΛΙΟ
C P I O Y
M A N
E Y A N
AO////ΨΛ
NΛ/O Δ E
ΔEBPATO
YΔEKAN
TEN

This inscription must have been inaccurately copied. It obviously contains the formula *dede brātude*, No. 7 supra, an accusative pl. *canten(a)*, Nos. 7, 8, and perhaps 12, and it seems to begin with the name (*E*)*xcolios*[2]; but the remainder is quite obscure.

III. Inscriptions in Roman Characters.

Of these there are fifteen. Let us first take the seven containing the verb *ieuru*.

[1] F. Germer-Durand, *Bulletin epigraphique*, 1884, p. 253. Found "à l'Ermitage de Notre Dame de Laval, près Colias (Gard)." An oblong stone employed as "moellon dans le mur meridional de la Chapelle."

[2] Cf. perhaps the Gaulish *colisatum* a kind of chariot, Ir. *cul*.

14. *Inscription of Vieux-Poitiers.*[1]

RATIN . BRIVATIOM
FRONTV . TARBEISONIOS
IEVRV.

That is: "Propugnaculum pontilium Fronto, Tarbeisoni filius, fecit."

The -TIN of *ratin* (=Ir. *raith-n*) is represented by a monogram in which the I joins horizontally the T and N. *Brivatiom* ('pontilium') is the gen. pl. of a derivative of *briva* (bridge), in *Briva Isarae* (Pontoise), *Samaro-briva*, *Brivodurum*, etc., as *us(e)ilom* infra is the gen. pl. of an **useilon*= Lat. *vēlum*. Cf. Latin genitives pl. like *Romanom*, *sestertium*, *procum*, *patricium*, Wordsworth, 59. The Gauls seem to have kept the *m* in the genitive pl. to distinguish this case from the acc. sg. where, as in Greek, the primeval *m* was weakened to *n*. The prehistoric Irish changed *m* in both cases to *n*. *Frontu* is borrowed from the Latin name *Fronto*. *Tarbeisonios* is a patronymic, supra No. 6.

15. *Inscription of Volnay.*[2]

ICCAVOS . OP
PIANICNOS . IEV
RV . BRIGINDONI
CANTALON.

That is: "Iccavos, son of Oppianos, made for Brigindu a *cantalon*."

Iccavos is connected with *Icos*, *Iccius*, *Iccianus*, *Icco*. *Cantalon*, like *nemeton* and *celicnon*, is probably the name of some edifice, cognate with the *cantus* in *Canti cantus*, now *Cachan* (Seine). Pictet, however, regards it as the acc. sg. of **cantalos*, a Gaulish loan from Lat. *cantharus*.

[1] "Sur la face nord d'un menhir planté au lieu dit *Vieux-Poitiers*, près la rive du Clain."—*Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule*, Inscriptions gauloises, Nos. 3 et 3 *bis*.

[2] "Pierre méplate provenant de Volnay, conservée au Musée de Beaune. L'inscription, gravée en beaux caractères sur un champ refouillé et jadis entouré d'un cadre, présente encore des restes du mastic rouge qui remplissait les creux des lettres, ce qui permet, quoiqu'elle soit un peu fruste, de la lire sans hésitation."—*Ibid.* No. 4.

16. *Inscription of Autun.*[1]

LICNOS · CON
TEXTOS · IEVRV ·
ANVALONNACV ·
CANECOSEDLON·

"Licnos Contextos made for Anvalonnācos a golden chair."

In its Latinised form *Licnus* occurs on an inscription near Aquileia (Kuhn's Beitr. iii. p. 428), and also as a potter's name at Bavai (Rev. Celt. ii. p. 257), and seems cognate with *Liccaius, Licaius, Licnos*, and the Ir. *lecc*, W. *llêch* (a flagstone). In *con-textos*, as in *Epaδ-a-texto-rigi*, No. 23, the group XT seems to stand for CHT, as in *Epaδ-atexto-rigi*, infra, DIVIXTVS[2] compared with DIVICTA,[3] LVXTIIRIOC[4] =*Lucterius*[5]: PIXTILOS=PICTILOS,[6] VENEXTOC[7] compared with *Vennectis*.[8] The root may be *teg*, whence the Irish *teg, tech* (house), W. *ty*, the Gr. τέγος and the Lat. *tego, tec-tum*, O.N. *thak*, Eng. *thatch*. In form, then, *contextos* is the Lat. participle *contectus*;[9] but it probably had the active meaning of 'protector.' Of the god-name *An-valonnacos* the root must be *val*, whence the Ogmic gen. sg. *Valamni*,[10] the Ir. verb subst. *fail* (there is), and the Lat. *valere*. The intensive prefix *an-* is the Lat. *an* (up) in *anhelo*, cognate with Gr. *ἀνα, ἄνω*, and still kept in the neo-celtic languages, Ir. *an-fad* (storm), Corn. *an-auhel* (gl. procella)=W. *en-awel*, Br. *am-prefan* (rubeta). Siegfried conjectured that *caneco-sedlon* meant 'a golden chair,' and compared with *-sedlon*, the Lat. *sella* (for *sedla*), A.S. *setl*, Eng. *settle*, N.H.G. *sessel*, and W. *gor-sedd*, Ir. *suide*, with

[1] "Pierre méplate avec cadre et champ refouillé pour l'inscription, trouvée à Autun, et conservée dans le Musée archéologique de cette ville."—*Ibid.* No. 5.
[2] Cited by Mowat, *Rev. Archéol.* Fév.-Mars, 1878.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Hucher, *Rev. Celt.* ii. p. 100.
[5] Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* vii. 5.
[6] Rev. Celt. i. p. 297. Hucher, *l'Art Gauloise*, t. ii. p. 152.
[7] Rev. Celt. i. p. 298. Hucher, *loc. cit.* p. 155.
[8] Mowat, *loc. cit.* from the inscription of Nizy-le-Comte, now in the museum of Soissons.
[9] Other Gaulish participles in *-to* are Κελτος, *Crestus, Graptus, Meltus*.
[10] Rhŷs, *Early Britain*, p. 282, from "Roovesmore in the parish of Aglish, co. Cork, Ord. Sheet, 72."

caneco, the Skr. *kanaka* 'gold.' Pictet, p. 39, justly objects that *kanaka* is not found in any other Aryan tongue, and that it is unlikely that Gaulish alone should have preserved it. The Skr. cognate is, I think, *kāñcana* (gold, golden), which Fick[1] compares with Gr. κνηκός, Dor. κνακός, 'yellow,' and Pruss. *cucan* (*kŭka-n*) 'brown.' The Ir. plant-name *canach*, and Gr. κνῆκος, are also cognate.

17. *Inscription of Dijon.*[2]

DOIROS · SEGOMARI
IEVRV · ALISANV

"Doiros, (son) of Segomāros, made (this) for Alisanos."

Doiros is, perhaps, cognate with Lat. *dī-rus*, Gr. δει-νός, Zend *dvaêtha* (fear), root *dvi*.

18. *Inscription of Alise.*[3]

MARTIALIS · DANNOTALI ·
IEVRV · VCVETE · SOSIN
CELICNON · ETIC ·
GOBEDBI · DVGIIONTIIO
VCVETIN ·
IN · ALISIIA.

"Martialis, son of Dannotalos, made this tower for Ucuetis, and the work pleased Ucuetis in Alisea."

The name *Dannotalos* occurs also in No. 2. *Ucuete* must be the dative sg., as *Ucuetin* is the acc. sg., of the name of the person for whom the *celicnon* was made. Cognate is the potter's name *Ucumus* and the place-name *Ucetia*. If, as so regularly happens, these words have lost initial *p*, we may connect them with πυκινός, πυκνός. As Jacob Grimm and Bishop Graves saw independently, *celicnon* is the Goth.

[1] Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, ii. p. 196.

[2] "Sur le manche d'une patère en bronze trouvée près de Dijon en 1853, et déposée au Musée de cette ville."—*Dict. Archéol.* Inscription gauloises, Nos. 6 et 6 *bis*.

[3] "Cartouche avec moulures et queues d'aronde trouvé sur le plateau d'Alise, porté d'abord au Musée de Dijon, et rapporté finalement à son lieu d'origine dans le petit Musée qui y a été construit sur des fonds donnés par Napoléon III."—*Ibid.* No. 7.

loan-word *kelikn*, which Ulfilas uses twice for πύργος 'tower,' and once for ἀνώγαιον 'upper chamber.' Furthermore, *sosin* is identical with the σοσιν of No. 6; *eti-c* seems a conjunction = *at-que*; *go-bedbi* is a verb with the prefix *go* = Goth. *ga*, and radically connected with W. *boddaw* 'to please,' Skr. *bhad-ra*, Lat. *fastus*, *festivus* from *fad-tus*, *fed-tivus*, Goth. *bats*, Eng. *better*; and, as Ebel saw, *dugeonteo* (II, as in many cases, stands for E) is a fem. *iā*-stem, from a participle *dugiont*, formed like Latin *sapientia*, Gr. γερουσία for γεροντια, and Gaulish *Brigantia*, *Aventia*, *Segontia*, and from the same root as O.H.G. *tugundi* (Ebel, Kuhn's Beitr. v. 80, note), Goth. and A.S. *dugan*. This root, in its Indo-European form, must have been *dhugh*; and *dhugh* (according to Grassmann's law) would be τυχ in Greek, whence τεύχω, τεύχος = N.H.G. *Tugend*.

19. *Inscription of Guéret* (Dép. de la Creuse).[1]

SACER PEROCO
IEVRV DVORI
CO . V . S . L . M

Sacer Peroco ieuru dvorico, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ubens) m(erito). "Sacer Peroco made (these) porticoes, votum," etc.

Sacer seems borrowed from the Latin. Compare, however, the dimin. *Sacrillos*, Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 188. *Peroco* is connected with the names *Perus*, *Perillus*, *Peronius*, *Perulius*, and possibly *Piraco-bruna*, Brambach, No. 760. Pictet regarded *dvorico* as an acc. pl. neut., meaning 'porticoes,' of a *dvoricon* = Skr. *dvarakā-m* (gate). He quotes, in support of this view, two Latin inscriptions, in one of which (Orelli, 4956) Lucius Vallius Solon "porticum ex voto fecit" for Silvanus sanctus, and in another (Steiner, 4137) L. Servillius "porticum fecit pecunia sua" for Neptune.

[1] Pictet, *Nouvel Essai sur les inscriptions Gauloises*, Paris, 1867, p. 45: *Bulletin épigraphique*, 1881, p. 38, where M. F. Vallentin supposes that *Dvorico* is the name of a god in the dat. sg. Drawn, ibid. Planche ix. fig. i.

20. *Inscription of Nevers.*[1]

ANDE
CAMV
LOSTOVTI
SSICNOS
IEVRV

That is: *Andecamulos Toutissicnos ieuru.*
"Andecamulos son of Toutissos made (this)."

Here *Ande-camulos* is a compound of the prep. *ande* and *camulos*, the name of a Gaulish war-god, represented, perhaps, by the Irish *Cumal*, gen. *Cumail*, the name of the father of Find,[2] and *cumal*, gen. *cumaile* (a she-slave). It may be radically connected with Gr. *κάμ-νω*, *σιδηρο-κμής*, and with the Skr. *çam* (work), and the verbal stems *pra-çamaya* (to kill), *pra-çāmaya* (to conquer). *Toutissos* is a derivative of *touta* (folk), as to which see Nos. 2 and 6.

21. *Inscription of Vieil Évreux.*[3]

. . . . . S · CRISPOS BOVI . . . . .
. . . . . RAMEDON
. . . . . AXTACBITI · EV
. . . . DO CARAƟITONV
. . . . NIA SEIANI SEBOƟƟV ·
REMI FILIA ·
. . . . ƆDRVTA GISACI CIVIS SVES . . . . .

"Il y a là un singulier mélange de noms propres et de mots gaulois et latins, et il est impossible d'en tirer aucun sens continu."—Pictet, Essai, p. 49. He conjectures that *ramedon* is an acc. sg., meaning a road, and compares the Ir. *rāmat*, Skr. *rantu*, from *ram-tu*=W. *crych*. *Crispos* is the nom. *Axtacbiti* is the verb: *eu* (leg. *eū* ?) seems the dat. sg. of a pronoun and=Lat. *eō*: *Caraθitonu* and *Seboθθu* are also datives sg.

[1] Becker, in Kuhn u. Schleicher's Beiträge, iii. 167.

[2] Out of *Find mace Cumail* Macpherson has manufactured his *Fingal*.

[3] "Fragment de table en bronze existant au Musée d'Évreux, et provenant de fouilles faites au lieu dit *Vieil Évreux*."—Dictionnaire Arch., Inscr. gauloises, No. 8.

22. *Inscription of Bavai.*[1]

That is: *uritu, (vritu ?) Escingos.* "Excingos made (this)."

Here, if we read *uritu*, we have a formation from √*ur*, to make, supra, No. 6. If we read *vritu*, we have a formation from √*ver* (whence also Ir. *feraim*). In either case, the formation resembles *carnitu*, No. 1. *Es-cingos*[2] is a compound of the prepositional prefix *ex* and *cingus* (valiant), also in *Ate-cingus*, and cognate with *Cingetus, Cingetorix, Ver-cingetorix.*

23. *Inscription of Néris-les-Bains (Allier).*[3]

BRATRONOS
NANTONICN
EPAϐATEXTO
RIGI . LEVCVLLO
SVIOREBE . LOCI
TOK.

That is: *Bratronos Nantonicn(os) Epaθatextorigi Leucullosu iorebe locito-k,*[4] "Brātrōnos, son of Nantonios, made (this) acceptably (?) for Epassatectorix Leucullosos."

Bratronos is a noun derived from *brāter*=Lat. *frater*, as *patronus* from *pater*. *Nantonicn* is an abbreviation of *Nantonicnos*, a patronymic like *Druticnos* and others collected, supra, No. 1, meaning 'son of Nantonios.' This name occurs, in its Latinised form *Nantonius*, on an inscription now in the museum at York (*Matribus M. Nantonius*

[1] On a *patella*, "ou assiette à bords évasés, de 19 centimètres de diamétre." R. Mowat, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Decembre, 1880, *Revue Celtique*, v. 119, 120.

[2] Also in the compounds *Excingo-latis, Excingo-magus*, Mowat, *Explication*, etc., p. 9.

[3] *Revue Archéologique*, Février et Mars, 1878. *Revue Celtique*, v. 116. On a square block of calcareous stone, now in the museum of Cluny.

[4] The last letter 'consiste en un jambage auquel s'appuie un trait oblique, à la manière du bras supérieur d'un K.'

Orbiotal(us) v. s. l. m.), and is a derivative from *nanto-* 'valley.' *Epass-atexto-rigi* is the dat. sg. of a compound of *rīx* (rex), like (Marti) *Albio-rigi*,[1] (Marti) *Catu-rigi*,[2] (Apollini) *Toutio-rigi*.[3] The other elements are, first, *epass* cognate with the Greek stem *ἱππαδ* in *ἱππάς* (cavalry), and the Gaulish *epo-redicas* ('bonos equorum domitores'), *Epona* ('mulionum dea'), *Epamaigus*, *Epaticcus*; Ir. *ech*, W. *ep* in *ebawl*; and, secondly, *atexto-*, from *atecto* (supra, No. 16), itself a compound of the preposition *a* and *tecto-*, a participle formation from the root *teg.* "*Atextorix* pourrait donc avoir la signification de 'chef protecteur,' et subséquemment *Epadatextorix* celle de *seigneur* protecteur, *dieu tutélaire des chevaux* ou *de la cavalerie.*"

The fourth, fifth, and sixth words M. Mowat reads *Leucullo suiorebe, locitoi*; he takes *Leucullo* to be a dat. sg. of *Leucullos*, a diminutive like *Cintullus, Marcellus*: he supposes that *su* is the common laudatory prefix, and he conjectures that '*suiorebe locitoi*' may mean something like "libenter ex voto posuit." But, first, *Leucullos* is an *o*-stem, and the Gaulish dat. sg. of *o*-stems ends in *ū*, not in *ō*; secondly, in neoceltic, and therefore, probably, in Gaulish, the prefix *su* (W. *hy*) is found with nouns and adjectives, but never with verbs; and, thirdly, the last letter of the sixth word is *k*, not *i*. *Leucullosus* doubtless means, and is cognate with, Lat. *luculentus*. The Latin name *Lucullus*, apparently, M. Mowat thinks, borrowed from Cisalpine Gaul, like *Galba, Livius, Plinius*, and *Vergilius*—is also cognate. So is *Λουκετιά*, as the Emperor Julian[4] calls the bright city of the *Παρίσιοι*. Non-celtic cognates will be found in Curtius, *G.E.* No. 88. For the suffix *-oso* from *onso* cf. *Tolōsa*, and Lat. *Marcellōsus*. The verb *iorebe* is certainly cognate with *εἰωρου, ieuru* which

[1] Revue des Sociétés savantes, 6e série, tom. i. (1875), p. 166.
[2] Orelli, No. 1980. I have not verified this or the last reference.
[3] Brambach, No. 1529.
[4] *Misopogon* (ed. Teubner, 1875), p. 438. The spelling *Lutetia* is due to scribal confusion of *e* and *t*. "Ou peut croire," says M. Mowat, "que cette dénomination [*Lucetia*] a pour origine la couleur claire du calcaire employé dans la construction du chef-lieu des Parisii, ou l'exploitation des carrières renommées, de plâtre dont il était entouré: comparez le nom de ville *Alba*, très-fréquent, et celui de *Robrica* (pour *Rubrica* "la rouge").

occurs on so many other inscriptions. As to *locitok*, I conjecture it to be a formula analogous to *brātu-de*, and to consist of the ablative sing. of *lociton*—which, with regular loss of *p*, is=Lat. *placitum*,[1] and cognate also with πλάξ and *flach*—and a *-k* which I take to be a postposition=Lat. *ec* (in *ec-fero*, *ec-fatus*, *ec se produnto*), Gr. ἐκ and which, in neoceltic, is found in the prep. *ech-tar*, W. *eithr*, =Osc. *eh-trad* (extra). For other postpositions see supra No. 7.

24. *Inscription of Beaumont* (near Vaison).[2]

IVBRON
SVMELI
VORETO
VIRIVS . F .

"An *iubron* Sumelis son of Voretoviros made."

A mixed inscription, all the words, save the Gaulish accusative, being Latin or Latinised.

The translation is due to Rhŷs. Here *Sumeli* (for *Sumelis?*) is the nom. sg. of an *i*-stem compounded (like *Su-melonius*, Steiner, 2875) of the prefix *su*, and a cognate of the name *Meliδδius* (Quicherat, *Mélanges*, 368), Ir. *milis* (sweet), W. *melys*, Gr. μέλι, Lat. *mel*, Goth. *milith*. It seems to occur (again without the final *s*) in the Pyrenaean inscription (Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 188), *Deo Baicorixi Andossu Piando*[*s*] *Somili f*(*ecit*) *v. s. l. m.* *Voretovirius* is a Latinised patronymic like those explained supra, No. 6. The father's name, *Voretoviros*, would be in Welsh *gwaredwr* 'succourer,' O.W. *guoretur*, from *guo* (=Gaul. *vo* in *voberg*(*ensis*), *voredos*, Glück, K.N. 89), and the root *ret*, whence the Ir. verb *foirithim* (I succour), and the Old-Welsh *an-guorit*, *an-guoraut*. *Iubron* may possibly be cognate with Lat. *iubar*, and mean a lamp or candelabrum.

[1] For Gaulish *o*=Lat. *a*, cf. *mori* (sea), Lat. *mare* and *brogas*, Lat. *margo*, Goth. *mark*.

[2] "Autre fragment de cippe en pierre de Beaumont," A. Deloye, bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1847-1848, 2me série, t. iv. p. 326, No. viii. Becker, Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 167.

Pictet regards *Sumeli* and *Voreto* (rectius *Sumele Voretu*) as datives, and considers that the inscription commemorates the making of a vase by Virius for Sumelis Voretos, an unknown Gaulish god.

25. *Inscription of Bourges.*[1]

BVSCILLASOSIOLEGASITINALIXIEMAGALV

That is: *Buscilla Sosio legasit in Alixie Magalu.*

"Buscilla Sosia placed (this) in Alisia to Magalos."

Here *Buscilla* is a diminutive like *Ex-cingilla, Gabrilla, Vindilla,* and many others, from a root the same as that of Lat. *fuscus. Sosio,* nom. sg. of a fem. *iā*-stem, the second name of Buscilla, seems borrowed from the Roman *Sosia. Legasit,* like *loga-n* supra No. 1, comes from the root *leg, log. Alixie* (*x* here, as often, replacing *s*) is the abl. sg. of the fem. *ia*-stem *Alisio,* and *Magalu* is the dat. sg. of the masc. *o*-stem *Magalos,* here the name of a deity, is in Livy (xxi. 9) that of a king of the Boii.

26. *Inscriptions on three Galloroman altars found in Notre-Dame.*[2]

These altars are now in the Musée des Thermes et de l'hotel de Cluny. The first, like each of the others, has four sides:

1	2	3	4
TIB · CAESARE ·	. . . . .	EVRISES	SENANI VSEILOM
AVGIOVIOPTVMO			
MAXSVMO(S)V(MMO)			
NAVTAE · PARISIACI			
PVBLICE · POSIERV			
N(T)			

That is: *Tiberio Caesare Augusto Iovi Optumo Maxsumo Summo Nautae Parisiaci publice posierunt . . . . eurises senani useilom* (leg. *usellom*?).

[1] "Tracée à la pointe sur le col d'un vase de terre noire à large ouverture que son style paraît remonter au IV siècle de notre ère."—*Revue archéologique,* vi. année ii. p. 1849-50, p. 554-556, with facsimile. Found in 1848. In possession of M. Girardot, Secretary of the Prefecture of the Cher-departments.

[2] Drawn in Desjardins' *Geographie historique et administrative de la Gaule*

This is, as Cuno has seen, a bilingual inscription, the Gaulish words, *eurises senani useilom*, being a free rendering of 'nautae Parisiaci posierunt.' The word now illegible on the second side of the altar was probably the Gaulish expression corresponding with 'publice.' *Eur-i-ses* seems to be a verb in the third pl. pret. act. corresponding with Latin forms like *dixere* from *dic-sēse*. The nom. is *senani*, nom. pl. of *senanos* (an ancient), a derivative from *seno-s*, (old, in *Seno-gnato*, Muratori, p. 1282, No. 5), cognate with Ir. *sen*, W. *hen*, Lat. *sen-ex*. Only four letters of the next word namely V, I, L, and O, are now legible. When Mautour made his copy, he read (say MM. Mowat and Desjardins) VSEILOM. This should probably be *usellom*, from **vexellom*, a gen. pl. (like *brivatiom*, supra) of the noun **vexellon*=Lat. *vexillum*, and cognate with *vēlum* from *vexlum*. *Senani usellom* must mean (as Pictet says) 'anciens des voiles,' a corporation of the mariners of the Seine.

On the second altar are:

1	2	3	4
IOVIS	VOLCANVS	ESVS	TARVOS·TRI·GARANVS·

Under 1 is a figure of a sceptred Jupiter standing; under 2 is a Vulcan with a cape, a hammer in the right hand, tongs in the left; under 3 a male figure with a lifted axe hewing branches off a tree; under 4 a bull, with, apparently, three forelegs and with three birds (cranes) on his back. In these birds Siegfried (Kuhn's Beitr. i. 473) suspected a reference to the Vedic Vishṇu with the three strides, *garan* in Welsh meaning 'crane' as well as 'leg.'

Here *Ēsus* is the name of a Gaulish war-god. An *u*-stem, as we see from the compound *Esu-nertos*. The *e* is long, as we see from Lucan's *Hēsus*.

Here, too, *tarvos* (Ir. *tarbh*, W. *tarw*) is=Lat. *taurus*, Gr. ταῦρος, from ταρϜος. Hence the dimin. *Tarvillus*, Steiner, No. 1484. Here, also, *trī garanūs* means "three

Romaine, Paris, 1885, t. iii. pp. 261-268; *Bulletin épigr.* 1881, p. 49. On the third face of the first altar Desjardins has EVRESES. but Mowat (*Bulletin épigraphique*, 1883) gives EVRISES, which is likelier to be right.

cranes," *trī* (Ir. *trī*) being the masc. numeral, and *garanūs* (from **garanous*, **garanoves* ?) being the nom. pl. of an *u*-stem.

On the third altar are:

1	2	3	4
CASTOR	(POLLVX)	CERNVNNOS	SMERT(ULITAN)OS

Here *Cernunnos* is over the figure of an old man, with a beard, long ears and staghorns, from which hang rings. It is cognate with the Galatian *καρνον*, Ir. *corn*, Lat. *cornu*. Compare for the ending *Adiatunnus* (Caesar), and the fem. *Vesunna*, *Vibunna*. *Smertulitanos* (M. Mowat reads SMERT . . . but the final *-os* must have been recently legible) is over a male figure smiting a snake with a club. It is no doubt cognate with *Ro-smerta*, whose name occurs in fifteen lapidary texts, *Smertorix*, and *Smertullus*. The gen. sg. *Smertulitani* occurs as a man's name in Brambach, No. 891.

27. *Inscription on a Golden Ring.*

ADIA|NTVN | NENI | EXVE | RTIN | INAP | PISET | V

That is: *Adiantunneni Exvertini Nappisetu*, "Nappisetu (gave this) to Adiantunnena (daughter) of Exvertinios."

The ring is octagonal, belongs to the Roman epoch, was found "dit-on, dans un de nos départements de l'Est," and is now in the collection of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

Here *Adiantunnena* is connected with the Gaulish names *Adiantunnos*, *Adianto*, Glück KN. 6, 150, W. *add-iant* (longing), Ir. *ēt* (zelus), Skr. *yatna*. *Ex-ver-tinios* (compounded with the two prepositions *ex* and *ver* = *ὑπερ*) is radically connected with Gr. *σθένος*, *σθένεος*, *Σθένελος*. *Nappi-* is an *i*-stem compounded with *setu*. For the *pp*, cf. the Gaulish names *Drappes*, *Luppo*, *Peppo*, *Tapponia*. The *-setu* is probably nom. sg. of a stem in *n*, whence *Setonius*, De Wal, Myth. Septen. No. 314.

28. *Inscription of Poitiers.*[1]

BISDONTAVRIONANALABISBISDONTAVRION
DEANALABISBISDONTAVRIOSDATALAGES
VIMDANIMAVIMSPATERNAMASTA
MAGIARSSECVTATEIVSTINAQVEM
PEPERITSARRA

Bis: *Dontaurion anala* . bis, bis. *Dontaurion deanala* . bis, bis. *Dontauriōs datalages.* Vim *danima.* Vim spaternam[2] asta. Magi ars secuta [est] te, Justina quem (leg. quam) peperit Sarra.

Another mixed inscription, in corrupt Roman characters of the 5th or 6th century after Christ. The Celtic words possibly mean: "Breathe on Dontaurios: breathe away Dontaurios. Thou shouldst convict the Dontaurii. Embolden force."

Don-taurios (acc. pl. *Dontauriōs*) Siegfried supposed to be the name of a demon meaning 'Embryo-destroyer,' and connected *don-* with Skr. *dhānā* 'grain,' and *taurio* with the Aryan root *tūr, tur* 'to wound,' 'to destroy.' *Anala* (blow), *de-anala* (blow away!) are verbs cognate with Ir. *anāl*, W. *anadl* 'breath,' √*an*. Compare Rv. 1. 33. 9, translated by Muir: "Thou Indra, with the believers, didst blow against the unbelievers; with the priests thou didst blow away the Dasyu." *Datalages* seems 2nd sg. conj. of a verb derived from *datalo*=O.W. *datl* (gl. forum), *dataleu* (causae, judicia), Ir. *dāl. Dānima* an imperative connected with Ir. *dāna* 'bold,' *dānatu* 'audacia.' 'Justina' is the virgin of Antioch,[3] whom, according to the well-known legend, the 'magus' Cyprian endeavoured to

[1] Traced on a plate of silver, probably an amulet. Facsimile opposite p. 170 of Kuhn u. Schleicher's Beiträge, iii. Tentatively translated by Siegfried in a posthumous pamphlet *On the Gaulish Inscription of Poitiers*, Dublin, 1863. Prof. d'Arbois de Jubainville's explanation (Revue Celtique, i. 499) of *dontaurion* (which he reads *gontaurion*) as = *κενταύριον* is not convincing. Nor can I believe in his *ce analabis* = *καὶ ἀναλαβῆς*, *catalages* = *καταλλαγῆς*, and *s* = *s*[*ilicet*].

[2] Low Latin for *paternam*. So the Ir. loan-words *scipar* (pepper) and *sprēidh* (cattle) point to Low-Latin *s-piper*, *s-praeda*.

[3] The maker of the spell either supposed Sarra to be Justina's mother, or confounded Antioch with Tyre (=Sarra).

inflame with lust. The words seem a spell against male impotency rather than female sterility.

To these inscriptions may fitly be added some

Gaulish Coin-Legends,

From the *Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule.*

ABVDOS. Nos. 144, 1545 (Bituriges).

ATEVLA. *R.* VLATOS. No. 195.

ATISIOS REMOS. No. 108 (Remi).

BVCIOS. No. 153.

CALIACIIIS. No. 158 (Carnutes).

COIOS *R.* ORCITIRIX. No. 76 (Aedui).

COMMIOS. No. 89 (Atrebates).

DIARILOS. No. 184.

DIASVLOS. No 149 (Aedui).

cf. *Diablintres*, Glück, K.N. 93. Here *dia* seems = Gr. διά.

DVBNOREIX. No. 65 (Aedui).

DVRNACOS. No. 167.

Ir. *dornach.*

ECCAIOS. No. 86 (Remi).

EΛKECOOYIΞ. *R.* TASGITIIOS. No. 73 (Carnutes).

EPENOS. *R.* ЄΠHNOC (Remi).

LVXTIIRIOS. No. 71 (Cadurci).

Here as in PIXTILOS infra, the X seems the Greek χ, and to represent the guttural spirant produced from *c* by a subsequent *t*. If so, cf. Ir. *luchtaire.*

MAGVRIX. No. 229.

PICTILOS. No. 132 (Arverni). PIXTILOS. No. 228 (Aulerci).

RATVMACOS. No. 46.

SEQVANOIOTVOS (Sequani).

Seems a compound: *sequano-iotvos*, Rev. Celt. ii. 275, n.

SIMISSOS · PVPLICOS · LIXOVIO. *R.* CISIAMBOS · CATTOS · VERCOBRETO. No. 78.

Here (as M. Mowat saw, *Revue Celtique*, v. pp. 122, 123) *Lixoviō* and *Vercobretō* are two nominatives in the dual, the former corresponding with *Simissos* and *Puplicos*, the latter with *Cisiambos* and *Cattos*. *Lixoviō* is probably cognate with the tribe-name *Lexovii*; but the meaning is obscure. *Vercobretos*, from *vergobretos*, with the hardening (common in Irish) of *g* after *r*, means 'judicium exsequens;' cf. O.W. *guerg* (gl. efficax) and Ir. *breth* (judicium).

SVTICOS. *R.* VELIOCAΘI. No. 45 (Veliocasses).

TOGIRIX. No. 176 (Sequani).
TVRONOS. *R.* CANTORIX (Turones).
TVRONOS. *R.* TRICCOS.
VANDIILOS. No. 157 (Carnutes).
VENEXTOS. No. 144 (Parisii).

To these may be added ARTOS, *Rev. Celt.* i. 293, ΠΕΝΝΟΥΙΝΔΟC (*Pennovindos*), *ibid.* 297. BELINOS, *ibid.* ii. 96. LIXOVIATIS, *ibid.* 100. BOIKOS, CICUTANOS, PENNILE, *ibid.* iii. 249.

Endlicher's Glossary.

De nominibus gallicis.

Lugduno, desiderato monte, dunum enim montem.
Aremorici, antemarini; quia are ante.
Arevernus, ante obsta.
Roth, violentum, Dan, et in gallico et in hebreo, iudicium ideo hrodanus, iudex uiolentus.
Brio, ponte.
Ambe, riuo. Interambes, inter riuos.
Lautro (for *lautrū*?), balneo.
Nanto, ualle. Trinanto, tres ualles.
Anam [leg. Anan, Anian ?] paludem.
Caio, breiolo siue bigardio.
Onno, flumen.
Nate [leg. Gnate] fili.
Cambiare, rem pro re dare.
Avallo, poma.
Doro, osteo.
Renne, arborem grandem.
Treicle, pede.[1]

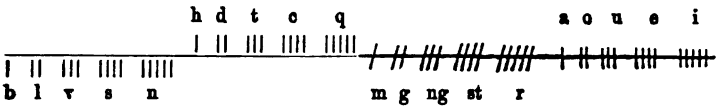
Ogham Inscriptions.

Of these inscriptions the older have hitherto been found only in South Wales, North Wales (only one), Devon (only two), Cornwall (only one), and Ireland, "in the counties

[1] Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bibl. Palat. Vindob. pars i. Vindobonae, 1836, p. 199. The MS. containing this glossary is of the ninth century. Printed and commented upon in Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge, vi. 227.

chiefly of Waterford, Cork, and Kerry."[1] Many of the Irish Oghams have been wrongly read: about a third of Mr. Brash's readings are inaccurate, according to Prof. Rhŷs, from whom we may expect a critical edition of all the old inscriptions in the British islands.

The Ogham characters with their equivalents in Roman letters:



The spirants *ch* and *th* are represented respectively by *cc* and *tt*. This points to Britain as the domicile of origin of the Ogmic writing. For in Britain (not in Ireland) the sound-group *cc* became *ch* and *tt* became *th*. And *p* is made by a cross placed on, or to the right of, the stem-line. Let us begin with four British bilinguals.

The Bilingual of Trallong (near Brecon).
(Hübner, *Inscr. Christ. Brit.* No. 48.)

CUNOCENNI FILIUS CUNOCENI HIC IACIT.

Ogham: *Cunacennivi ilvveto.*

"The grave of the son of Cunocennos."

Here *ilvveto* seems = Ir. *ilad, ulad,* protoceltic *alveto,* cognate with Lat. *alceus.* The *-vi* of the other word is doubtful. But cf. the second word of the Tregoney inscription: *Nonnita, Ercilivi, Ricati, tres fili Ercilini.*

The Bilingual of Cilgerran (Pembrokeshire).
(Hübner, No. 108.)

TRENEGUSSI FILI MACUTRENI HIC IACIT.

Ogham: *Trenagusu maqi maqi Treni.*

"(The stone) of Trenogustus, son of (the) son of Trenos."

[1] Rhŷs, *Celtic Britain,* p. 248. "The Oghams of Scotland need not be discussed, as they seem to be of later introduction, showing traces of the influence of manuscript writing on parchment."—*Ibid.* 247, 248. They are found in the counties of Fife, Aberdeen and Sutherland, also in the Shetland Isles. The only

Here *Trenagusū* for *Trenagusūs* seems gen. sg. of an *u*-stem, the final *s* being dropt. So on the Bridell stone (Hübner, No. 107) *Nettasagru maqi mucoi Breci.* *Maqi* is gen. sg. of *maqos*, whence Ir. *macc* and O.W. *map* have descended. It occurs, spelt *macci*, on the Inchaguile inscription: *Lie Luguaedon macci Menueh.* It is cognate, according to Glück (Rênos, Moinos und Mogontiâcon, 1865, p. 27) with W. *macu*, now *magu* (nutrire), Gr. *μάκαρ*, *μακρός*, *μῆκος*, Lith. *moku* (possum), *macis* (potestas), *macnùs* (potens).

The Bilingual of St. Dogmael's (near Cardigan).
(Hübner, No. 106.)

SAGRANI FILI CUNOTAMI.

Ogham: *Sagramni maqi Cunatami.*

"(The stone) of Sagramnos son of Cunotamos."

Here *Sagramni*, cognate with (*Netta*) *sagru* supra and *Sagarettos* infra, seems to be a middle participle (Gr. *-μενο-ς*, Lat. *-mini*), and *Cunatami* (W. *Condaf*) to be a superlative of the adj. *cuno-s.*

The Bilingual of Fardel (Devonshire).
(Hübner, No 24.)

(a) FANONI MAQVIRINI. (b) SAGRAMNI (?)

Ogham: *Svaqquci maqi Qici.*

Rhŷs conjectures that the *svaqq-* here is = W. *chwap* 'quick.'

Let us now give fifteen of the numerous Irish Ogmic inscriptions.

The Inscription of Whitefield (co. Kerry).
(Ferguson.)

(Du)nocati maqi maqi Re . . . maqi mucoi Uddami.

"(The stone) of Dunocatos, son of the son of Re . . . , son of Udamos."

Compare the Latin part of the bilingual near Crickhowel: *Turpilli ic iacit puveri Triluni Dunocati.*

trustworthy collection of Irish Oghams yet published is the *Fasciculus of Prints from Photographs of Casts of Ogham Inscriptions*, by Sir Samuel Ferguson, Dublin, 1881.

The Inscription of Ballycrovane (co. Cork).
(Rhŷs, Lectures, ii. 164.)

maqi Decceddas avi Toranias.

"The stone of the son of Deces grandson of Toranis."

The gen. *Decceddas* occurs, spelt *Decedda*, in the inscription of Minard, co. Kerry: *Maqqi Decedda* is on one of the seven Ballintaggart inscriptions: *Maqi Decceda Glasiconas* = Ir. *Glaschon*, gen. of *Glaschu;* and on one of the stones at Killeen Cormac, *Maqi Ddeceda maqi Marin.*

The Second Inscription of Monataggart (co. Cork).
(Ferguson, pl. iii. fig. 2.)

Dalagni maqi Dali.

"(The stone) of Dalagnos son of Dalos."

The Third Inscription of Monataggart.
(Ferguson, pl. iii. fig. 3.)

Broenioonas poinetat Trenalugos.

"(The stone) of Broinio, the penitent (son) of Trēnolugus."

The Ogham character allows one to read the first word *Broenienas.* It is, in any case, the gen. sg. of a stem in *n.* In *poinetat* we have, I think, the abbreviated gen. sg. of an *nt*-stem, borrowed from the Latin *poenitens.* The *poi* has hitherto been supposed to be the pret. sg. 3 of the verb substantive and to occur in another inscription: *Corpi poi macui Labradi,* cited by Bishop Graves, Progs. R.I.A. i. 292. But Rhŷs has seen this monument, and reads it $Corb^{idai}_{edo}$ *maqi* $Labri^{d}_{t}$.

The Second Inscription of Ballyhank (co. Cork).
(Ferguson, pl. v. fig. 1.)

Corbagni.

"(The stone) of Corbagnos."

This name would be **Corbān* or **Corpān* in Irish.

The Inscription of Emlagh East (near Dingle).

Bruccos maqqi Caliaci.

"(The stone) of Bruscus, son of Caliacos."

The name *Bruscu-s*, gen. *Bruscōs*, is latinised *Broscus* in Arm. 9ᵇ 2, gen. *Brusci*, acc. *Bruscum*, ibid. 11ᵃ 1. With *Caliaci* (gen. sg of *Caliācus*) cf. the Gaulish coin-legend CALIACIIIS, supra.

The Inscription of Ballinrannig (Dingle Peninsula).

Ccicamini.

The *cc* = *ch* is, as Rhŷs suggests, due to the vocalic desinence of the governing word, meaning 'stone' or 'body,' here, as elsewhere, omitted.

The Inscription of Ardmore (co. Waterford).
(Rhŷs, Brash, 247.)

Lugudeccas maqi (mu)coi Netasegamonas Dolati bigaisgobi.

Here, *Lugudeccas* is certainly the gen. sg. of a *c*-stem, and=O.Ir. *Luigdech*, gen. sg. of *Lugaid*. In *Nēt-a-* we have a stem in *t* (=Ir. *nia* champion) and a connective vowel, and *-segamonas* (also in the next inscription) is the gen. sg. of a stem in *mon*, from the root *sagh*, supra p. 147.

The Inscription of Island, Stradbally (co. Waterford).
(Rhŷs, Brash, 253.)

Cunanettas m(aqi) mucoi Nettasegamonas.

Here, *Cunanettas* is the gen. sg. either of a stem in *t* (*nēt*, Ir. *nia* 'champion,' gen. *niath*), or of a masc. stem in *ā*, like *paricida*, *ἵπποτα*, and Vedic *panthā*. For Gaulish masc. *ā*-stems see infra.

The Inscription of Killorglin.
(Progs. R.I. Academy, January, 1885, p. 279.)

Galeotos.

gen. sg. of a stem in *t*. Cognate with Ir. *gal*, Gaul. *Γαλατης*.

The Inscription of Ballywiheen (co. Kerry).
(Bishop Graves, Progs. R.I. Academy, Jan. 1885, p. 281.)

Togitacc maqi Sagarettos.

Here *Togitacc* should certainly be *Togitacci*, gen. sg. of **Togitacos*, which in Old-Irish would be **Toigthach*, or (with forward-working assimilation) **Toigthech*. Bishop Graves identifies *Togitacc* with *Toictheach*, a name occurring in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 808. But this would be, in primeval Irish, *Toccitecos* (cf. Gaul. *Toccinus*), or *Tonciteco-s*. I connect our **Togi-tacos* with the numerous Gaulish names beginning with *togi-*, collected by Glück in his Keltische Namen, p. 71, n. 2: *Togi-rix*, *Togi-sonus*, *Togius*, *Togia*, *Togionius*, *Togidia*, *Togiacus*, *Togiacia*. The second element of the name, *taco-s*, may be cognate with the Old-Welsh *Tacit*, now *Tegyd*, unless, indeed, this be borrowed from the Latin *Tacitus*. As to the gen. sg. *Sagarettos*, Bishop Graves naïvely says, "Now I can hardly believe that any scholar will question the following etymological equivalence :—

Sacerdos=Sacerd=(Ir.) *Sagart*=Sagarettos,"

and thinks that *Sagarettos* is a loan-word "of a comparatively late period, pedantically disguised by a Greek termination . . . . the nominative ending" in *-os*. But, first, the Old-Irish representative of *sacerdos* is *sacard* or *sacart* (G. C. 61, 69, 226), gen. *sacaird*, and the *c* in this word did not sink to *g* until after the twelfth century. The inscription must therefore, according to Bishop Graves, have been engraved *after* the twelfth century, which is impossible. Secondly, according to Bishop Graves, a word with a nominative ending is here "made to do duty in grammatical regimen as a genitive," which is unlikely. *Sagarettos* is the gen. sg. of a genuine Irish stem in *t*. It probably stands for **Sagretos* (the second *a* being a vowel fragment), and is cognate with the *Sagramni* of the St. Dogmael's bilingual and the (*Netta-*)*sagru* of the Bridell stone. The European root seems *sag* (whence, also, *σάγη*, *sagum*) : the suffix, *ret*.

The Bilingual of Killeen Cormac (co. Kildare).
(M. Stokes, Christian Inscriptions, vol. ii. pl. i.)

IVVENE DRVVIDES.

Ogham : *Ovanos avi Ivacattos.*

"(The stone) of Iuvenis grandson of Ivocatis" (Eochaid).

This is the reading preferred by Prof. Rhŷs, who has examined the stone. Others read *Uvanos avi Evacattos.* With *Ovanos* (*Uvanos*), Lat. *juvenis* (the gen. sg. of an *n*-stem) is identical.

The Inscription on Brandon Mountain.
(Rhŷs, Lectures, ii. 348.)

Qrimitirros.

"(The stone) of a priest ('Cruimther'=Low Latin *prebiter, presbyter*, W. *premter, pryfder*).

The Inscription of Ballintaggart.
(Rhŷs, Lectures, ii. 25, 353.)

tria maqa Mailagni.

"(The stone) of (the) three sons of Mailagnos."

Mailagnos would be *Máelán* or *Móelán* in Irish.

The Inscription of Rooveamore (now in the British Museum).
(Rhŷs, Lectures, ii. 187.)

maqi Ercias maqi Valamni.

"(The stone) of the son of Ercis, son of Valamnos."

Following the example of Pictet (Nouvel Essai, etc., pp. 80–86) I will now sum up the grammatical results derivable, first, from these inscriptions and legends; secondly, from the Celtic words which seem to have been handed down,

in their original forms, by Greek and Roman writers,[1] and, lastly, from the Glossary, printed supra p. 166.

Vocalic Declension.

Masc. *O*-stems: sg. nom. *-os*: *tarvos*, and the proper names *Abudos*, *Andecamulos*, *Bimmos*, *Bratronos*, *Cassitalos*, *Cattos*, *Cernunnos*, *Cisiambos*, *Contextos*, *Crispos*, *Dannotalos*, *Diarilos*, *Diasulos*, *Doiros*, *Euēnos*, *Escingos*, *Iccavos*, *Kvi(n)tos*, *Legatos*, *Licnos*, *Pictilos*, *Puplicos*, *Ratumacos*, *Remos*, *Segomāros*, *Simissos*, *Suticos*, *Tecos*, *Turonos*, *Vandelos*, *Venextos*, *Vlatos*, *Vritacos*: the patronymics in *-cnos*: *Druti-cnos*, *Nantoni-cn(os)*, *Oppiani-cnos*, *Toutissi-cnos*, *Versi-cnos*, the river-name *Ἄουος* (Ptol.), the plant-name *odocos* in Marcellus Burdigalensis. Gen. *-ī*: *Ategnati*, *Dannotali*, *Druticni*, *Segomari*, *Sexti*, the Ogmic *avi*, *maqi*, and the proper names *Breci*, *Cunacennivi*, *Cunatami*, *Dali*, *Dolati*, *(Du)nocati*, *Qvici*, *Sagramni*, *Svaqquci*, *Treni*, *Uddami*, *Valamni*, and the patronymics *Corbagni*, *Dala-gni*, *Maila-gni*. Dat. *-ū*: *Alisanu*, *Anvalonnacu*, *Caraθitonu*, *Magalu*, *Andossu*, *Seboθθu*, and (if the Limone inscription be Gaulish) *Obuldinu Tinu*. Voc. *[g]nate*. Dual nom. *-ō*: *vercobreto*. Plural nom. *-oi*, *-ī*: *Da(n)notalicnoi*, *asoioi* (?), *Senani* and perhaps Strabo's *Βάρδοι* and Arrian's *οὐέρτραγοι* (gl. *ποδώκεις κύνες*). Gen. the Ogmic *maqa(m)*.

Neuter *o*-stems: sg. nom. *Ἀβουδίακον* (Ptolemy): *κάρνον τὴν σάλπιγγα* (Hesych.); dat. *lautrō* (gl. balneo): acc. *celicnon*, *caneco-sedlon*, *cantalon*, *iubron*; *nemeton* (*συνήγοντο δὲ εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Δρυνέμετον*, Strab.), abl. *dorō*, *Lug-dunō*, *nantō* (gl. valle), Endl. Gl., and (with suffixed prep.) *locitō-k*. Plural nom. (or acc. ?) *tri nantŏ* (gl. tres valles), Endl. Gl. *avallŏ* (gl. poma) ibid., and many place-names in *-āca*, e.g. *Canabiaca*, *Curmiliaca*, *Solimariaca*, *Tasicaca*. Gen. *usellom* (?) 'velorum'; acc. *dvorico*, *cantena*.

Masc. *IO*-stems: sing. nom. *Alisios*, *Andocombogios*,

[1] Collections of these words are in Diefenbach's *Origines Europaeae*, Frankfurt, 1861, and in de Belloguet's *Ethnogénie Gauloise*, Paris, 1872.

Bacios, Commios, Ēlusconios, Esandecotti, Luxterios (i.e. *Luchterios*, Ir. *luchtaire*), *Setubogios, Tarbeisonios, Olicios* (Rev. Celt. ii. 412). Lucian's Ὄγμιος, Ptolemy's Νόουιος, now the Nith. For *-ios* we find *-eos* in *Andarevisseos, Condilleos, Illiaceos, Litumareos, Tasgiteos, Villoneos.* Whether *Coios* and *Eccaios* are *o*-stems or *io*-stems I cannot say. With the latter cf. the dat. *Bedaio*, Orelli, 1964, *Mammaius.* Gen. *Exvertini* and Ogmic *Cicamini, avi.* Accusative, *Dontaurion.* Dual nom. *lixoviō.* Plural acc. *dontaurios* (i.e. *-iōs*).

In composition *Agio-marus, Ounio-rix,*[1] *Magio-rix, Toutio-rix, Nitio-genna, Novio-magus, Nerio-magus, Argio-talus.* Stems in *aio*: *Bedaius.*

I-stems: masc. sing. nom. *Coisis, Sumeli*[*s*], the river-name Φροῦτις (Ptol.), the plant-names *baditis* (nymphaea) in Marcellus Burdigalensis, and *ratis* (fern, Ir. *raith*, W. *rhed*), Ven. Fortunatus' *vernemetis* fanum ingens, Cicero's *mataris, arepennis* (derived from *arepo-*, ἄροτρον, Rev. Celt. iii. 131): adj. *namausatis,*[2] *sassaris*: gen. the Ogmic *Toranias, Ercias, Evacattos* (leg. *-ôs*), dat. *Ucuete, ambe* (gl. rivo): acc. sg. *Ucuetin, ratin.* Plural gen. *brivatiom* (cf. *usellom*), Ogmic *tria* (for *trian*), acc. *inter ambes* (gl. inter rivos), Endl. Gl.

Strabo's gloss, Οὐάτεις δὲ ἱεροποιοί καὶ φυσιολόγοι, may possibly preserve the Gaulish nom. pl. of *vātis.* So Isidore's *Alpeis* seems the nom. pl. of *Alpis.*

Neut. *i*-stems: sg. nom. perhaps *condate* (confluence), acc. *renne* (gl. arborem grandem).

I-stems in composition: *Cassi-talos, Mori-cambe, Moritasgus, Tati-cenus* (leg. *-genus*), (Brambach, 407), *Ogri-genus, Brogi-mara, Ande-broci-rix* (leg. *-brogi-*), *Cogi-dubnus, Epo-redi-rix, Magi-marus, Mati-donnus, Taxi-magulus, Teni-genonia.*

U-stems: masc. sing. nom. *Esus, Tetumus*, gen. the Ogmic *Brusccos* (leg. *-ôs*), *Trenalugos* (leg. *-ôs*), but in Britain *Nettasagrū, Trenagusū*: abl. *brātū-de* and *karnitū*, which,

[1] *Deo Ouniorigi Saturnalis Pauli filius ex voto p(osuit)*, Inscription found at Chatelet (Haute-Marne), Quicherat, *Mélanges*, 405.

[2] As *Martialis* (inscription of Alise) is borrowed from the Latin, I do not cite it here. I am not sure whether *Veliocaθi* is a nom. sg. standing for *Veliocassis*, or the nom. pl. of an *o*-stem.

though a verb, is, like the Lat. supine in *tu*, originally the abl. sg. of a stem in *u*. Plur. nom. *Lugoves, garanūs*: acc. *karnitūs*, also a verb, but originally the acc. pl. of an *u*-stem.

Neut. *u*-stems: *onno* (from *onnŭ* ?); *vasso* in *Vasso Galatae*, the name of the temple of the Arverni (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* i. c. 30), is from *vassu*=Gr. *Fάστυ*, Skr. *vastu, vāstu*.

As the first element of a compound: *Bitu-rix, Belatucadrus, Bussu-gnata, Catu-sualis, Cintu-gnatus, Iantu-marus, Litu-mara, Lugu-dunum, Mandu-bratius, Matu-genus, Medugenus, Vitu-durum, Esu-nertus, Reitu-genus* (Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 198), *Rextu-genos*,[1] *Smertu-litanus, Taranu-cno*.

Masc. *ā*-stems[2]: *Ateula* (=*Ateura*, Rev. Celt. ii. 508), *dugiava*, and a number of potters' names cited by Pictet from Froehner and Steiner.[3] *Verica* on a British coin. *Atepilla*, Rev. Celt. iii. 157. Gen. sg. perhaps *Galatae* in the name (*Vasso Galatae*) of the temple of the Arverni: acc. sg. *μάρκαν* (horse, Paus. x. 19); n. pl. *Belgae, Volcae, Celtae* ('qui ipsorum lingua *Celtae*, nostra Galli appellantur,' Caesar), *Bacaudae* (Aurel. Victor).

Feminine *ā*-stems: sg. nom. *Buscilla, qasova*, perhaps *braca, Cebenna* (Plin.), *briva* (bridge) and Pliny's *alauda* (lark), Ptolemy's *Βουνινδα, Buvinda*, Ptolemy's *Δῆουα, Dēva*, and the *Abona* (Avon) of the geographer of Ravenna. *Cumba* (valley) =*κύμβη*, '*Dīvona*(=Skr. *devana*), Celtarum lingua, fons addite divis.' Quintilian's *reda*, Festus' *benna, bulga*, Jerome's *leuga*, Strabo's *laina*, Apuleius' *pempedula* (cinquefoil), Servius' *amella* (thyme, from **ampella*, cogn. with *apis*, *ἐμπίς*), another plant-name *κόρνα* (*ἀργεμώνη*) Diosc., Isidore's *caterva, arinca, bascauda* (basket, also in Martial), *Bebronna, betulla* (Fr. *boule*), *crotta*. Some have *-ō* for *ā* like Gr. *Νικῶ*, Goth. *midjô, niujô*: thus *Tarkno Vosseno*, and the names *Banio, Cobluto, Fremantio* and perhaps *Vitou-surio*, cited by Mowat, Bulletin épigr. 1881, p. 55, and the Ogmic *ilvreto* gen. *Kvi*[*n*]*tes, Vepisones*:

[1] First pointed out by Pictet, Essai, 56.
[2] *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, t. viii. 1878, p. 105.
[3] Cabuca, Cacava, Fesa, Iusa, Lossa, Lova, Marca, Masa, Rica, Vaga, Veca.

dat. *Belesami*, *Adiantunneni*: acc. *logan*, *anam* (leg. *anan*): abl. *brio* (gl. ponte): pl. dat. *namausicabo*:[1] acc. *artvass*.

Feminine *iā*-stems: sing. nom. *Qaninio*, *Sosio*, *dugeonteo*, *camisia*, *cervisia*, *cateia*, *artemia*, Columella's *atinia* (*-ea*), the river-name *Druentia* (Durance), and Isidore's *taxea*: gen. *Qicoremies*: acc. the τριμαρκισίαν of Pausanias: abl. *Alisea*, *Alixie*.

Masculine *ē*-stems may be *alce-s* (Fick, iii. 28, s.v. *elha*), Γαισατης (Polyb.), Γαλατης, and ὁ μανιακης.

Feminine *ē*-stems *Tunccetace*, *Moricambe* and perhaps the names of the rivers *Anione*, *Orbione*: the mountain *Mimate*: the towns *Aballone*, *Alanthione*, *Albarnone*, *Arelate*, *Avenione*, *Bannave-m* (acc. for nom.), Confessio S. Patricii, *Brivate*, *Cabillone*, *Carpentorate*, *Cerate*, *Divione*, *Lerate*, *Matiscone*, *Reiteste*, *Sigusterone*, *Tarascone*. 'MENIMANII,' Rev. Celt. iii. 302.

Guttural stems: *C*-stems: sing. nom. *esox*: κάρνυξ (trumpet, Eustath.): gen. *Illanoviakos*, Ogmic *Lugudeccas* (protoceltic Lagudecos, nom. *Lagu-dex* ju-dex): nom. pl. perhaps the tribal names ending in *vices*, cognate with Skr. *viç*, in *viçpati*, Lith. *vẽsz* in *vẽszpats*. βράκες (Hesych.): acc. pl. *Sassigniacas*, a corruption of *Saxoniacas*, now *Sassegnies*, Quicherat 38, "*eporedicas* Galli bonos equorum domitores vocant" (Pliny, iii. 17, 21, ed. Sillig); but the readings *-ias*, *-ios*, *-icos*, also occur. *G*-stems: *Dubnoreix*, *Elcesovix*, *Escingoreix*, *Magurix*, *Orcitirix*, *Togirix*, Νύραξ πόλις Κελτική (Hecataeus): dat. *Epaδatextorigi*. Pl. n. Ἀλλό-βρογες, Ptol. acc. *Biturigas*[2] (Florus and Greg. Tur.).

R-stems: sing. nom. perhaps the plant-name βακκαρ (Dioscorides), and the river-names *Arar*, *Liger*: gen. the Ogmic *Qrimitirros*: plural dat. *mātrebo*.

N-stems: sing. nom. *Nappisetu*, *Frontu Peroco*, *Alingu*, Rev. Celt. ii. 137. Quintilian's *casamo* 'adsectator' and the place-name *Aballo* (Avallon) are Latinised just as Ptolemy's Ἀραβών,

[1] As to the loss of *s* here and in *matrebo*, compare the Lucretian *infantibu*, *omnibu*, *rebu*.

[2] This and the other examples of the acc. pl. of Gaulish consonantal stems are taken from the Revue Celtique, i. 320 (d'Arbois), ii. 403 (Ebel).

Aretæus' *σάπων*, are Grecised. Stems in *ion*: the plant-name *blutthagio* (Marc. Burdig.), and place-names such as *Brigantio* (Briançon), *Cabellio* (Cavaillon), *Divio* (Dijon), *Vesontio* (Besançon), *Vasio* (Vaison), *Minurio* (Rev. Celt. ii. 413): gen. the Ogmic *Broinioonas*, *Glasi-conas*, *Segamonas uvanos*: acc. perhaps *γελασονέν*, Dioscor. Plur. nom. *Κεύτρονες* (Ptol.), *Lingŏnĕs* (Lucan), acc. *Ceutronas* (Tab. Peut.), *Lingŏnăs* (Lucan, Tac., Eutrop., and Tab. Peut), *Pictonas* (Oros.), *Santonas* (Greg. Tur.), *Senonas* (Oros.), *Sexsionas* (Greg. Tur.), *Suessonas* (Itin. Anton.), *Suessionas* (Greg. Tur.) *Pictones*, *Rĕdones*, (*Ῥήδονες*), *Santones*. *Ambrones*, *Combennones* (Festus), *Κουριωνες*, *Suessiōnes*. Neut. *men*-stems; *curmen*, Ducange.

T-stems: sing. nom. perhaps *toutius*: gen. Ogm. *Sagarettos*, *Galeotos*. Pl. *Cornacates* (Plin.), *Caeracates* (Tac.), *Atrebates* (Cæsar), and *Diablintes*: acc. *Carnitas* (Florus), *Atrebatas* (Oros.), *Namnetas* (Greg. Tur.), *Curiosolitas* (Caes.). A nom. pl. of a neuter *t*-stem perhaps is *λεγούσματα* or *λειούσματα*, the Galatian for a kind of mailcoat (Hesych.), where *legusma* in form resembles *λύγισμα*.

CT-stems: Pl. nom. *Silvanectes*, acc. *-as*.

NT-stems: sing. nom. *hiiss* ex (*p*)*ient-s*? cf. Lat. *libes* for *libens*, Wordsworth, 22: dat. deo *Mogonti*, De Wal., No. 168–171: pl. nom. *Trinovantes* (Tacitus)=*Τρινόαντες* (Ptol.).

D-stems: sg. gen. *Decceddas*: nom. pl. *druides* (Cæsar), and perhaps *ἀδες· ποδες*, Hesych.=Skr. *pādas*: *gemmades* ("mulieres lucae dominicae linguae gallicae," Gloss. Isid.) 'cavalry.'

S-stems: Clitophon's *Λουγυδουνος* (=Dio Cassius' *Λουγουδουνον*) embodies the protoceltic reflex of the Irish neuter *s*-stem *dūn*. Ptolemy's *Οὐινδό-μαγος*=Ir. *Findmag*, W. *Gwynfa*.[1] Pl. nom. *Baio-casses*, *Duro-casses*, *Tri-casses*; acc. *Tricassas* (Amm. Marc.).

Atis-maria, *Cartis-mandua*, and *Civis-marus* (Glück, K.N.

[1] The gen. sg. of a word belonging to this declension, may, according to Rhŷs, Lectures, ii. 398, be in the last word of the Llandysilio inscription: *Clotorigi fili*, *Paulini marinilatio* ('of the seaside'), where he thinks *latio* is for *lateso*=Lat. *lateris*. Ir. *letha*. But I suspect we should read *C. f. P. Marini latio*, equate *latio* with W. *llaid*, and translate: "the clay of Clotorix, son of Paulinus Marinus."

133), seem to exhibit *s*-stems in composition. But perhaps we should analyse thus: *Ati-smaria*, *Carti-smandua*, *Civi-smarus*.

An *l*-stem is, possibly, *treicle* (pede), Endl. Gl. In composition we have *l*-stems, perhaps, in *Arial-dunum* and *Bisal-dunum* (d'Arbois, *Introduction*, p. 26). Does the Old-Irish *Feccol* (uiri, id est servi *Feccol Ferchertni*, Arm. 3^{b} 1) belong to this declension?

The form *go-bedbi*, which Pictet (Nouvel Essai, p. 86) cites as the ablative plural of a stem in *d*, is certainly a verb. The prefix *go* is perhaps equal to the Gothic *ga-*, and the suffix *-bi*, like the suffix *-be* in *iorebe*, is equal to Lat. *-vit*. If *axtacbiti* in the inscription of Vieil-Évreux be rightly read, it seems to embody the oldest form of this suffix. The *b* here is probably written for *v* (cf. *properabit* on the Margam cross). In *to-me-decavi* the *v* is kept. The root of *ax-tac-biti* is *tak*, to which Fick, i. 588, refers *τίκτω* and *τάσσω* for *τακjω*.

The other verbs in the Gaulish inscriptions are:

anala (blow), *deanala* (blow away), *danima*, imperatives act. in sg. 2. The *etic*, which Pictet explains as an imperative, seems to me a conjunction, equal to the Lat. *atque*.[1]

i-euru, *ει-ωρου* 'fecit,' a preterite with the particle *-u* agglutinated as in the Skr. imperative *gachatu*, pl. *gachantu*, and Old-Irish *cēs-u*, *mas-u*, *mat-u*.

ma-selu (posuit?) root *stel*? with verbal prefix *ma* = Skr. *sma*? and agglutinated *u*.

dede 'posuit,' a reduplicated preterite, Skr. *ā-dadhe*, root *dhā*, *θε*.

carnitū (congessit), pl. *carnitūs* (congesserunt), to be compared (as I have done supra) with the Latin supines in *tu*. *Vritū* (fecit), cf. Ir. *feraim*, is another instance.

legasit (leg. *legassit*), an *s*-aorist in sg. 3, to be compared with Irish forms in *-ais*, Welsh in *-as*, and Latin in *-isset*. Lottner (Kuhn's Beitr. ii. 316) explains the Irish double *ss* as representing the *s*-preterite of the root *es*, which was

[1] Another conjunction seems the *khik* (leg. *kvek*?) of the Novara inscription.

suffixed to verbal stems in *aia* and *ia*, like the *-sso* in Old-Latin futura exacta (*levasso*). The corresponding person in the plural is exemplified by *eurises*, where the *-ses* is (according to Cuno)=Lat. *-sēre*, from *-sēse*, in, e.g., *dixere*, and the *-i-* is=the *i* in O.W. *lin-i-sant* (gl. lauare).

datalages seems the 2nd sg. conjunctive of a denominative[1] formed from *datlo*, as Old-Welsh *scamnhegint* (gl. leuant) Juv., p. 4, now *ysgafnaant*, from *scamn*, now *ysgafn*. The Ir. denominatives in *-aigim*, Gr. in *-αζω* from *-αγjω*, may be compared.

Lastly, *a-texto-* and *con-textos* are participles with an active meaning. The root of each is *taks*, Fick, i. 589, whence the Irish name *Tassach*.

Desinential Changes.

We have now to set forth the changes which comparison with the cognate Indo-European languages proves that the desinences have undergone in the change from protoceltic to Old-Irish.

A. Desinences with Short Vowels.

1. *-a* (Indo-Eur. *ā*), is lost, but infects a following consonant and breaks a preceding *i* or *u*.

Examples: Nom. sg. fem. *χώρ-α*, *equa*, Skr. *açvā*, Goth. *thiud-a*, Ir. *tūath* (folk). Nom. and acc. pl. neut. *μέτρ-α*, *ζυγά*, Ved. *yugā*, Lat. *juga*, *grāna*=Ir. *grān* (grains): Ved. *stāv-ā* (I will praise), Ir. *er-bar* (dicam).

2. *-a* (Indo-Eur. *ă*) is lost: *παρά*, Ir. *ar*.

3. *-as* (Indo-Eur. *-as*) is lost, breaking a preceding *i* or *u*.

Example: *γέγονας*, Ir. *cechan* (cecinisti).

4. *-ayos* becomes *ō*, *o*, *a*.

Example: gen. sg. of *i*-stem *πόλε-ως*. Ir. *aloo* (rupis), *fātho* (vatis).

[1] To complete this list of Gaulish verbal forms, I may add the *caesar* ('quod Gallorum lingua *dimitte* significat') mentioned by Servius ad Aen. xi. 743, and the *arcevernus* (gl. ante obsta) of Endlicher's Glossary. In both cases the reading is doubtful.

5. *-e* is lost, but infects a following consonant and a preceding vowel.

Examples: Voc. sing. *ἵππε, eque*=Ir. *eich* (horses). Nom. dual; *μητέρ-ε*=Ir. *dī māthair*; *φέροντ-ε*, Ir. (*dā*) *charait*; *ὄπ-ε*, Ir. (*dā*)*rīg*. The numeral *πέντ-ε, quinqu-e*, Gaul. *pempe*= Ir. *cōic* (five). The 2nd sg. imperative *φέρ-ε*=Ir. *beir*, 2nd pl. imperat. *φέρετ-ε*=Ir. *berid*. The 3rd sg. perf. *γέγον-ε*, Ir. *cechuin* (cecinit).

6. *-en* (Indo-Eur. *-ẹm*) is lost, or prefixed to a following vowel, nasalizes a following media. It infects a preceding vowel.

Examples: Acc. sg. *fratr-em*=Ir. *brāthir-n*; *reg-em*=Ir. *rīg-n*; *homin-em*, Ir. *talmain-n*. The numerals *novem, ἐννέα* =Ir. *nōi-n*; *decem, δέκα*=Ir. *deich-n*.

7. *-en* (Indo-Eur. *-en*) is treated like No. 6.

Example: Nom. and acc. sg. *nomen*=Ir. *ainm*.

8. *-ens* becomes *-e*.

Example: protoceltic **anmens*=Ir. *anme* (nominis).

9. *-er* is kept.

Examples: *ὦ πάτερ*=Ir. *a athir*. Lat. *inter*=Ir. *eter, etir*.

10. *-es* is lost, infecting a preceding vowel.

Examples: Nom. pl. *ὄπ-ες*, Ir. *rīg* (kings); *φέροντ-ες*, Ir. *carait* (friends), *μητέρ-ες*=Ir. *māthair*. The fem. numeral *teoir* from *tes°res*, Skr. *tisras*. Second sg. pres., *ἔ-φερες*, *a-bharas*, Ir. *-beir, -bir*.

11. *-esa* becomes *-e*.

Example: *genera* (from **genesa*), *τέγε(σ)α*=Ir. *tige* (houses). *νεφεσ(α)*=Ir. *nime*.

12. *-eséi* becomes *-i*; *bhávase τί-θε-σαι*. Ir. *beri*.

13. *-esi* is lost, infecting preceding vowels and following consonants.

Examples: Dat. sg. *μένει* (from **μενεσι*), *νεφεῖ*=Ir. *nim*, *τέγει*=Ir. *tig* (house).

14. *-eson* (Indo-Eur. *-esom*) becomes *-e-n*.

Example: Gen. pl. *laterum* (from **latesom*); *νεφέων*=Ir. *nime-n* (caelorum).

15. *-esos* becomes *e*.

Example: Gen. sg. Lat. *gener-us* (*-is*), *νέφέ(σ)ος*=Ir. *nime* (caeli).

16. *-etei* becomes *-ith*, *id*; Skr. *bhávate*, *τί-θε-ται*, Ir. *berid*.

17. *-eyon* becomes *-e-n*.

Example: *πόλε-ων*, Ir. *fāithe-n* (vatum).

18. *-i* is lost, infecting preceding vowels and following consonants.

Examples: *ἀμφι*, Ir. *imb*, *imm*. Nom. sg. Lat. *mare* (from *marī*)=Ir. *muir* (sea). Dat. sg. f. *χώρᾳ*, *δικῃ*, Old-Latin *equāi*=Vedic *açvāi*, Goth. *gibai*; Ir. *rainn* (parti), *tuaith* (populo). Dat. sg. consonantal stems; *ὀπ-ί*, Ir. *rīg*; *φέροντ-ι*, Ir. *carait*; *μητρ-ί*=Ir. *māthir*. Nom. pl. of masc. *o*-stems; *ἵππο-ι*, Lat. *eque-i*, *equī*=Ir. *eich*. 3rd sg. pres. indic. act. Skr. *bharat-i*, *φέρει*=Ir. *berid*, 3rd pl. *bharant-i*, Dor. *φέροντ-ι*, Ir. *berit*.

19. *-iass* becomes *-e*, *-a*.

Example: *χαρίεις* (st. *χαριεντ*), Ir. *care*, *cara* (friend, stem *carayant*), *lōche* (lightning, stem *lōcaiant*), *file* (poet, stem *viliat*).

20. *-in* (Indo-Eur. *-im*) infects preceding vowels, and is either lost or transposed to a following vowel or media.

Examples: *πόλι-ν*, *πόσι-ν*; Ir. *fāith-n*.

21. *-is* is lost, infecting preceding vowels.

Examples: *πόλι-ς*, *πόσι-ς*, Lat. *ovi-s*=Ir. *oi*, *fāith*.

22. *-it* is lost, infecting preceding vowels.

Examples: Lat. *ag-it*=Ir. *aig* (in *atom-aig*), *do-beir* from *tu-bérit*; Gr. *ἔ-φερε*.

23. *-on* (Indo-Eur. *-om*) is lost, breaking a preceding *i* or *u*, and transposing the *n* to a following vowel or media.

Examples: acc. sg. *λύκον*, *vir-um*=Ir. *fer-n*; gen. pl. Lat. *dīv-um*=Ir. *dīa-n*, *rēg-um*=Ir. *rīg-n*; *frātr-um*=*brāthar-n*.

24. *-ontei* becomes *-it*; *bhavante*, *λύονται*, Ir. *berit*.

25. *-onto* becomes *-at*.

Examples: Skr. *bharanta*=Ir. (*as*)*berat* (efferunt).

26. *-os* is lost, the *o* breaking a preceding *i* or *u*.

Examples: Nom. sg. *ἵππο-ς*, *equo-s*, *equu-s*, Skr. *acva-s*= Ir. *ech*; *τέγος*=Ir. *teg*, *tech*; gen. sg. *μητρ-ός*=Ir. *máthar* (from *máthr*); *ὀπ-ός*, Ir. *rīg*: *κυν-ός* = Ir. *con* (hound's); *ποιμέν-ος*, Ir. *talman*.

27. *-u* is lost.

Examples: Nom. sg. neut. *μέθυ*, *cornu*; Ir. *recht*; *πολύ*, Goth. *filu*, Ir. *il*. In the masc. *breo* (flame), protoceltic *bresu*, (cf. Old Norse *brasa*, Eng. *to braze*), the *-u* (after the loss of intervocalic *s*) has formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel.

28. *-un* is lost, the *n* being transported to a following vowel or medial.

Examples: *νέκυ-ν*, *fructu-m*; Ir. *bith-n*.

29. *-us* is lost, the *u* sometimes assimilating a preceding vowel.

Examples: Nom. sing. masc. *νεκύ-ς*, *fructu-s*, Skr. *sūnu-s*; Goth. *magu-s*=Ir. *mug*; Ir. *bith*, *fiss*.

30. *-vo-s* is lost.

Examples: Goth. *taihsvs*, W. *deheu*, Ir. *dess*.

B. Desinences with Long Vowels.

31. *-ās* becomes *-a*.

Examples: Nom. pl. Goth. *gibōs*, *thiudos*=Ir. *tūatha*; 2nd sing. conj. pres. Lat. *ferās*, Skr. *bharās*, Ir. *as bera* (efferas, dicas).

32. *-āses* becomes *-a*.

Example: Vedic *açvāsas* (horses): Ir. *ro-ceta* (cantati sunt).

33. *-āss* becomes *-a*.

Examples: Acc. pl. fem. *χώρας*, *equās*, Skr. *açvās*, Osc. *ekass*, *tiass*, Ir. *ranna*.

34. *-āt* becomes *-a*.

Examples: Lat. *ferāt*, Ved. *bharāt*, Ir. (*as*)*-bera* (dicat).

35. *-ē* becomes *-i* in monosyllables: Skr. *dvē*, Ir. *dí* (two, f.).

36. *-ēr* becomes *-ir*.

Examples: *πατήρ*=Ir. *athir*; *φρατήρ*=Ir. *brāthir*, *μάτηρ* =*máthir*.

37. *-ēs* becomes *e*, infecting a preceding vowel.

Examples: Gen. sg. fem. Skr. *açvāyās*; Gaul. *Kvi[n]tēs*, *Vepisonēs*; Ir. *rainne*.

38. *-ī* is lost, infecting a preceding vowel.

Examples: Nom. and acc. dual *i*-stems; Skr. *atī*, *katī*; Ir. *(dā)fáith* (two prophets), *(dī)ṡūil* (two eyes).

39. *-ō* becomes *-ū* and is lost, changing a preceding *a* to *au*, and *e* to *iu* or *eo*.

Examples: *φέρ-ω*, *fero*; Ir. *(as)biur* (effero, dico); Lat. *mentio*; Ir. *air-mitiu* (reverentia); *ἵππῳ*, *equo* = Ir. *eoch*; *virō* = Ir. *fiur*.

40. *-ōr* becomes *-ur*.

Examples: *sorōr* (from *svesōr*) = Ir. *siur*.

-ōs becomes *-u*, pl. nom. Osc. *Núvlanús*, Umbr. *Ikuvinus*; Ir. pl. voc. *ballu*, *firu*.

41. *-ōss* (from *-ons*) becomes *-u*.

Example: Cret. *τονς*, Heracl. *τως*, Att. *τούς*; Lat. *virōs* = Ir. acc. *firu*.

42. *-tād* becomes *-te*.

Example: 2nd sg. imperative Ved. *-tahatād*, Ir. *cluinte* (hear!).

43. *-tōs* becomes *-tu*.

Example: *βιότης* (protocelt. *bīvetōs*); Ir. *beothu*.

44. *-ū* (from *-ō*) is lost.

Example: Nom. dual: Skr. *bāhū* (two arms); Ir. *dā mug*.

45. *-ūss* (from *uns*) becomes *-u*.

Examples: Lat. *fructūs*; Goth. *maguns* = Ir. *mogu*.

C. Desinences with Diphthongs.

46. *-ai* is lost, infecting a preceding vowel: *παραί*, Gaul. *arē*, Ir. *air*.

47. *-aios* becomes *-e*; *περαῖος*, Ir. *ire*.

Protoceltic Paradigms.

We are now in a position to attempt to restore the principal protoceltic declensional forms, so far as regards the nouns and adjectives.

I. Vocalic Declension.

Masc. O-stems.

Example: *ballo* 'member.'

	Sing.	*Dual.*	*Plur.*
Nom.	balloe	ballō	balloi (-ī)
Gen.	ballī	ballō	ballom
Dat.	ballū	ballobin	ballobos
Acc.	ballon	ballō	ballōss
Voc.	balle		ballōs
Loc.	balloi (-ī)	ballō	
Instr.		ballobin	ballobis

Neuter Stems in O.

Example: *dligeto* 'law.'

Nom., acc., and voc.	dligeton	dligetō	dligeta
Gen.	dligetī	dligetō	dligetom
Dat.	dligetū	dligetobin	dligetobos
Instr.			dligetobis

Masc. Stems in IO.

Example: *cēlio* 'companion.'

Nom.	cēlios	cēliō	cēlīī
Gen.	cēliī	cēliō	celiom
Dat.	cēliū	cēliobin	cēliobos
Acc.	cēlion	cēliō	cēliōss
Voc.	cēlie		cēliōs
Inst.			celiobis

Neuter Stems in IO.

Example: *cradio* 'heart.'

Nom., acc., and voc.	cradion	cradiō	cradia
Gen.	cradiī	cradiō	cradiom
Dat.	cradiū	cradiobin	cradiobos
Instr.			cradiobis

Stems in I.

Example: *vāti* m. 'prophet.'

Nom.	vātis	vātī	vāteyes, vāteis
Gen.	vātayos	vātayō	vātayem
Dat.	vāti	vātibin	vātibos
Acc.	vātin	vātī	vāteyess, vāteiss
Voc.	vātis		vāteyes, vāteis
Instr.			vātibis

Stems in U.

Example: *bitu* m. 'world.'

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	bitus	bitū	bitaves, bitūs
Gen.	bitavos, bitūs	bitavō	bitavem
Dat	bitū	bitubin	bitubos
Acc.	bitun	bitū	bitūss
Voc.	bitavo		bitūs
Instr.			bitubis.

Feminine Stems in Ā.

Example: *rēdā* 'chariot.'

Nom.	rēda	rēdē (rēdī?)	rēdās.
Gen.	rēdēs	rēdō	rēdam.
Dat.	rēdē (rēdī?)	rēdābin	rēdābos.
Acc.	rēdin	rēdē (rēdī?)	rēdāss.
Voc.	rēda		rēdās.
Abl.	rēdād		
Loc.	rēdē		
Instr.	rēdā		rēdabis

II. Diphthongal Declension.

Example: *bou* 'cow.'

Nom.	bōus	bāve	bāves
Gen.	bovos	bovō	bovam
Dat.	boni	bovin	bovebos
Acc.	bonen	bāve	bōss
Voc.	bou		
Instr.			bovebis

III. Consonantal Declension.

C-stems.

Example: *esoc* 'salmon.'

Nom.	esox	esoce	esoces
Gen.	esoces	esocō	esocom
Dat.	esoci	esocebin	esocebos
Acc.	esocen	esoce	esocēss
Voc.	esox	esoce	esocēs
Instr.			esocebis

G-STEMS.

Example: *rīg* m. 'king.'

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	rīx	rīge	rīges
Gen.	rīgos	rīgō	rīgom
Dat.	rīgi	rīgebin	rīgebos
Acc.	rīgen	rīge	rīgēss
Voc.	rīx		rīgēs
Instr.			rīgebis

R-STEMS.

Example: *māter* f. 'mother'

Nom.	mātīr	mātre	mātres
Gen.	mātros	mātrō	mātriom
Dat.	mātri	mātrebin	mātrebos
Acc.	mātren	mātre	mātriēss
Voc.	māter		mātriēs
Instr.			mātrebis

So were declined *ater* m. 'father,' *brāter* m. 'brother,' *svesōr* f. 'sister'; and (in the plural) the numerals *tesores*, *qetvores*.

Here in the dat. pl. and dual we have a connective vowel (*bindevocal*), and in the gen. and acc. plur. we have a passage to the *i*-declension.

T-STEMS.

Example: *cinget* 'warrior.'

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	cinges	cingete	cingetes
Gen.	cingetos	cingetō	cingetom
Dat.	cingeti	cingetebin	cingeteboe
Acc.	cingeton	cingete	cingetēss
Voc.	cinges		cingetēs
Instr.			cingetebis

D-STEMS.

Example: *druid* 'wizard.'

Nom.	druis	druide	druides
Gen.	druidos	druidō	druidom
Dat.	druidi	druidebin	druideboe
Acc.	druiden	druide	druidiēss
Voc.	druis		druidiēs
Instr.			druidebis

Stems in NT.

Example: *cariant* 'friend.'

	Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom.	cariā	cariante	cariantes
Gen.	cariantos	cariantō	cariantom
Dat.	carianti	cariantebin	cariantebos
Acc.	carianten	cariante	cariantiēss
Voc.	cariā		cariantiēs
Instr.			cariantebis

Stems in N.

Example: *casmon* 'follower,' Gaulish *casamo.*

Nom.	casmō	casmone	casmones
Gen.	casmonos	casmonō	casmonom
Dat.	casmoni	casmonebin	casmonebos
Acc.	casmonen	casmone	casmonēss
Voc.	casmō		
Instr.			casmonebis

Neuter Stems in MÉN.

Example: *anmén* 'name.'

Nom., acc., and voc.	anmén	anméne	anména
Gen.	anméns	anménō	anménom
Dat.	anméni	anménebin	anménebos
Instr.	anmenbi		anménebis

Neuter Stems in S.

Example: *tegos* 'house.'

Nom., acc., and voc.	tegos	tegese	tegesa
Gen.	tegesos	tegesō	tegesom
Dat.	tegesi (tegei)	tegesebin	tegesebos
Instr.			tegesebis

Numerals.

The simple neoceltic cardinal numerals for the first nine numbers, the tens, 100, and 1000, are in Old-Irish as follows. Of the British I give the oldest forms quotable.

	Old-Irish.	*Welsh.*	*Cornish.*	*Breton.*
1.	ōin, ōen	un	un	un, ung
2.	dā, dó	dou	dow	dou, daou
3.	trī	tri	try	tri
4.	cethir, cethri	petguar	peswar	pevar
5.	cōic	pimp	pymp	pemp
6.	sē	chwech	whegh	huech
7.	secht-n	seith	seyth	seiz
8.	ocht-n	wyth	eth	eiz
9.	nōi-n	nau	naw	nau
10.	deich-n	dec	dēk	dec
20.	fiche	ugeint	ugens	uguent
30.	tricha	trimuceint		tregont
40.	cethracha			
50.	cōica			
60.	secta			
70.	sechtmoga			
80.	ochtmoga			
90.	nōcha			
100.	cēt	cant	cans	cant
1000.	mīle	mil	myl, myll	mil

In Irish the numbers between the tens are regularly made by prefixing the unit to the genitive singular of the ten to which its value is to be added. Thus *ōen traig dēc* (11 feet), *dā cath dēc* (12 battles), *di huāir deac* (12 hours), *teora pinginne dēc* (13 pence), *coic bliadni deac* (15 years), *cetheora lānamna fichet* (24 couples), *tri* (better *teora*) *blīadna trichat* (33 years), *dāu coicat* (52), *coic mīli ochtmugat* (85 thousand), *dā bliadain nochat* (92 years). Twenty-one (and 31, 41, etc.) things may be expressed either by the nom. sg. of the thing followed by the dat. sg. of the ten governed by the prep. *ar* (*bō ar fichit*='21 cows,' *screpall ar fichit*='21 scruples'), or by the ten followed by a conjunction and the thing in the nom. sg. (*cethorcha is bliadan*='41 years').

The tens from 30 to 100 may also be expressed by addition, multiplication, or the use of *hanter* 'half.'

	Irish.	*Welsh.*	*Cornish.*	*Breton.*
30.	tri deich	deg ar ugeint	dek warn-ugens	
40.	dā fichit		deu ugens	dou uguent
50.	cōic deich		hanter cans / deg ha dugans	hanter cant
60.	tri fichit		try ugons	tri-uguent
70.	secht ndeich			dec ha tri-uguent
80.	cethri fichit / ocht ndeich		*peswar ugens / pager eyance	peuar-uguent
90.				dek ha pevar-ugent
100.	cōic fichit			

The numbers above 100 are regularly made by prefixing the smaller number to the greater, governed by the prep. *ar*. Thus, *a ocht deac ar chēt* (118), *fiche ar chet* (120), *cōecca ar cēt* (150), *cōic ar tri cētaib* (305), *dī bliadain dēc ar mīli* (1012 years). We also find the prep. *for*: e.g. *da bliadain nochat for dib cētaib* (292 years), and the conjunction *ocus*: *a sē ocus ōen fiche dēc* (226), *a hoendec ocus cethri fichit ocus cōic cēt* (591). Multiplication of *fiche* (20) and *cōica* (50) is also used. Thus *secht fichit* (140), *trī cōicait* (150), *nōi fichit* (180). So in Welsh we have (with the conjunction 'and') *chwech marchawc thrugeint a phum-cant* (566 knights), and in Cornish we have multiplication by a prefixed number: vi. *ugons* (120), vii. *ugons* (140).

The inflection of the cardinal numbers is in some respects irregular. In the Irish numerals gender is distinguished only by 1, 2, 3, and 4. Thus:—

1. *ōin*, gen. masc. and neut. *ōin*, *aine*, *oena*, dat. *ōin*, acc. *ōen-n*.

Here *oena* seems=Lat. *unius*.

2. *dā* is dual only, and is thus declined:

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Nom.	dāu, dā	dī, dīa	dā-n
Gen.	dā } for all genders		
Dat.	deib-n, dib-n } for all genders		
Acc.	dā	dī, dīa	dā-n

The form *dāu* seems to occur as well with nouns (*dau macc Briuin*, Arm. 19 a 2)[1] as without (*it a-dāu coicat ar chēt*, they are, 152). Without a noun we have *dau* and *dó*: *a dó trichat* (32) *a dó sescat* (62), *a dó sechtmogat* (72), *dó nóchat* (92). Of the fem. *dīa* I have found four examples: *dia loit* (two blankets, *lodices*), Corm. s. v. Cermnas, Mac Firbis' copy: *dia prīmfeil* (two chief feasts), Fél. May 31, acc. *dīà mīs* (two months), LU. 131[b], *doemet a da lon a dia arainn* (its two haunches cover its two kidneys), Laws ii. 248. The neut. *dā-n* seems related to the Skr. neuter form **dvan* in *dvandva* (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxii. 3). The dat. *deib-n*, *dib-n* is=an Indo-Eur. instrumental **dvābhin*, where *-bhin* bears nearly the same relation to *-bhis* that *-bhyām* bears to *-bhyas*.

[1] But here perhaps *Dau* is a proper name=Skr. *dhava*.

3.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Nom.	trī	teoir, teora, teor.	tri‘
Gen.	trī-n	teora-n	trī-n
Dat.	trib	teoraib	trib
Acc.	trī	teora, teor	tri‘

In the nom. and acc. fem. the form *teor* is found: nom. *teor buidne* (three troops), Rawl. B. 512, fol. 9ᵃ 1, acc. *la teor mile*, Fēl. Sep. 1. In the dat. pl. neut. the mark of length is once found: *cona trīb cētaib*, LU. 55ᵃ. But this is probably a scribal error, as the dat. masc. and neut. is= the Skr. instr. *tribhis*. The *trī‘* of the nom. and acc. neut. seems=Gr. *τρία*, Lat. *tria*, as the *tri* of the masc. is =*τρεῖς*, *tres*. If, however, the omission of the mark of length in the neut. is accidental, we should rather compare the Vedic *trī*.

4.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Nom.	cethir	(cetheoir),[1] cetheora	cethir‘
Gen.		cetheora-n	
Dat.		cetheoraib	
Acc.		cetheora	cethir‘

Cethri (protoceltic *qetvareis*) is found in Middle Irish codices used for all genders and cases. But the only instance of it in an Old-Irish codex is the acc. masc. *etir inna cethri fersu* (among the four verses), Ml. 58ᵃ 11.

The dat. pl. fem. (*cetheóraib*=Skr. instr. *catasṛbhis*) is in LU. 23ᵃ: *oc cluchiu forsna cetheóraib uáitnib leccdaib* (playing on the four stone pillars). The neut. nom. (and acc.?) *cethir* infects: *cethir chēt* ‘four hundreds.’ It must therefore have ended in a vowel, which the *i* of the second syllables shows to have been slender. It may, accordingly, be equated with Skr. *catvāri*, rather than with Gr. *τέσσαρα*.

5. *Cōic* aspirates in the nom. and acc. (*coic fir* ‘quinque viri,’ Egerton, 93, fo. 9ᵃ 1: acc. *amal bitis coic ṡutralla* ‘as they were five lamps,’ *ibid.* 7ᵇ 2; *cuic thseoit*, 2 Laws, 20). In the gen. it nasalises: *la cumail* v. *mbo*

[1] ‘*cetheoira*,’ cited by Ascoli (Note irlandesi 29, n. 3) from Ml. 118ᵈ, seems a clerical or typographical error for *cetheoir*=Skr. nom. *catasras*.

(with a *cumal* of five cows), O'Dav. s.v. derusc: *boge .u. ṅuinge* 'catinus quinque unciarum,' Corm. But this is probably from analogy to the declension of nouns and adjectives.

6. *Sē* in the nom. aspirates in Lebar Brecc (*se fotha .x.* p. 120^{b}), but never in older MSS. In the gen. it nasalises: *co cend sē mbliadan dec* (to the end of seven years), LU. 29^{d}, *na sē mbō* '(a reprisal) of seven cows,' Laws i. 66. This, too, seems from analogy.

7, 8, 9. *Secht-n, ocht-n, nōi-n* have no inflection. The *-n* of *secht-ṅ* and *ocht-n* is due to the analogy of *nōi-n* and *deich-n*. As to *secht*, in composition the nasal is sometimes present, sometimes wanting. Thus *condid dithetacht inspirto secht .n. delbichsin is(in)tsollumun sechtmanach forsi(nd) æclis .uii. gradich* (so that the . . of the septiform Spirit is, in the hebdomadal solemnity, on the seven-graded Church), Arm. 170^{b} 2. It is absent in the compound *sechtarét* (septentrio), and the derivative *sechtae* (septenarius). Compare the Latin *septu-* in *septu-ennis*. As to *ocht*, in composition and derivatives there is no nasal. Thus *forruim* (.i. *rogon*) *tend* (.i. *laech*) *do chrund ochtga* .i. *do crund gai imbit ocht lama* (he laid low (slew) a hero with a spear-shaft wherein are eight hands, *i.e.* a shaft eight hand-breadths long?), LU. 7^{a}. So the numeral substantive *ochtur* (eight persons) and the adj. *ochte* (octonarius), gen. sg. *ochti*.

10. *deich-n* is thus declined:

Nom. and Acc.	deich-n	
Gen.	dech-n	*abs.* deac, deec
Dat.	deich-n	*abs.* dechib

Examples of the gen. and dat. are *cethruime na cumaile na ndech mbo* (the fourth of the *cumal* of the ten cows), Laws, ii. 278: *condeich n-uagaib* (with 10 virgins), Fél. Jan. 27: *tri chēt for secht ndechib* (370, lit. 300 on seven tens), Fél. Oct. 10.

The tens, *fiche* (20), *tricha* (30), etc., are declined regularly as stems in *nt*.

Cēt (100) is declined regularly as a neuter *o*-stem.

Mîle (1000) is declined regularly as a fem. *ia*-stem.

In the British numerals the gender is distinguished by 2, 3 and 4; but there is no trace of declension except in the tens.

2. Masc. *dou*, fem. *dui*, *diu*. Of the form *diu* (which is regular in Cornish and Breton, spelt *dew*, *deu*, *dyu*, *diu*, *diou*), an Old-Welsh instance is *ithr ir diu ail* (between the two eye-brows), Martianus Capella, 9^{b} 2. All these forms sonantise, and their protoceltic forms must therefore have ended in vowels.

3. Masc. *tri*, fem. *teir*. The aspiration of *c* and *p* after *tri* is due to the protoceltic *-s*. This *s* is assimilated in Cornish forms, such as *treddeth* (three days), *treffer* (three fairs), *tremmyl* (3000), *tremmys* (three months). See Beunans Meriasek, 3895, 2191, 1516, 1491.

4. Masc. *petguar*, fem. (*peteir*) *pedeir*.

The numerals *seith* and (*oith*), *wyth*, though now they nasalise, do not do so in the oldest monuments. Thus *seith blenet* (seven years), Laws, i. 2, 3. But they produce the vocalic infection: *seyth ulenet* (i.e. *vlenet*), Laws 2, 1, 1, *wyth drawst* (eight beams, *trawst* = transtrum), Mab. 2, 211, and point, accordingly, to protoceltic *septu*, *octō*. Nasalisation is found after *nau* (*nau myu*, nine cows, *byu*), and, probably, *dec*.

In the British languages the sound-group *pd* becomes *pt*, and *pt* (passing, apparently, through an intermediate *ct*) becomes *th*. Hence the Welsh *pymthec* (fifteen, *pimp*+*dec*), Corn. *pemdhack*, Br. *pemzec*.

The Breton *nauntek* (19), Mod. Corn. *nawnsack*, points to a protoceltic *neventi-decen*, where *neventi* is an abstract noun = the Old. Slav. *devęti* 'nine,' literally a *nineness*, Zend *navaiti*.

In the tens *uceint* (20), *trimuceint* (30), *douceint* (40), *tri-uceint* (60), *petwar ugeint* (4×20=80), we have other abstract nouns in *-yo* (*-yā*?), *ugeint* being = a protoceltic *vicentio-n* or *vicentia*, cognate with Ir. *fiche*, and the termination of *tri-muceint* being comparable with the dat. or acc. of Ir. *secht-moga* (70) or *ocht-moga* (80).

The ordinals for 1 to 10 are as follows :—

	Old-Irish.	*Welsh.*	*Cornish.*	*Breton.*
1.	cētne ōenmad[1]	kyntaf unvet	kensa	quentaf
2.	aile dēde[2] tānise	eil	nessa secund	eil
3.	tress[3] tris	trydyd	trysse	trede
4.	cetharmad?[4] cethrammad[5]	peduare pedwyryd	peswere	peuare pedervet
5.	cōiced	pimphet	pympes	pempet
6.	sessed	chuechet	whefes	huechuet
7.	sechtmad	seithvet	seythves	seizvet
8.	ochtmad	wythvet	ethves	eizvet
9.	nomad	nawvet	nawhwas	nauvet
10.	dechmad	decvet	dekfaz	decvet
11.	oenmad . . deac	unvet ardec	edendêgvas	
12.	aile deac	deudecuet	dowdegvas	
13.	tres . . . deac	tredyt ar dec	tardegvas	
14.	cethrammad deac	peduuaret ar dec	paswardegvas	peuardecvet
15.	cōiced deac	pemdecvet	pempdegvas	
16.	sesed deac	unvet ar pemdec	wheh degvas	
17.	sechtmad deac		seith degvas	
18.	ochtmad deac		eath degvas	
19.	nomad deac		naw degvas	
20.	fichetmad		igansvez	
50.	cōicetmad			
100.	cētmad	canvet		cantvet
1000.	mílmad	milfed		milvet

As to the declension of the Irish ordinals, *cétne* (first) and *déde*, *tānise* (second), are (when masc. or neut.) *io*-stems, when fem. *ia*-stems. The ordinals in *-mad* belong to the *o*-declension, but with this peculiarity, that they not inflected in the gen. or dat. sg. Thus :

[1] Used only when followed by larger numbers, e.g. *ōenmad rann fichet olc n-iffirnd* (the twenty-first part of hell's evils). In composition we have also *cēt-* and the loan-word *prīm-*.

[2] *dede* .i. *indara*, LU. 14[a]. In composition we have the loan-word *secund* in *secndabb* (secundus abbas).

[3] *in tress sonnach di humu*, LU. 24[b]. In *foxlidi tres diil* (ablativi tertiae declinationis), quoted G. C. 309, as an example of the genitive of *tris*, we have, I think, a compound, *tres-diil*, as in *dorus in tresnimi* (the door of the third heaven), LU. 29[a], *in tresperssa na deachta* (the third person of the Godhead), LU. 31[b]. In composition the loan-word *tert* is also used : *itert-id Apreil* (on the third ide of April), note to Fél. Ap. 16. *Tertchoibedna* (tertiae conjugationis), Sg. 11[a] 1 ; *tertpersin* (tertiae personae), 138[a].

[4] In the gloss *cetnae accuis inso*, *accuis aile ōn*, *tris accuis anisiu*, *in cethar accuis ōn*, Ml. 118[d], cited by Ascoli, Note irlandesi, p. 29, n. 3, *cethar* is surely a mistake for *cetharmad*.

[5] *In cethrammad di glain*, *isin cethrammad rind* LU. 24[b], *isin chethrammad lou*, 24[b]. In composition the loan-word *quart* is also used : *quartcoobedna* (quartae conjugationis), *quartdill* (quartae declinationis).

Gen. neut. *dorus inotachta in chetramad nime* (the entrance door of the fourth heaven), LU. 29[a].

Dat. neut. *iar cethramad laithiu* (gl. anudus quartana die), Arm. 177[b] 2; fem. *isin choiced bliadain déc* (in the fifteenth year), LU. 120[b]; *issint-sessed bliadain* (in the sixth year), LU. 58[b]; *isint-sechtmad bliadain dec* (in the seventeenth year), LU. 29[b].

Acc. *cosin cetramad ndorus* (to the fourth door), LU. 29[a].

For the purpose of the present paper it is unnecessary to notice the neoceltic numeral substantives and adverbs. I conclude this part of my subject by attempting to restore the protoceltic cardinals and ordinals.

Cardinals.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
1. *Nom.*	oinos	oina	oinon
Gen.	oinī	oinēs	oinī
Dat.	oinū	oinī	oinū
Acc.	oinon	oinon	oinon

Cognate with the Old-Latin *oinos*, Gr. *οἰνή* (oneness), Goth. *ains*.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
2. *Nom.* *Acc.*	dvāu, dvā	dvē	dvān
Gen.	dvā		
Dat.	dvābon		
Instr.	dvebin		

In composition and derivation: *dvē*.

Here the theme is *dva*, the flexions are those of the dual. In the nom. masc. and fem. *dvau* is=Skr. *dvāu*, Lat. *duō*, Gr. *δύω*: *dvē*=Skr. *dvē*, *dvān*=Skr. **dvam* in *dvandva*, from **dvam-dvam*.[1] The gen. *dvā* is obscure to me. The instr. *dvebin* (to which the Ir. dat. *deib-n* undoubtedly points) is also obscure. The Gaulish nom. fem. (*dī*, *dvī*?) seems to have left a trace in *Di-s-ouche* (Loire) 'duae olcae.'

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
3. *Nom.*	trīs	tesores	trīa
Gen.	trīom	tesorom	trīom
Dat.	tribos	tesorebos	tribos
Instr.	tribis	tesorebis	tribis
Acc.	trīs	tesorāss	trīa

[1] See Gustav Meyer in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxii. 3.

The Gaulish *tri* in *tri garanūs* has lost the final *s*. In composition *trē*=the Skr. theme *traya*, whence the gen. *trāyaṇām*.

		Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
4.	*Nom.*	qetvores	qetvasores	qetvori
	Gen.	qetvorom	qetvasorom	qetvorom
	Dat.	qetvorebos	qetvasorebos	qetvorebos
	Instr.	qetvorebis	qetvasorebis	qetvorebis
	Acc.	qetvorūss	qetvasorāss	qetvori

A theme *qetvori* (=Old-Slav. *cetüri*), in the nom. and acc. *qetvoreis*, gave rise to Old-Irish *cethri*, used for all genders and cases.

In composition: *qvetru* (whence Gaul. *petru*-), Lat. *quadru*-=O. Slav. *cetvoro, cetvero*.

5. qenqe=Gaulish *pempe*, Aeol. *πέμπε*.
6. svex=*Fέξ*, Zend. *khsvas*.
7. sectu=Skr. *sapta*, Lat. *septu*.
8. octō=Lat. *octō*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Skr. *ashṭāu*.
9. neven=Skr. *navan*.
10. decen=Skr. *daçan*.
11. oindecen=Lat. *undecim*.
20. vicens (gen. vicentos)=Skr. *viṅçati*, Lat. *viginti*, Gr. *Fικατι*.
30. tricens, trimucens (gen. tricentos)=*triṅçat*, *triginta*, *τριάκοντα*.
40. qetvarocens (gen. qetvarocentos)=*catvāriṅçat*, Lat. *quadrāginta*, *τεσσάρακοντα*.
50. qenqecens (gen. -centos)=*pancāsat*, *πεντήκοντα*.
60. svexacens (gen. -centos)=*sexaginta*, *ἑξήκοντα*.
70. sectuamucens (gen. -centos)=*ἑβδομήκοντα*.
100. centon (n.)=Lat. *centum*, *ἑ-κατόν*, Skr. *çatd-m*.
1000. mīlo-s, mīlia (f.), cognate with Gr. *δ-μῖλος*, *δ-μῖλία*, Skr. *mela*. There is no ground for connecting the latter word with Lat. *mille*, *meilia* (Corp. Inscr. Lat. i. No. 551), which Havet thinks is from *mīrle*, and cognate with *μόριοι*.

Ordinals.

The principal Ordinals may be restored as follows:

1. cintinios, oinometos
2. alios, dvētios, tānistios
3. tristos, tristis
4. qetvormetos
5. qenqetos
6. svexetos
7. sectumetos
8. octōmetos
9. nevometos
10. decometos
11. oinometos degancos
12. alios degancos
20. vicintimetos
100. centometos

Pronominal Declension.

[*Note.*—I had here intended to treat of the neoceltic pronouns; but find that I have at present neither the time nor the knowledge necessary to solve the many problems which they present. The section relating to the pronouns of the first and second persons and the absolute forms of the pronouns of the third person, will here be given as a specimen of the way in which I hope some time to handle the whole of this difficult subject.]

Zeuss and Ebel treat the Irish pronouns under the following heads: *a.* Personal, *b.* Possessive, *c.* Relative, *d.* Demonstrative, *e.* Interrogative, *f.* Pronominal adjectives (*other, all, everyone, anyone*), *g.* Pronominal substantives, *h.* Pronominal formulas. This division will here be followed, merely inserting under head *d* the article (*in-t, ind, a-n*), which Zeuss and Ebel treat separately.

The much-abraded forms of the neoceltic pronouns renders their comparison and restoration a matter of much difficulty, especially as the only Gaulish pronominal forms which have been found are the demonstrative *sosin*, the infixed personal *me*, and perhaps the dative sg. *eu*=Lat. *eo*. True, the *tau min al*, in Vergil's lines to Tucca,—Catalect. Quinctil. Inst. Orat. viii. 3: Corinthiorum amator iste verborum, Thucydides Britannus, Atticae febres, *Tau* Gallicum, *Min*, *Al*, spinae illi sit. Ita omnia ista verba miscuit fratri—have been explained by Künssberg as=O.H.G. *du mîn al*, N.H.G. *du mein alles*. But Diefenbach treats the equation with ridicule. See his Origg. Eur., p. 427, and Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 377. Can they be the names of the Gaulish letters *t*, *m*, *a*—borrowed respectively from the Shemitic *tav*, *mēm*, *aleph*? I have not seen the explanation which, I understand, Bücheler has given in the Rheinisches Museum, xxxviii. 507.

a. Personal Pronouns.

Each of these pronouns is found in three forms: 1. absolute forms; 2. abbreviated forms infixed between verbs and their adverbial or prepositional prefixes; 3. abbreviated forms suffixed to prepositions and (rarely) verbs.

Pronouns of the First Person, absolute form.

	Singular.	*Dual*	*Plural.*
Nom.	mē, osmē, smē		ni, osnī, sni, snisni, snīni, sninni, sinde, sinn.
Gen.	mui.	nāthar, nār	

The corresponding Welsh forms are:

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom.	mi, i mivi minneu, inneu	ni nini ninneu
Acc.	mi, vi vivi	ni

Here *mē* is=Lat. *mē*, where the long *ē* corresponds with the long *ā* of the Skr. acc. *mā*, just as the *ē* of *rēx* corresponds with the *ā* of *rāj*. The *i* of the Welsh *mi* is due, perhaps, to the analogy of the other personal pronouns *ti* and *hi*. In the emphatic *os-mē* the *os* is possibly cognate with *ὑψι, ὑψου*. The *s* in *smē* (*ol-smē*, 'say I,' H. 2. 16, col. 388), is obscure. Perhaps *smē* stands for an Indo-European **asmā*, acc. sg. of the stem whence the Skr. acc. pl. *asmān* and the Gr. *ἄμμε*. Of the genitive I have found the following examples: *mui*, Sg. 200[b] 10; *genitiu chintig* .i. mei *mui* (gl. *εμαου* et *εμαουτου*), Sg. 209[a] 8; *muisse* (gl. meam) Wb. 1[b]: *innam-muisea* .i. documenta l. persona (gl. mea) Wb. 19[a], ad Galatas ii. 6; *mui mo chelmaine* .i. *isī mo chēlmaine dam*, Adamnán's prayer, Lib. Hymn. 28[b],[1] and (with Middle Irish diphthongisation of the tonic *u* when followed by a slender vowel) *moai mo rosc* .i. *rop lium mo darc* 'let my sight be with me,' LB. 241[a]; *muin mai* .i. *as leam mo sealbh* 'my property is with me,' O'Clery's Glossary. The Old Irish *mui* is properly the gen. sg. masc. of the possessive pron. *mu*, just as Lat. *mei* is the gen. sg. masc. of *meus*.[2] The gen. dual *nāthar* (contracted *nār*) is a formation from **na*, **nāi*=Gr. *νώ, νῶι*, like the epic *νωΐτερος*. The plural *nī*, like the Lat. *nōs*, represents an Indo-European *nās*, for

[1] *Goidelica*, 2nd ed. p. 173.

[2] I know not whether *amai* (in the common ejaculation *fē amai* 'woe is me!') is to be equated with *ἐμοί*.

which Skr. has the acc. *nas*, with short *a*. *Sni* is obscure to me. So are *sinde* and *sinn*.

The Welsh forms are clear enough, with the exceptions of *minneu* and *ninneu*. Here Ebel sees *min-teu* (or *min-teu*) and *nin-teu*. Here *min* may be=Skr. *mām* 'me,' but the *nin* in *nin-teu* is obscure. Can it represent an original acc. pl. like **nāns*, the *s* disappearing between *n* and *t*? As to *teu*, Rhŷs suggests that it may stand for *ta-ge*, where *ge* is=the γε of ἔγωγε.

Infixed Forms.

Sing. umm (omm), mm, dumm (domm). *Plur.* un, nn, don.

The corresponding Welsh forms are: sing. *m* (not infecting), pl. *n* (not infecting). Here *umm* seems=a protoceltic *osmū*, dat. sg. of a stem *osmo*=Skr. *asma*, and *mm* (which infects) stands for *m'b'*, urcelt. *mibī*, formed like Lat. *tibi*, *sibi*. The *b* is provected to *p* before *th* in *nī-mpthā* (non sum), Wb. 8[d]. *Dumm* is a compound of the prep. *tu* and *m'b'* (=*mibi*), the *t* of the prep. sinking to *d* as the *u* is toneless. In the pl. *un*, *nn*, *do-n* (ex *tu-nn*) we seem to have the representative of Gr. ἄμμε, ἄμμι(ν), *m* being weakened to *n* in an atonic syllable. A strange misuse of the possessives (*mo*, *ar-n*) for the infixed personal pronoun is found in Middle Irish.[1]

Suffixed Forms.

Sing -umm, -mm. *Plur.* -unn (-onn), nn.

The corresponding Welsh forms are: Sing. *-af*, *-of*, *yf*, and in the dative *m*. Plur. *-am*, *-om*, *-ym*, and in the dative *-n*.

[1] These forms are not mentioned either in the *Grammatica Celtica* or Windisch's Grammar. Examples are: of *mo*: *is oen uaib no-mo-mairnfe*, (it is one of you will betray me), LB. 49[b], l. 12; of *ar-n*; *con-or-tinoltar* (gl. locemur), LH. 3[b]; *ragmuidne at degaig* (leg. *it degaid*) *isin muir con-orin-baiter and* (we will go after thee into the sea, so that we may be drowned therein), H. 2. 16, col. 371. So in the Book of Leinster:—

Dingaib dín do chranntabaill.
Nor-forraig do gléo garb glé.
Ror-briss is ror-buaidre.

('Take away thy sling from us. Thy rough, clear fighting destroys us, hath broken us and confounded us.')

We even find *dar* 'nobis' (a combination of *tu* and *ar*) in O'Clery's Glossary: *no-dar-be-ne* .i. *biaidh linne*. Compare the like use of the possessives *to* and *bar-n* in *atodaimet*, and *do-barn-gair* cited infra.

Here *-umm*, *-mm*, *-unn*, *-nn*, are identical with the infixed forms above noticed. The Welsh singular forms in *f* (an infected *m*) point to primeval *amu*, *āmu*, *emu*. The hard *m* in the dative points to *m'b'*, *mibi*. The hard *m* in the plural points to some form like *ăμμε*. The dative *-n* seems to represent some form like Skr. *nas*: but the *n* may possibly stand for *nn*, *unn*.

Pronoun of the second person.

Sing. nom. tū. *Plur.* sib, sissi.
voc. a thū.

The corresponding Welsh forms are: Sing. *ti*, redupl. *tidi* emph. *titheu*. Plur. *hui*, later *chwi*, redupl. *chwichwi*, emph. *chwitheu*.

Here *tú* is=the Skr. acc. sing. *tvā*; *sib* is a reduplicated form=*svīsvī*, W. *chwichwi*: *sissi* is=*sib*+*sib*. The Welsh *ti* is regularly=Ir. *tū*: *tidi* is a reduplicated form=*ti*+*ti* and *titheu* is=*tit*+*teu*.

Infixed Forms.

Singular. *-t'-*. *Plural.* *-v-*.

Corresponding Welsh forms: sg. *th'*, pl. *ch*. Corn. sg. *t*, *th*, pl. *s*, *gas*, *ges*, *gis*. Bret. sg. *z*, pl. *oz*, *ouz*, *hoz*, *ho*.

Here, uninfected *t* stands for *tve* =Doric τέ for τFέ, and *thi* British *th* (z), either is due to the action of the *v* (cf. Zend *thwā* '*te*'), or represents a *tt* produced by assimilation of the *v*. In the pl. the Welsh *ch* points to an anlaut *sv*, represented regularly by Ir. *v*,[1] written *b* in the MSS. The sound-group *sv* has at least two representatives in Irish, namely, *s* and *v* (written *b*,[1]), possibly also a third, *c*, as in *canisin* (ourselves)= *sva-nī-sin*, G.C. 367, *cadēsin* G.C. 367 =*fadēsin* (himself), *cadesne*, ZU. 24[b] =*fadēsne* (themselves) *sva-*, and possibly in *ci-chib-foruireth* ('what has led you forth?'

[1] So in the loan-words *breib* (brevis), *Ioib* (Iovem), *cerbsire* (cerevisiarius).

Crowe) LL. 252[a]. But here perhaps we should analyse thus: *cichi-b-f.*, and regard *cichi* as a reduplicated interrogative pronoun. In the Cornish *ga-s*, Br. *o-z*, we have a combination of preposition and pronoun—*gas* being an abbreviated form of *aga-s* used as a possessive pronoun: *oz*, *ouz*, being a combination of *worth-* and *z*.

Suffixed Forms.

Sing. -t. *Plur.* b.

Corresponding British forms are: sing. *t*, Corn. *s*, Br. *t*, *z*, plur. *-wch*, Corn. *ugh* (*ygh*), Br. *uch* (*och*).

Some of the Irish forms (e.g. *dui-t*, *úai-t*) show the *i*-infection of the vowel of the preposition. Others (e.g. *cenut*, *erut*, *friut* and *iarmut*, Ml. 70°, and *torut*) show the *u*-infection. In the first case, probably, the *t* represents a protoceltic *tvē*= Lat. *tē*, Skr. *tvā*; in the second a protoceltic *tvū*, which may have been originally an instrumental = Zend *thwā*, Skr. *tvayā*. The plural forms (e.g. *dūib*, *etruib*, *ūaib*) always exhibit the *i*-infection. The *b*, therefore, points to a protoceltic *svi*. For the initial vowel of the British forms I have no satisfactory explanation.

Pronouns of the Third Person.

Absolute forms.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Sing. Nom.	ē, se[1]	hī,[2] ē, sī	ed,[3]
Gen.	āi	āi[4]	āi?
Acc.		ī[5]	

[1] *for-se*, *ar-se*, *ol-se* (saith he) passim; *bid fīr æm*, *ol-se-som* (erit verum autem, inquit ille ipse) Ml. cited G.C.[2] 497, where Ebel mistranslates *olsesom* by 'propter hoc ipsum.' Here *for* (*bar* is also found) stands for *svar*.

[2] *tucad co tīr hī iarsin* (thereafter she was brought to land) LU. 40[a]; *ashert Comgall robo less hī, ar is 'na ferund rogabad hī* (C. said that she belonged to him, for in his land she was taken) LU. 41[a]; '*rotfiasu sin, tra,*' *ol-isi* ('thou shalt have that, then,' says she) LU. 41[a].

[3] *is-he-se sīs an dechor* (this below is their difference) Sg. 201[a]; on which Ebel founds his statement (G.C. 326) that *ē* is also neuter nom., seems a verbal error for *ishedse*, etc.

[4] *lēic dī an-asn-āi* (leave to her, the Church, what is hers), Fothud's poem, pref. to Félire.

[5] *rucsat hī co Tech Dabeoc* (they brought her to Dabēoc's House), LU. 41[a].

Plur. Nom.	ē, īat (eat), sīat (seat)[1]	ē		ē
Gen.	āi (ae)			
Dat.	īb[2]	ib		ib
Acc.	īat[3]			

Of the British personal pronouns the corresponding forms are only the sg. fem *hī* = Ir. *sī*; and the pl. *wy*, *wynt* = Ir. *ē*, *īat*. The British possessives *ei* (his), *ei-h* (her), exactly represent the Irish personal genitives *āi*, which (as we shall see) are weakened in the proclitic possessives to *a*, *a-h*.

The *h* which is so often prefixed to some of the Irish forms (*is hē*, *is hed*, *it hē*, *hī*, *hīb*) is simply due to the following acute accent. As to the aspiration of accented vowels in Welsh, see Rhŷs, Lectures, p. 230.

Here *ē* stands for a protoceltic *eis*, Lat. *is*, Skr. *ayam*. The fem. *ī* is=Skr. *iyam*, Lat. *ea*. The fem. *ē* is perhaps=Skr. *eshā*, with regular loss of intervocalic *s*.

se is=Skr. *syas*. The fem. *sī* is=Skr. *syā*.

The neut. *ed* is=Skr. *idam*, Goth. *ita*, Lat. *id*. The masc. gen. *āi* (the toneless form of which aspirates and must therefore have ended in a vowel) is=Skr. *asya*. The fem. gen. *āī* (the toneless form of which does not aspirate or eclipse, and must therefore have ended in a consonant other than *n*) is= Skr. *asyās*.

The fem. acc. *ī* (only found in Middle and Modern Irish) is perhaps only the nom. *sī* with its initial infected.

The plur. nom. *ē* (in the three genders)=Lat. *ii*, *ei*, *eae*, *ea*. The form *īat*, *sīat*, protoceltic *ei-onto*, *sei-onto*, is obscure to me. Perhaps *onto* is=Umbr. *ont*, *hont*. The gen. *āi* is=Skr. masc. and neut. *esham*. The dat. *īb* is=the Skr. masc. and neut. instrumental *ebhis*.

[1] *ar-siat*, *or-siat*, *ol-siat* (say they) LU. 3ª. et passim; *ol-siat*, Trip. Life, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 7ᵇ. 2; *ol-seat-som*, Ml. 12ᵇ. Sg. 201ᵇ. LU. 24ª.

[2] *dona hib faithcib sin*, Laws, ii. p. 10, l. 22; *isna hibh sētuib*; ibid. p. 70; and (with prothetic *f*) *cosna-fíb*, *dona-fíb*, LU. 27ª. 31ª; *isnafíb*, LB. 117ª. l. 23.

[3] *coron-innarba nert Bretan fodeoid iat* (so that the Britons' might at last expelled them) LU. 3ª.

VIII.—THE NEO-CELTIC VERB SUBSTANTIVE.

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To express the verb substantive, Latin uses two roots (*es*, *fu*), English three (*es*, *bu*, *vas*); but for this purpose no less than ten are employed by the Neo-Celtic languages. The Old-Irish verb substantive is made up of forms belonging to nine different roots, namely *ba*, *ben*, *bīv*, *bu*, *es*, *gab*, *i*, *tā* and *val*. The British verb substantive is made up of forms belonging to eight, namely *ba*, *ben*, *bīv*, *bu*, *es*, *i*, *mag* and *tā*.

Ba is Gr. *βα* (in *ἔ-βην*, *βι-βάς*, *βα-τός*), Skr. *gā*. *Ben* is Gr. *βαν* (in *βαίνω* ex *βανjω*), Umbr. Osc. *ben*, Lat. *(g)ven* in *(g)venio*, Skr. *gan*, in *á-ganma*, *a-ganmahi*, *ganvahi*, and *ǵaganvā́ṅs*.[1] *Bīv* is Gr. *βιF* (from *βiF*, Curtius, G. E. No. 640), Lat. *(g)vīv*, Skr. *ǵiv*. *Bu* is Gr. *φυ*, Lat. *fu*, Skr. *bhū*. *Es* is Lat. *es*, Gr. *ἐς*, Skr. *as*. *Gab* (from Indo-Eur. *ghabh*) is Lat. √*hab*. *I* is Gr. *ἰ* (in *ἰ-έναι*, *ἴ-μεν*, *ἰ-ών*), Lat. and Skr. *i*. *Mag* represents either an Indo-European √*mag*, whence *μέγας*, *mag*-nus, Goth. *mikils*, or an Indo-European √*magh*, whence *μῆχος*, Goth. *mag* (possum), Skr. *mahat*, *mahan*. The latter root seems the more likely. *Tā* is Lat. *stā*, Gr. *στη*, Skr. *sthā*, *thā* (in *ut-thātum*, *ṛk-thā*).[2] *Val* (properly 'posse': cf. *mag* supra) is Lat. *val*, whence *valeo*, *validus*. From a like root *vol*, *val* seem to come, in Greek the adj. *οὖλος* (ex *Fολος*) in *οὖλαι κόμαι* 'a strong (thick) head of hair,' and in Sanskrit the so-called suffix *vala* in, e.g. *kṛṣī-vala* 'peasant,' lit. 'mighty at ploughing,' *kṛṣi*.[3]

[1] Whitney, Grammar, § 212, quotes these forms as instances of the rule that final radical *m* is changed (in internal combination) to *n* when it comes before *m* or *v*. But it seems preferable to assume, with Bühler, that Sanskrit had two roots, one *gan* = *βαν*, the other *gam* = Goth. *qam* (*qiman*, *qam*).

[2] Cited by Whitney, § 233, from the Pañcavinça-Brāhmaṇa.

[3] Skr. *bala* kraft, which Curtius, G.E.[5] 594, puts with Lat. *valere*, seems to come from quite a different root, represented in Church Slavonic by *bolij* (maior) and in Celtic by Irish *ad-bol*.

For the use of roots meaning 'go' (*ba, ben, i*) to express 'be,' compare in Sanskrit such phrases as *sa pañcatvam āgataḥ* (he became the five elements, *i.e.* died), *samatām eti* (he goes to equality, *i.e.* becomes equal), Whitney, § 274[a]. From 'becoming' to 'being' is an easy step. For the like use of a root meaning 'live' (*bīv*), compare the Plautine employment of *vivere*. For the like use of a root meaning 'stand' (*tā*), compare the Italian *stato*. The similar use in Spanish (*ser*) and in Gothic (*visan*) of verbs meaning respectively 'to sit' and 'to dwell' will occur to every one.

All the forms belonging respectively to the roots *ba, bīv* and *bu*, and some of those belonging to the roots *es* and *tā*, are mixed together in the Grammatica Celtica; and the chief object of this paper is to sort them under their several roots. Except in the case of a very few conjectural forms, inserted to complete the paradigms and marked with an asterisk, examples (with the context) will be given of all forms here cited which are not found in the Grammatica Celtica. The mark ′ is here used to denote the acute accent, and not, as is invariably the case in Irish MSS.,[1] the length of the vowel over which it is placed. A hyphen is here prefixed to forms occurring only after conjunctions and particles.

As Windisch and, probably, other leading Celtologues hold that all forms of the Irish verb substantive which begin with *b* are derived from the root *bu*,[2] and as this opinion seems to me contrary to the rules of Irish phonetics, I think that, before considering the several roots and the forms respectively belonging thereto, it may be well to state and illustrate the ways in which Old-Irish treats the proto-

[1] Thurneysen (Rev. Celtique, vi. 130, note 5) says: "Nous verrons cependant que l'accent aigu est assez souvent employé pour marquer simplement la voyelle tonique, même devant une consonne simple (surtout dans W.," *i.e.* the Würzburg Codex Paulinus). I cannot find a single sure instance of this either in his paper or elsewhere. The forms *do-ri-geni, do-ri-gensam, do-ri-gensat*, which he cites, pp. 132–133, seem simply examples of the verbal prefix *ri* = Lat. *prī* (in *prī-dem, prī-die, prī-mus*), which also occurs in *do-rī-ltiset* and *remi-ri-erchoil*. A cognate verbal prefix *re* (whence the prefix *rem-*) seems also to occur in *nachan rélie*, etc.

[2] Thus in § 301 of his excellent Irische Grammatik he gives *bīu* as a present, *roba* (leg. *robā*) and *rabi* and *bōtār* as perfects, from √*bhū*. So in the Revue Celtique, vi. 156, Thurneysen gives *bi* (*bai*), *be* (*bae*) as the post-tonic forms of *bōi*, √*bu*. They really are (as we shall see) the post-tonic forms of *bi*, √*bīv*.

celtic (urkeltisch)[1] short vowels *a*, *e*, and *u*, the long vowels *ā* and *ī*, and the diphthongs *āi*, *ei*, *au*, and *ou*.

I. acute *a*

(1) remains intact:

(2) followed by a slender vowel (*e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*) becomes *aĭ*, *e*, *eĭ*, *i*, *aŭ*, *oĭ* or *uĭ*:

(3) followed by *u* becomes *aŭ* or *u*:

(4) followed by *v* becomes (with the *v*) *au*, *ō* or *ū*: This *au*, *ō*, when (owing to shift of accent) it occurs in a post-tonic syllable, becomes *u*:

(5) followed by *r* or *l* combined with another consonant becomes *ā*:

(6) followed by *p* becomes *aŭ*, *u*:

(7) by compensatory lengthening becomes *ā*, and in one case (*dēr*) *ē*: This *ā* or *ē*, when (owing to shift of accent) it occurs in a post-tonic syllable, becomes *i*:

(8) by metathesis and crasis with a fragmentary vowel[2] becomes *ā*:

II. toneless or grave *a*

(1) remains intact or becomes *o*:

(2) followed by a slender vowel becomes *aĭ*, *e*, *eĭ*, *i* or *uĭ*:

(3) followed by *o* becomes *o*:

(4) followed by *u* or *ū*, becomes *u*:

(5) followed by *vi* or *vī*, becomes (with the *vi*, *vī*) *eu* (*eo*):

(6) followed by *p* or *b*, becomes *aŭ* or *u*:

(7) by compensatory lengthening becomes *ā*.

III. acute *e*

(1) remains intact:

(2) followed by a slender vowel becomes *eĭ* or *i* and (rarely) *ai*:

[1] This paper originally appeared in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, and contained in many places the contractions "urkelt." (*i.e.* urkeltisch), and "urir." (*i.e.* uririsch), 'primeval Celtic,' 'primeval Irish,' or 'proto-Celtic,' 'proto-Irish.' I have let these convenient contractions stand in the present edition of my paper.

[2] Some philologists call this an 'irrational vowel,' others call it *svarabhakti*. The latter term is objectionable, first, because no one save a Sanskritist understands it, secondly, because it properly means a vowel-fragment inserted between *r* and a following consonant. But in Irish we have vowel-fragments also between *l* and a consonant whether preceding or following.

(3) followed by *u*, becomes *iu* or *eo*:
(4) followed by *s*, becomes (with the *s*) *ī*:
(5) followed by *v*, becomes (with the *v*) *ū*:
(6) followed by *r* or *l* combined with another consonant, becomes *ē* or *ī*:
(7) by compensatory lengthening becomes *ē*,[1] and this *ē*
(*a*) when (the accent having disappeared or retreated) it occurs in a toneless or post-tonic syllable, becomes *a* or *i*,
(*β*) when followed by a slender vowel, becomes *ēui*, *ēoi*, *īui* (*īoi*), unless when the lost letter is nasalis sonans, in which case the *ē* becomes *ēi*. When (the accent having shifted) *ēui* occurs in a post-tonic syllable, it becomes *i*.

IV. toneless or grave *e*
(1) becomes *a* or *i*, or (after infecting a previous vowel) is lost:
(2) followed by a slender vowel, becomes *i*:
(3) followed by *v* becomes (with the *v*) *au*, *ū*:
(4) by compensatory lengthening becomes *ē*, which (when followed by a slender vowel) becomes *ēi*. When (the accent having shifted) this *ēi* occurs in a post-tonic syllable, it becomes *i*.

V. acute *u*
(1) remains intact:
(2) followed by *a* or *o*, becomes *o*:
(3) followed by a slender vowel, becomes either *ui* or (oftener) the diphthong *ōi* (*oe*); for which *āi* (*aoi*) is written in Middle- and Modern-, and sometimes even in Old-Irish:
(4) by compensatory lengthening, becomes *ūa* or *ū*.

VI. toneless or grave *u*
(1) remains intact, or becomes *o* or (in suffix-syllables) *a* or *o*:

[1] In *ceól* (music) ex *cvecvlo* (Rhŷs, Rev. Celt. vi. 50*n*: cf. W. *pîb*, O. W. *pispaur* [leg. *piipaur*], G. C. 1056) we seem to have *eó* ex *écv*. This *eō*, when followed by *i*, becomes *eōi* or *iūi*.

(2) followed by a slender vowel, becomes *oĭ*:

(3) followed by *v*, becomes (with the *v*) *ō*.

VII. acute *ā*

(1) remains intact or becomes *ō* or *ī*: when (owing to a shift of accent) this *ā* occurs in a post-tonic syllable, it becomes *a*:

(2) followed by a slender vowel becomes *āĭ* or *ōĭ*:

(3) followed by *v*, becomes (with the *v*) *ao*, *ō*.

VIII. toneless or grave *ā*

(1) becomes *a* and (when next after the tonic syllable) is sometimes lost:

(2) followed by a slender vowel, becomes *aī* or *i*:

(3) followed by *u* becomes *u*.

IX. acute *ī*

(1) remains intact:

(2) followed by *o* becomes *ē*.

X. toneless or grave *ī* becomes *i*, *e*, or *a*, or (when next after the tonic syllable) is sometimes lost after infecting the preceding vowel.

XI. acute *āi*

(1) remains intact or becomes *ōi*:

(2) followed by *a* or *o*, becomes *āe* or *ōe*.

XII. toneless *āi* becomes *a*; but grave *āi* remains intact or becomes *oi* or (when followed by *a*) *āe*.

XIII. acute *ei*

(1) becomes *īa*,[2] or, in desinence, *ī*:

(2) followed by a slender vowel, becomes *ē*, *ēĭ*, *īaĭ* or *ī*.

[1] In the loan-word *ōin* = (*ie*)*iū́nium*, acute *ū* is diphthongized in the same way.

[2] There seems to have been a protoceltic non-diphthongal acute *ḗ*, which arose from reduplication. Old-Irish treats it like *éi*, viz. changes it to *ī́a*, which, however, when grave and followed by a slender vowel, becomes *eōi*. Thus *fī́asur*, *fīastar*, √*vid*, *sī́asair* (*sēd-sar-i*), √*sed*, *du-dī́astae* (from *du-déchim*), *ad-rī́astar* (*adriug*), *for-dī́astar* (*fordingim*), *du-fī́astar* (*dufechim*), *mī́astar* (*midiur*), *lī́as* (*lingim*). When grave and followed by a slender vowel we have *eōi*: *ō ro-tdisfeōin* (*do-as-fenim*), Ir. Texte, p. 258, l. 15, urkelt. *tu-ex-svēne*, where the stem is exactly the Skr. perfect stem of √*svan*. The same stem occurs in the fem. noun *sī́an* (cry), urkelt. *svēna* from **svesvena*, √*sven*. This root begins with *f*, not only in the verbs *as-fenimm* (testificor) Wb. 22ᵃ, *do-ás-fēnpha*, LU. 17ᵃ, *do-dir-fenus* (exploravi) Wb. 18ᵈ, but also in the nouns *fḗt* (music) ex *svento*, *dir-fitiud* (spielen); cf. *sóllus*, *fóllus*, √*svel*, and *sū́an*, *fiu*, √*svep*. In Welsh *hoedl* from protoceltic *sētlo-n* = Lat. *sēculum* from *sēclum*, √*sē*, *ḗ* becomes *oe*.

XIV. toneless or grave *ei* becomes *e* or *i*, which in desinence (after infecting a preceding vowel) is often dropt.

XV. acute *au*

(1) remains intact or becomes *ao* or *o*:

(2) followed by a slender vowel becomes *ōe* or (in loan-words) *ūi*.

XVI. toneless or grave *au* becomes *u*?

XVII. acute *ou*

(1) becomes *ō* or *ūa* or (in desinence) *u*:

(2) followed by a slender vowel, becomes *ōi* or *ūai*.

XVIII. toneless or grave *ou* remains intact or becomes (*o* or) *a*.

Examples.

I. (1) *cánim* (cano), urkelt. *cánāmi*:

(2) *saigim* (adeo), urkelt. *ságiāmi*, Goth. *sokja* : *atbail* (moritur), urkelt. *ati-bálit*, Teut. √*qual* : *maicc* (filii) ogamic *máqī* : *air-*, *aur-*, *er-*, *ir-*, urkelt. *ári-* : *aith-*, *aud-*, *ed-*, *ad-*, urkelt. *áti-* : *dair* (quercus), urkelt. *dáric-* = Lat. *laric-* : *inge* (unguis), urkelt. *ángion-* : *muir* (sea), gen. *maro*, LU. 23^{b}, Gaul. *mori*, urkelt. *mári*=Lat. *máre*: *buide* (yellow)=Lat. *bádius*: *baith*, *beith*, *buith* (esse), urkelt. *bati-* : *coire* (caldron), W. *pair*, urkelt. *cvário-*, Skr. *carú*.

(3) *baull* (membro), acc. pl. *bullu*, urkelt. *ballū*, *ballūs* : *lugu* (less), urkelt. *lagiū(n)s*.

(4) *haue*, *hōa* (nepos), urkelt. *(p)ávio-s* : *sūil* (oculus), urkelt. *sávili-s*, cf. Goth. *sauil* (sun). Where owing to retreat of accent the *au*, *ō* becomes post-tonic : *tarm-ui* (gl. abnepotes) Ml. 119^{b}.

(5) *do-āirci* (efficit), *fāilte* (gaudium).

(6) *popān* (master) borrowed from *πάππας*: *popp* from *pa(m)pinus*.

(7) *ār* (slaughter, W. *aer*), urkelt. *ágro-s* : *anāl* (breath, W. *anadl*), urkelt. *anátla* : *dāl*, O. Welsh *datl* (forum) : *māl* (prince) W. *mael*, urkelt. *máglo* : *āl* (offspring), Ohg. *fasel*, urkelt. *(p)áslo*. In *foditiu* (endurance),

urkelt. *vudá(m)tion-*, the accent has shifted to the first syllable.

(8) *lām* (hand), urkelt. *(p)lámа* ex *palᵃmā*, Lat. *palma* : *slān* (sal-vus) ex *salᵃno* : *lān* (full) ex *(p)alᵃno* = Skr. *pūrṇa* : *brāge* (neck) ex *barᵃgiont*, Lat. *gurget-* : *cnām* (bone) ex *canᵃma*, Ohg. *hamma*, Gr. *κνήμη* : *ad-glādur* (appello) ex *ad-galᵃdur*.

II. (1) *torann* (tonitru, W. *taran*), urkelt. *tarána* : *athir* (father), urkelt. *atḗr*.

(2) *cechain*, *cechuin* (cecinit), urkelt. *cécanit* : *mogai* (servants), urkelt. *mógaves* : *imm* (*ἀμφί*), urkelt. *ambi* : *imbliu* (*ὀμφαλός*), urkelt. *ambilión-* : *indrith* (incursus), urkelt. *ande-rito-* : *imb* (butter, Lat. *unguen*), urkelt. *ambén* [cf. for the accent Skr. *udán* 'water,' *mahán* 'greatness'] : *cride* (*καρδία*), urkelt. *cardio-*.

(3) *aloo* (rupis), *fātho* (vatis), urkelt. *(p)álsayos*, *vắtayos*.

(4) *crábud* (piety, religious practice), urkelt. *crábàtu*, which Windisch compares with Skr. *vi-çrambha*.

(5) *Eugen*, *Eogan*, urkelt. *Avi-génos* : see G. C. p. 82.

(6) *bauptaist* borrowed from *baptista* : *pupall* (tent) from *papilio* : *uball* (an apple), urkelt. *abállo*.

(7) *āmm* (agmen), urkelt. *agmén* : *anāl* (f. breath, W. *anadl*, m.), urkelt. *anátla*.

III. (1) *berim* (fero), urkelt. *bérāmi*.

(2) *no-beir* (fert), urkelt. *nu-bérit* : *deich* (ten), urkelt. *décen*, Lat. *decem* : *midiur* (judicio), urkelt. *médiu-r* *μέδομαι* : *bligim* (I milk), urkelt. *mlégāmi*, Ohg. *melchan* : *mil* (honey), urkelt. *méli-s*, Gr. *μέλιτ-*[1] : *ad-gainemmar* (from *ath-genur*), *corro-craitea* (from *crétim*, **cred-dim*), *praidchas* (from *predchim*, predico).

(3) *do-biur* (affero, do), urkelt. *tu-béru* : *fiu* (dormivit), urkelt. *svésvepe* : *eochu* (equos), urkelt. *ecvūs* : *ateoch* (I pray), urkelt. *ada-técū*.

(4) *fīu* (worthy), W. *gwiw*, Gaul. *vesu* (in *Vesu-avus*, *Vesumus*, C. I. Lat. V. Nos. 7854, 5002), Skr. *vásu*.

[1] The Lat. *mel*, gen. *mellis*, seems to come from **medvi* (with the common change of *d* to *l*), and to be cognate with the Old-Irish woman's name *Medb* = *Medva*.

(5) *clū* (glory), urkelt. *clévos-*, Gr. κλέϜος.

(6) *nom-érpimm* : *dirge* (*dé-rige*) : *nī-díltai* (*de-luadi*).

(7) *ēt* (zelus), W. *iant*, urkelt. *yénto*, Skr. *yatna* : *sēt* (via, W. *hynt*, Goth. *sinth-s*), urkelt. *sénto-n* : *cēt* (primus, W. *cynt*), Gaul. *cintu-* : *trēn* (mighty), urkelt. *tréxno-s* : *ēn* (bird, O. W. *etn*), urkelt. (*p*)*étno-s*, √*pet* : *scēl* (narratio, W. *chwedl*), urkelt. *scvétlo-n* : √*secv* = ἑπ : *cenēl* (genus, W. *cenetl*), urkelt. *cenétlo-n* : *mī* (mensis), gen. *mīs*, urkelt. *méns*, gen. *ménsos*. Where the lost consonant represented nasalis sonans : *cēt* (hundred), W. *cant*=*ė-κατόν* : *dēt* (tooth), W. *dant*, Skr. *dánta-s* : *tēt* (string), W. *tant* = Skr. *tántu-s*.

(*a*) *cit-a-bíat* : *fórcitul* from *for-cétlo-n*, urkelt. *vercántlo* : *airfitiud* (playing) from *air-fétiud*, urkelt. *are-svéntitu* : *ōac* (young) ex *ōvēc*, W. *iouenc*, urkelt. *yovénco-s*.

(*β*) *ēt*, gen. *eoit*, urkelt. *yántī* : *sēt*, gen. *seuit*, urkelt. *séntī* : *trén*, gen. sg. m. *trīuin*, urkelt. *tréxnī* : *ēn*, gen. *eoin*, urkelt. *étnī* : *scēl*, gen. *sceōil*, *sceuil*, urkelt. *scrétlī* : *cenēl*, gen. *ceneuil*, urkelt. *cenétlī* : *tais-feoin*, urkelt. *tu-ex-svēne* (Indo-Eur. *-svesvene*) : *aith-geoin* (recognovit), urkelt. *ati-gegne*, √*gnā*, Skr. *jajñau*. Where the lost consonant represents nasalis sonans : *cēt* (hundred), gen. sg. *cēit*, urkelt. *cn̥tī* : *brēc* (lie, Skr. *bhrañça*), acc. sg. *brēic*, urkelt. *breṇcin* : *dēt* (tooth), dat. sg. *dēit*, urkelt. *deṇti* : *mēit* (greatness), W. *maint*, urkelt, *meṇti-s* : *tēit-bind* (sweet-stringed), urkelt. *teṇto-bindis* : *trēicim* (I forsake), urkelt. *tar-eṇcāmi*, √*eṇk* : *ēicen* (necessitas), urkelt. *eṇcina* : *con-ēicni*(*g*)*sset*, Tur. 133.

IV. (1) *ainm* (name, W. *anw*), urkelt. *anmén-* : *tana* (thin, W. *teneu*), urkelt. *tenevós* = τανaϜός : the prepositions *ass*, *la* from *ex*, *letós* : *siur* (sister), urkelt. *svesṓr* : *lingim* (I leap), urkelt. *vlengā́mi*, √*valg* : *cingim* (I go), urkelt. *cengā́mi* : *nia* (nephew), urkelt. *nepā́t-*, Lat. *nepōt-* :

a maicc (O son), urkelt. *mácve* : *beir* (*φέρε*), urkelt. *bére* : *berid* (*φέρετε*), urkelt. *bérete*.

(2) *dligid* (legis), urkelt. *dligeti*.

(3) *naue, nue* (new), W. *newydd*, protoceltic *neviós*, Gr. *νειός* : *dūthracim* (I wish), urkelt. *de-tú-tarcāmi* (Thurneysen), √*tark* (Windisch).

(4) *cēimm* (gradus), *rēimm* (cursus), urkelt. *cengmén, retmén*. After the accent has shifted to the first syllable : *tó-chimm, imm-rimm*.

V. (1) *sruth* (stream), W. *ffrwd*, urkelt. *sfrútu-s*, √*spru*.

(2) *srotha* (stream's), urkelt. *sfrútavos* : *bond* (sole), urkelt. *búndo-s* = Lat. *fundus* : *tō* (ex *to-o*, silent), urkelt. *túso-s*, Skr. √*tush*.

(3) *fo-rui-rmed* (was computed), proto-irish *vu-rú-rīmiato* : *drui*, Mid. Ir. *drāi*, Mod. Ir. *draoi*, urir. *drúis* : *fōessam, faesam* (support, protection), urir. *vú-sestāmo* : *fōisitiu* (confessio), urir. *vú-sestāmtion-* (cf. *ὑφίστημι*) : *foisin, faoisin*, urir. *vús-sini* : *sōir, dōir*, urir. *sú-viro-s* (Skr. *surīra*, Zend *hvīra*), *dúviro-s* : *impāidach* (versutus), urir. *ambi-súticos* : *coemthecht* (company), urir. *cúm-teigtu*; and a host of verbal forms with the three prefixes *cúm* (= *cumo*),[1] *fú* (= *ὑπό*) and *rú* (= Lat. *prō*). Thus, first *cúm* : *cōima* (conservet), urkelt. *cúm'-emāt* : *nī cōemais* (non poteris), urkelt. *nī cúm'-eangsi*, √*ang* : *focoimlactar* (pertulerunt), urir. *vu-cúm'-lelagontor* : *focoemallag-sa* (pertuli) Aug. Solil. 2, urir. *vu-cúm'-lelaga* : *nī cōimnactar* (non potuerunt), urir. *nī-cúm-nenancontor*, √*nanc* : *docoemnachtar* (lavarunt), urir. *tu-cúm'-nenagontor*, √*nag*, Skr. *niǵ* : *dochoimmarraig* (gl. spoliavit), *duchoimmarraig* (gl. exuerit) G. C. 874, immediately from *du-cúm-imm-ar-raig*, urir. *tu-cúm-ambi-aro-rage*, with four prepositional prefixes.

Secondly *fú* : *ni fōiret* (non efficiunt), urir. *-rú-verionti* : *na-faerlangtar* (non sustinuerunt), LL. 240[a], urir. *-vú-ru-lelangontor* : *rofailsad*, Ir. Texte

[1] Formed (according to Windisch) from the prefix *cu* (= Lat. *co*?) as *sumṁus* from **sup-mo* and (I think) *īmus* from **ins-mo*.

p. 77, l. 2 (sustinuerit), urir. *ru-vú-lelangseto* : *ni con-foigebat*, Ml. 69ª 8, urir. *-rúgegbonto*, √*gab*.

Thirdly *rú* : *ad-roi-gegrannatar* (persecuti sunt), urir. *ad'-rú-gegrendontor*, √*grend*, Lat. √*grad* : *for-tan-roi-chechnatar* (nos docuerunt) Ml. 63ᵇ 1, urkelt. *ver-tusnis-rú-cecanontor*, √*can* : *for-rōe-bling* (he sprang) LU. 19ª : *co raeblangtár* (so that they leapt), urir. *-rú-vlevlengontor*, √*vleng*, Skr. sg. 3 *vavalga* : *for-roi-chan* (gl. institui), urir. *ver-rú-cecana*, cf. *for-tan-roi-chan* (gl. nos . . . commonisti) : *fo-roi-chlaid* (effodit), urir. *vu-rú-ceclade*, √*clad* : *aro-b-rōi-nasc* (vos despondi), urir. *aro-svīs-rú-nenasca*,—*nasc* from *snat-c*—: *cor-rai-mdetar* (that they broke), urir. *-rú-memadontor* : *ad-roi-theach* (supplicavi) = *ad-roe-tach*, Sanct. 20, urir. *ado-rú-tetaca* : *in-roi-grann* (persecutus sum), urir. *ende-rú-gegrenda* : *nad roeglaind* (non didicit), urir. *-rú-geglende* : *do-roe-madair*, Saltair, 7955, urir. *tu-rú-memader*, √*mad* : *do-rōigu*, *do-roe-gu* (elegit), urir. *tu-rú-geguse*, √*gus* : *du-roi-mnibetar* (obliviscentur), Ml. 77ª 12, urir. *tu-rú-meniabantor*, √*men* : *do-rōi-mless* (consumpsi), Fél. p. cxl, urir. *tu-rú-meliassu* : *arndom-roi-chlis-se* (quod me abstulisti), Ml. 74ᵈ 7 : *dom-roi-sechtatar* (mihi succurrerunt), urir. *tu-me-rú-segtontor*.

(4) *cuanēne* (pugil) from **cūan*, borrowed from Lat. *pugnus* : *cuala* (audivit), urir. *cúcleve* : *cuairt* (umkreis), urkelt. *cúcratis*, √*cur* : *cūl* (culus, properly 'ring des Hintern'), urkelt. *cuclo-s* = κύκλος.

VI. (1) *nu*, *no* (verbal particle) = Gr. toneless νυ : *du-*, *do-* (inseparable prefix of dispraise), urkelt. *dus-* = δυς, Skr. *dus-* and the corresponding laudatory prefix *su-*, *so-* = Skr. *su-* : *druad*, urkelt. *druádos* : *cloth* (famous), urkelt. *clutó-s* = κλυτός. So the verbal prefixes *fú*, *rū*, *tú*, *úd* when toneless become *fo*, *ro*, *do*, *od*. So in the loan-words *corcor*, *corcar*, *credal*, *escal*, *ligordae*, Sg. 109ª, respectively from Lat. *púrpura*, *crédulus*, *ésculus*, *lūgus*, *liguris*.

(2) *soiscēle* (gospel), urkelt. *su-scvétlio-*.

(3) *ōac* (young, W. *iouenc*), urkelt. *yuvénco-s* = Lat. *iuvencus*.

VII. (1) *māthir*, urkelt. *mā́tēr*, Lat. *māter* : *brāthir* = Lat. *frā́ter* (W. *braut(r)* is = *brā́tros*, *brā́tri* or *brā́tren*) : *mōr* (great) = urkelt. *māros* : *fīr* (true), urkelt. *vīro-s*, OHG. *wār*, Lat. *vērus* : *rī* (king), Skr. *rāj* (in *samrāj*). In *áthach* (breeze), urkelt. *vātā́ca*, √*vā*, the accent has shifted to the first syllable.

(2) *fāith* (vates), urkelt. *vā́ti-s* : *māir*, *mōir* (magni), urkelt. *mārī* : *māire*, *mōire* (magnae), urkelt. *mārēs*.

(3) *brao*, *brō* (quern), gen. *broon* = Skr. *grāvan*.

VIII. (1) *bīathad* (*βιότητος*), urkelt. *bīvótātos* : *nī fodlat* (non dividunt), urir. *nī vúdālionto*.

(2) *bīathid* (*βιότητι*), urkelt. *bīvótāti* : *tathaim* (periit), urkelt. *tátāme* (Skr. *tāmyati*) : *ibim* (bibo), urkelt. (*p*)*ibāmi*.

(3) *forcongur* (praecipio), urkelt. *ver-cúm'-gāru* : cf. *γῆρυς*.

IX. (1) *lī* (colour), urkelt. *lī́vos*, Lat. *līvor* : *crīthid* (emax), urkelt. *krī́tati-s*, Skr. √*krī*.

(2) *bēo*, *bīu*, (vīvus), urkelt. *bī́vo-s*, Lat. (*g*)*vīvu-s* : *dognēo*, (faciam), from *dognīu* (facio) : *fáthi* (vates, acc. pl.), urkelt. *vā́tīs*. So when owing to the retreat of the accent the *ī* becomes post-tonic : *ailithir* (pilgrim), urkelt. *aliotī́ro-s* : *berthi* (ferendus), urkelt. *beretī́vo-s* : *fognam* (servitium), urkelt. *vu-genéimu-s* : *tuirem*, *āram* (numerare), urkelt. *tu-rī́ma*, *ad-rī́ma*; and the loan-words *cucenn*, *espartaiṅ*, *muilenn*, *ola* respectively from Lat. *coquī́na*, *vespertī́na*, *molī́na*, *olī́va*.[1]

X. *crenim* (I buy), urkelt. *crīnā́mi*, Skr. *krīṇā́mi* : *forúirmed* (was computed), Ml. 74° 20, urkelt. *vu-rú-rīmiato* : *ainech*, *enech* (face, Corn. Br. *enep*), urkelt. *ánīkvo-*, Skr. *ánīka*.

XI. *áid* (fire) = *αἶθος*, Lat. *aedes* : *lōeg* (calf), Goth. *laikan* : *clōen* (iniquus), Goth. *hlains* : *ōen*, *āen* = Lat. *ūnus* from *oinos* : and the loan-word *laeochu* = *laīcōs*.

[1] *espartain* and *ola* point perhaps to Low-Latin **vespértīna*, **ólīva*.

XII. I have no example of the toneless urkelt. diphthong *āi*. But the neoceltic diphthong *ai* arising from the loss of intervocalic *s* or *y* becomes *a* when toneless. Thus *dí* (suus), W. *ei* = Skr. *asya*, when used as a proclitic possessive pronoun becomes *a*.

Post-tonic *āi* : *dégmaini* (beneficia), *dágmōini*, *cómāessa* : *forósna* (illuminat) from *ver-sónnai*.

XIII. *rīad* (currus), Gaul. *rēda*, Ohg. *reita* : *īasc* (fish), urkelt. *éisco-s* : *ad-fēded*, *ad-fīadat* (they declare), Skr. *veda* : *fīach* (debt), urkelt. *véico-s*, pl. n. *fēich*, urkelt. *véicī* : *līaig* (medicus)=Goth. *leikeis* : *līgim*[1]=λείχω : *tēi* = στείξει.

XIV. I have no sure example of toneless *ei* : *inna*, gen. sg. fem. of the article, urkelt. *sindeis*, is perhaps one. Where the accent has shifted we seem to have *ī*. Thus *īarn* (iron), *rīathor* (cataract), *trīan* (a third), *grīan* (gravel). Grave *ei* is exemplified by *for-tacht*, *cōim-thecht*, urir. *vér-teigta*, *cúm-teigta* : *fidchell* (chessboard) = W. *gwyddbwyll* : *do-imm-thigim* (advenio), urir. *tu-ámbi-teigō* (*téigo*, Ir. *tiagaim*=στείχω) : *fuirsire* (parasite), urir. *vér-sērio-s* (*sēre* 'food,' cogn. with σῖ-τος : *eich* (horses), urir. *écvei* = Lat. *equi* : *fāthi* (prophets), urkelt. *vā́teis*, Gaul. οὐατεις.

XV. *au*, *ō* (auris) : *glāo-ṡnathe* (a line, lit. a ball-thread), cf. Skr. *glau* : *bō* (cow), Skr. *gau-s*, pl. gen. *inna*[*m*]-*bao* Sg. 22[b] 11 : *gau*, *gō* (falsus), cf. χαῦνος, *gūe* (falsitatis) : *nō*, gen. *naue*, *nōe* = Skr. *nau*, *vaûs*, *navis*, and the loan-words *cōis* (causâ), *cōisid* (causativus).

XVI. *maccu*, urkelt. *máccaus*? and the loan-word *Essu* (Esau).

XVII. (1) *slōg*, *slūag* (host), urkelt. *slóugo-s* : *tūath* (populus), urkelt. *tóuta*, Goth. *thiuda* : *ruad* (red), urkelt. *róudo-s*, Goth. *raud-s*. In desinence *in-diu* (hodie), Skr. *dyós*.

(2) *slōig* (hosts), urkelt. *slóugei* : *tuaith* (populo), urkelt. *tóutī*, but *lōche* (lightning), urkelt. *lóucen*(*t*)*s* = Lat. *lūcens*.

[1] redupl. *s*-fut. pl. 3, *lilsit* (gl. tingent), Ml. 89[d] 14.

XVIII. *srṻaim* (stream), urkelt. *sroumén*.

We can now lay down with confidence that, in the Irish verb substantive, the forms beginning with *ba, bā, bĕ, bĕi, bĭ,* belong to √*ba* : that those beginning with *ban, ben, biun* belong to √*ben* : that those being or beginning with *bē, bī, bīa* belong to √*bīv* : and, lastly, that those being or beginning with *bāi, bāe, bōi, bōe, bo* belong to √*bu*.

I. BA.

The forms belonging to this root are used as mere copulas. When they are preceded by conjunctions or particles, they are enclitics. When not so preceded, they are proclitics.

Present indicative active.

Sg.	**ba, pa*,[1] *-pá-m*	1. pl.	*bammi*, **-bam*
	bā-t	2. „	**baithi*, **-baid*
	beith, bid[2]	3. „	**bait*,
	-bā,[3] *-pa*[4]		*-bet, -bat, -pat*[5]
	rel. *bass*		rel. *bite*,[6] *bat-n*[7]

These forms when combined with stems of verbs of the three series make the so-called *b*-futures, except in the first sg., subjoined form. The *b* is aspirated, and we have the following sets of endings:

[1] *acht ro-pa airdere sa, maith cenco beind acht ōenlā for domon* (provided I am renowned, it is well though I be only one day in the world), LU. 61[b]. But here perhaps *ro-pa* is 1st sg. injunctive.

[2] *ma-beith* (si est) Sg. 210[a] 4, 212[a] 13, *amal bid ind-aimser feisin*, Sg. 188[a] 26.

[3] from **bat*, which occurs in O'Clery's Glossary with a suffixed pronoun: *bath-at* .i. *ata aige* 'she has.' In *ba-cōir do-each-cristaide cia nochtad each trdtha* (it is, it were?—proper for every Christian though he should weep at every watch), Saltair 8017, 8018, I know not whether the *ba* is present or injunctive.

[4] *ni-pa dilesa diuit anī hitdi* (non est proprium tibi id quod es), Wb. 5[b].

[5] *ro-bīat archuit folid cenid ru-bat archuit suin*, Sg. 138[a] 5; *acht ro-pat saini*, Sg. 199[a] 1.

[6] Such plural relative forms aspirate, and must therefore have originally ended in a vowel. I see, accordingly, in the *-s* the neo-celtic reflex of the Vedic *yā* (for the classical *yāni*, Whitney, § 509), the nom. pl. neutr. of the rel. pron. *yás* = *ðs*. The sg. relative forms in *-s* also aspirate, because (as I conjecture) they are formed by adding to the secondary ending of sg. 3 a neuter pronoun equivalent to Gr. *τό*, Skr. *tát*. For example, *bass* (qui, quae, quod, est) is from **bast* = *bat*+*tó*, *caras* (qui amat) is from **carast* = *carayat-to*. Compare, for the change of *t-t* to *s-t*, *tinfesta* (flatilis) from *tu-in-vet-tia*, *friss* from *vrit-tu*, etc.

[7] *am-batn-erchoissi ind auctair inna cloine* (when the authors of the wrong are hurt), Ml. 73[c] 9: *am-bat-n-airbirthi biuth*, Ml. 94[d] 10.

Active.

Sg. *fa, fat* *fait, fet*	1. pl.	*fimme, fimmi, fimmit* *-bam, -bem, -fam, -fem*
-fe, be, -fea	2. „	*bthe, -fid*
fid, bid *-fa, -bea, -fea* rel. *fass, fess*	3. „	*fail, fit, fit* *-fat, -fet, -faitit* rel. *fite*

Deponential.

Sg. *fer, far,*	1. pl.	*fimmir, -fammar*
**faider, fide*	2. „	*fide, -fid*
**faider,* *-fathar*	3. „	**faitir, *fitir,* *-fatar, -fetar.*

For the use of the present of a verb meaning 'to go' to express the future compare the French so-called 'instant future' (*je vais chanter, nous allons partir*, etc.)

Injunctive.

Sg. *-bam, -bamm*	1. pl.	*bāmi, -bam, -ban*
bā, -bā,[1] *-pā* *bāt, -pāt*	2. „	*beithe, bede,*[5] *-bad, -beith*[6]
beith, beth,[2] *bed* *-bā,*[3] *-b,*[4] *-p*	3. „	*beit, bit, bet* *-bat, -pat* rel. *bete, beta, betan.*[7]

Of the sg. 1 used as an injunctive I have found only two instances: Potiphar's wife says to Joseph: *táir rémum is-téch nar-bām crímnach* (come before me into the house so that I may not be fearful), Saltair 3202: *man bamm imeclach dia ráid* (unless I am afraid to utter it), H. 2. 17, p. 168[a]. Here *m* (*mm*) is suffixed to *bā* = Gr. *βῶ*. *Bām* occurs as

[1] *nir-ba-trūag* (thou shouldst not be sad), Saltair 3295.
[2] This absolute form occurs in Ml. 35[c] 2 *cona con-beth*, and in the Saltair 1999, after *arna*, surely a grammatical error!
[3] In *ni-bbā*, Sg. 36[b] 1, the *bb* is due to the accent.
[4] In *com* (= *con* + *b*), Sg. 39[a] 27, the assimilated *b* is not written.
[5] Middle-Ir. *bethi*, Saltair 1233.
[6] *ni-beith-si* (gl. ne . . . . sitis), Ml. 46[a] 10.
[7] *betan-aerasaigthi* (gl. irrita non esse), Ml. 34[d] 3; *betan-aitherrech*, Sg. 32[b] 14.

a future in the Saltair 851 : *bām rí . . . . fom-gnífet ind-tlaiṅgil, betit ind-ángeil fom-tráig* (I will be a king : the many angels shall serve me : the angels shall be under my foot), *in-héd bam béo . . . . ni-féllub form-thigerna* (so long as I shall be alive, I will not practise deceit on my master), ibid. 3187, and Windisch (Ir. Gr. § 205) has *nipam* (non ero). *Bed* and *-bat* (*-pat*) aspirate (*bed chuimnech*, G. C. 182 : *acht ropat ṡaini*, G. C. 182) : they must therefore have ended in vowels. In bipartite questions the subjoined form of the third sg. occurs with almost permanent aspiration of the *b*. Thus : *in-duit fēin fa do-nach ailiu* (whether it is thine own [or] may-be some other's), Sg. 209^{b} : *imb anacol dom fa-nacc* (whether I have a safeguard [or] may-be not), Wb. 23^{a} : *in-rolēg fa-nacc* (whether he read [it or] may-be not), Sg. 148^{a} : *in-ētaste fa-naic*, Ml. 43^{d} 17 : *im*[*b*] . . . *fā*, Sg. 12^{b} 7. In LU. 98^{a} the aspiration is omitted : '*Noconfetursa*,' *olse*, '*in cuil, bā in corrmil, bā in sengān nomgaib isin crecht*' ("I know not," says he, "whether it is a fly, or a tick (?), or an ant, that I have[1] in the wound"). In *co-nai-b* (ne sit), Ml. 31^{d} 9, we have the negative particle *nā* combined with the *b* of the same form of the 3rd sg.

The prefix *neb* (G. C. 861) is, as Prof. Zimmer suggests, a combination of a negative particle *ni*, *ne* with this same *b*. Compare the English *ne'erdowell*, the German *Thunichtgut Fürchtegott*. That the current spelling *nemh-* (*neamh-*) is etymologically wrong is clear from the form *nép-proinde* (non prandendi), Wb. 19^{a}, which can only be explained from *neb* + *proinde*.

To express 'quicunque' we have *sechi-b*, *sechi-p* and dropping the labial) *saichi*, *seich* (lit. id sit), a combination of the demonstrative pronoun *saich*, *sech*[2] (urkelt. *sa-cve*, where *sa* is = Skr. *sa*, Gr. *ὁ*, and *cve* is = Lat. *que*). In *ciam* (ex *cia-n-b*) Ml. 32^{a} 12, the assimilated *b* is not written.

The 3rd sg. was also used to form expressions for 'habeam'

[1] Lit. 'that takes me.'

[2] See this exemplified in G. C. 717, 718, where Ebel confounds this pronoun with the preposition *sech* = Lat. *secus*. There is an Irish adjective *saich*, used in opposition to *maith* (good), which, like *secus*, signifies 'autrement qu'il ne faut, mal.'

and 'non habeam': e.g. *nitraib* (= *nī-t-roi-b*) *sáim súidi na láigi* (mayst thou not have rest of sitting or lying down!), H. 2. 16, p. 761.

Imperative.

Sg.		1. pl.	*bān*
	bá	2. „	*bád*
	bad, pad[1]	3. „	*bát.*

As *bā, bān* and *bat* aspirate (*na-ba thoirsech* 'noli tristis esse,' *ban chossmaili, bat chosmuli* ('simus similes, sint s.,' G. C. 181, 182), they must have each ended in a vowel.

Secondary present ('eram').

Sg.	*bin*[2]	1. pl.	*bemmis, beimmis*
	**betha, -ptha*[3]	2. „	*bethe*
	beith,[4] *bith, bid, bad*	3. „	*betis, beitis*,[7] *-btis, -bdis.*[8]
	-bad, -pad[5]		
	-beth, -bed		
rel.	*bedn, badn*[6]		

[1] Wb. 5[c]. Here (as in many other forms belonging to √*ba*) the *p* seems due to the accent. So in the Middle-Irish loan-words *Párthalon* = O.-Ir. *Búrthalom* (Bartolomæus), *péist* = *bḗstia, púnnann* (sheaf, Eng. *bundle*), *pónaire* (beans, Mhg. *bône*). The accent also accounts for the similar change of *d* to *t* in *ní tḗnat* (non faciunt), Wb. 24[a], and the imperative *tále*, Ml. 36[a].

[2] The spellings *nom-bin, com-min, nām-min*, G. C. 455, are hardly due to scribal carelessness. The singleness of the *n* is owing to the absence of accent.

[3] *nī-ptha lábar* (ne sis arrogans), Wb. 5[b].

[4] This absolute form occurs in Fiacc's hymn, 38: *béith in-géillius Mdico Máire* (he used to be, or 'he was,' in the service of Mary's Son). Other such forms are *cánaid* (canebat), ibid. 30, reduplicated *cechnaith*, Saltair 2694, *fóaid* (dormiebat), Fiacc's h. 31, *ícaid* (sanabat), ibid. 34, *bíaid* (erat), Fél. prol. 139, Leb. Brecc. (= *ba*, Laud 610). Windisch thinks that we have here the middle primary ending *-té*.

[5] *co-na-pad fírdía mac*, Ml. 21[c] 12; *ro-ppad*, Sg. 111[b] 2; *nī-bbad*, Sg. 58[b] 5; *mani-bbad*, Sg. 17[b] 8; *ro-pad férr dún techt 'nar-corp dochum níme* (it were better for us to go to heaven in our bodies), Saltair 2739. With a prefixed negative and a suffixed pronoun *bad* becomes *bd* in Middle-Irish. Thus: *nabdat dólam, éirg don-erdunn* (thou shouldst not be slow: go to the tree), Saltair 1253.

[6] *arna-tómnad néch . . . . bedn-écen . . . . an-gídnad* (lest any one should think that their purification is necessary), Ml. 51[a] 19; *dóig linn bedn-acuit*, Sg. 30[a] 8; *am-bad n-inlinaigthe* (gl. inrettitus), Ml. 39[d] 19.

[7] Fél. Ep. 125 (Laud 610), *cia-beitis secht-tengtha im-gin* (though there were seven tongues in my mouth).

[8] In *ro-m-dis* (= *ro-m-betis*), Ml. 48[d] 12, the assimilated *b* has not been written. So in *airmdis* (= *ar an-betis*), Ml. 54[a] 12, *amtis* (= *an-betis*), Ml. 34[a] 10, *comtis* (= *com-betis*), Sg. 7[b] 2.

As *-bad* aspirates (*na-bad chotarsne* 'ne sit contrarium,' G. C. 182; *nī bad ṡamlaid son*, Sg. 4ᵇ 4), it must have ended in a vowel, and doubtless was, in Old-Celtic, *bató*, where *-tó* is=the Skr. secondary middle-ending *-tá*.

These forms, when combined with the stems of verbs of the three series, make the so-called secondary *b*-futures. The *b* is aspirated, and we have the following set of endings:

Sg. *fainn, finn*	1. pl.	*femmis, fimmis,*
feda	2. „	**fithe,*
fad, fed	3. „	*faitis, fitis.*

Future.

Sg. *bē*	1. pl.	*bimmi, bemmit, -bem*[1]
**be, bat*[2]	2. „	*bethi, -beth*[4]
bith, bid	3. „	*bit,*[5] *betit, beitit*[6]
-ba, -pa		*-bat, -pat, -pdat,*[7] *-bet*[8]
rel. *bess, bas*[3]		rel. *bete,*[9] *beta, bite*[10]

The two relative forms aspirate (*bes chobuir, bes chotarsnae,*

[1] *cēin bemmitni im-béthaid* (so long as we shall be alive), LU., but I omitted to note the page and column; *nī-ruibem cen-rī́g ndṓenna* (we will not be without a human king), Saltair 5540.

[2] *bat cúmachtach in tálman* (thou shalt be mighty over the earth), LB. 205ᵇ.

[3] *regat lat intan bas furidhe cach ret* (I will go with thee when everything shall be ready), H. 2. 17, p. 218.

[4] *bethi máirb diand-éssabair* (if ye shall eat it, ye will be dead), Saltair, 1232: *cēin bethi for-drúing* [leg. *drúimm*?] *dómuin* (so long as ye shall be on the ridge of the world), ibid. 2400: *bethi úli . . . . hir-ríchtain léssa Ióseiph* (ye will all be needing Joseph), ibid. 3084: *in-héd bethi 'sin-díthrub nochofor-bia . . . . dírchra bī́id no ḗtaig* (so long as ye shall be in the wilderness ye shall not have perishing of food or raiment), ibid. 4062: *ni-bet[h]-brṓnaig* (ye will not be sad), Fél. prol. 188.

[5] phonetically spelt *bid*, Sg. 187ᵃ (*ar bid timmarti*).

[6] *ar betit laich do samla . . . . i cind airge frit*, H. 2. 17, p. 144ᵇ, *betit adhuatha ádbail* (they will be terrible, vast), Saltair 8158, *betit indáṅgeil fomtráig* (the angels will be under my foot), Saltair 853, *beitit sácairt 7 épscuip dot chéniul* (priests and bishops will be of thy kin), Rawl. B. 512, fol. 13ᵇ 1, *beitit co brā́th*, ibid. 14ᵃ 2. These forms in *-tit, tat* (which occur also in the present indicative) have not yet been explained. *Beit-i* (with suffixed pers. pron. of pl. 3) occurs in Rawl. B. 512, fo. 13ᵇ 1.

[7] *iatsom nipdat dúthaine ica-fúlang tria-bíthu* (they will not be transitory, enduring it for ever), Saltair, 8355. A deponential *batir* occurs, H. 2. 17, pp. 129ᵃ, 149ᵇ, 159ᵇ.

[8] *an-am-bet ecailsi* (gl. non discutiendi), Ml. 15ᵈ 7.

[9] *ni-ba-cī́an mbete oca clōinib* (it will not be long that they shall be at their wrongs), Ml. 28ᵃ 10.

[10] *hílardatu inna-dimsire mbite sóm isind-fógnam* (the multiplicity of the time that they will be in the servitude), Ml. 28ᵇ 9.

Ml. 94b 16, *beta thuicsi*, G.C. 181), and must therefore, in protoceltic, have ended in vowels. The forms *bes-n*, *beta-n*, which occur in Ml. 94a, 4, 5, are doubtless due to analogy.

Secondary Future.

-beinn	1. pl.	*bemmīs*
-betha	2. „	**-beithe*
-bed, -pad	3. „	*-btis, -ptis*

Preterite.

Sg. *bā-sa* *-bā, -bām* *-b-sa,*[1] *-p-sa*	1. pl.	*-bāmmar*
ba[2]	2. „	*-baid*
bā, -bā[3] *-b, -p*[4] rel. *-ban*[5]	3. „	*bātir, bātar*[6] *-batar, -btar, -ptar,*[7] *-bdar*[8]

[1] In *romsa* (for *ro-m-b-sa*) Ml. 49b 13, *arromsa* (for *an-ro-m-b-sa*) Ml. 48b 9 = *arrumsa* Ml. 27b 8, *arrumtar* Ml. 34d 10, *a-nā-m-tar* Sg. 6a 12, *amtar* (= *an-batar*) Sg. 31b 7, the assimilated *b* is not written.

[2] *nī-máith rom-ba, a Ádaim* (not good hast thou been to me, O Adam !), Saltair 1400.

[3] *ar bā-firianu Aeneas*, Sg. 43a 1, *ro-bā ic-fórmait* (he was envying) Saltair 4640. *sech* [for *sech-is* 'that is'] *ba foirbthe*, G.C. 717. In *baba hua in Nōe sin do Chathair Mōr* (that Noe was a grandson of Cathair the Great's), LB. 240b, we have either a reduplicated preterite or (more likely) a scribal error. *Ba* is used with a plural subject: *ba-dímdaig dī́b slū́ig mū́ra mác n-Ísrael* (the great hosts of the children of Israel were thankless for them), Saltair 5519, and see ibid. 5619. Another instance of a singular verb with a plural subject is *séiss int-ślū́aig innasréthaib* (the hosts will sit in their ranges), Saltair 8266, where *seiss* is sg. 3 of the *s*-future of *súidim*.

[4] *nī-r-b ánhumal* (he was not unhumble), Saltair 3206; *rop-fóglainntid, ro-p félsam* (he was a teacher, he was a philosopher), Saltair 2702. In Middle-Irish the combinations *nár(b)*, *nachar(b)*, *nocho-r-b* (non fuit) often drop the *b*. Thus: *nochor uallcha fer a aoisi* (no man of his age was prouder), Glenn Masáin MS. p. 3, col. 1. The same MS., p. 7, col. 2, contains the wonderful form *solf* (= *resiu ra-bh*): *dofiafraig fothri solf air a fregra* (he asked thrice before he had his answer). In *nīp-au chāiniu rocloth dō* (this was not fairer which was heard of him) LU. 81b, we seem to have suffixed the Irish reflex of the demonstr. pron. *ava*.

[5] *am-ban-indrisse* (gl. innasso) Ml. 18c 14; *am-ban-diuscartae* (gl. depossita) Ml. 19c 15; *nī ru-ban-and* (quod non fuit) Sg. 3b 8; *intan bā n-imtrascrad, intan ba n-imdirech* (when there was wrestling, when there was mutual stripping), LU. 60b.

[6] *bātar ic-ádrad īdal* (they were adoring idols) Saltair 2788, and see ibid. 3245, 3553, 3885, 4049, 4072, 4088, 5888, 7427.

[7] *ro-bbātar*, Sg. 57b 1, *ro-bātor*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 26a 2, *ró-ptar snīmaig iarsétaib* (they were weary along the ways) Saltair 3449. When the interrogative particle *inn* is prefixed, for *inn-bātar* we get *ímtar*, Saltair 4659, 4661, 4662, 4664, or *ímdar* ibid. 4663.

[8] *nī́-bdar dímdaig* (they were not thankless) Saltair 3550; *ro-bdar dímdaig*, ibid.

Present Indicative Passive.

Sg. *bethir*, *bithir*[1] / *-bether* } 3. plur. { *betir* / **-betar*

The rare form *betir* is found in Ml. 54[a] 17 : *cia-betir* (gl. pulsentur).

Secondary Present Passive.

Sg. *-bethe* 3. plur. **-betis*.

no-m-bethe son, Ml. 39[a] 19. *ica-géllad dí no-bethe dia-réir* (promising to her that it would be according to her will), H. 2. 17, p. 139[a].

Verbal noun : *baith*, *beith*, *bith*, *buith* and, when followed by *-s*, *buit*.[2]

In the injunctive forms with *e*, the *e* seems due to the subsequent slender vowel.

In the pl. 1 the imperative *bān*, which aspirates,[3] and must therefore have ended in a vowel, the *m* of the toneless person-ending *āma* has become *n*.

In the secondary present, *bin*, when compared with the Welsh *be-wn*, appears to be a contraction of **bein*, urkelt. *beāni*, a middle-form, according to Windisch.

The preterite is almost altogether composed of aoristic forms. Thus in sg. 1, *bā* is=Gr. *ἔ-βην*, Skr. *a-gām*. In sg. 3, *bā* is=Skr. *a-gāt*, Gr. *βῆ*, Lat. *-bāt*, *-bat* in the imperfect of every active verb.[4] A trace of the pristine *t*-ending of this

4051 ; *giabdar*=*ciaptar*, ibid. 5781. ; *amdar lāna a .ui. bliadna* (when his six years were complete) LU. 61[a]. A suffixed relative occurs in *amtar ṁ bati* (gl. submersis), Ml. 84[d] 5.

[1] is hi fochaidib *bithir* hi-suidib, Ml. 56[b] 15.

[2] *abuit-som* Sg. 216[b] 2 : cf. for the deaspiration before a sibilant, *co adcot-sa*, Ml. 60[c] 6, *fāitsine* from *fāith*, *baitsi* from *baithsi-i* : *cipsi crich isin domun in-dechsat-som*, Edinb. MS. XV. p. 4[a]. I know not whether *māt-coserach* (if ye go victorious) is an instance of deaspiration or scribal carelessness. For deaspiration of *th* after *l*, *n* or *s*, see Windisch, Ir. Gr. § 64.

[3] *ban-chósemaili friar-túisech ocus friar-edcart* (let us be like unto our leader and our priest) Wb. 33[b]. *Bān* is also used for the injunctive pl. 1 : *comman* (=*con-bān*) *dessimrecht do-chéch* (that we should be an example to every one) Wb. 31[c]. Windisch (Ir. Gr. § 205) supposes that in *ban*, *-dan* we have the suffixed pron. of pl. 1. But this would have been *bann*, *-dann*, and would, moreover, *not* have aspirated.

[4] In prehistoric Latin *-bāt*, like Gr. *ἔ-βη(τ)* and Skr. *a-gāt*, seems to have had an augment, which, as in Greek, was *e*. Here we have an explanation of the long *ē* in the imperfects of the third and fourth conjugations. *Regēbat*, for example, is=*reg-a+e-bāt*, lit. 'he went ruling,' where *a* is the stem-vowel and *e* is the augment. So *audiēbat*=*audi-a+e-bāt*, lit. 'he went hearing.'

bā is visible in the duplication of *m* in *ba mmebul lee* (it was a shame to her), LL. 249[b], and in the *h*(=*th*) which regularly follows *bā* when it precedes a substantive, adjective or pronoun beginning with a vowel. Thus: *bā h-ṫrc* (it was destruction), Saltair 1691, *bā h-árd* (he was high), urkelt. *bāt árdros*, *bā h-é* (he was), urkelt. *bāt éis*. In Middle-Irish the ending of the *ss*-preterite passive, proper to roots ending in *t*, *d* and *s*, was added to this form. Thus: *ron-bás báth* (we have had death, lit. nobis fuit mors), Saltair 4059: *dochóid dia-scóraib . . . . ocus ro-bāss ica-óthrus intib cofáta* (he went to his camp and therein he was long a-healing himself), H. 2. 17, p. 163[a]. With a suffixed pronoun it was used impersonally. Thus *ropsam* (I have been) Rev. Celt. vi. 186, where it is wrongly rendered; *nārbsat fírgaeth* (that thou wert not truly-wise, *nā-ro-bāss-at*), Saltair 1318; *ciapsat gúir fri crábud nglé* (though thou hast been zealous at clear devotion, *cia-bāss-at*), Saltair 8807. The pl. *batar*, urkelt. *ba-ntor*, with its deponential *r*, is Gr. *βάν* (from *βα-ντ*), Lat. *-bā-nt*, only that the *to* is a primary middle ending.

The verbal noun *bith* is (as Ascoli has taught us) identical with Skr. *ǵati*, Gr. *βάσις* (from **βάτις*), Aesch. Choeph. 452. The form *beith* given by Windisch, Ir. Texte, i. p. 398, as an infinitive, is really a secondary pres. sg. 3, in the absolute form. It is correctly translated in Goidilica[2] 132.

The impersonal construction is found with this root. Thus, in addition to *ropsam*, *narbsat*, *ciapsat* cited supra, we have *bid-for-cósgraig* (ye will not be victorious), Saltair 4706, *ni*[*b*]*-forn-adaltraig* (ye shall not be adulterous), Rawl. B. 512, fo. 99[a], *narbbar-*[1] [MS. *narbar*] *dúrc*[*h*]*ridig* (that ye should not be hard-hearted), Saltair 4842, *nībfor-cétludaig* (ye should not be . . . .), ibid. 4872.

This verb sometimes takes an accusative: *cia beitis secht-tengtha im-gin* (though seven tongues were in my mouth), Fél. Ep. 125, where *tengtha* is the acc. pl. of *tenge*.

The root *ba* is compounded with the following prepositions:

[1] This *bar*, *for* (pronounced *var*), urkelt. *svostro*, is = Lat. *vester*, just as *ar*, urkelt. (*n*)*ostro* is = Lat. *noster*.

ad-cu: fut. pass. sg. 3, *ocubether* (gl. contingetur), Ml. 53^{b} 17, leg. *ácubether*, a dependent, wrongly used for an independent, form.

air (Gaulish *arē*, Gr. *παραί*): secondary pres. sg. 1, *airbin fiu leu etir*, Ml. 44^{c} 2.

ar-a[1]: fut. pl. 3: *arabeitfet-som* (leg. *arafet-som*), Ml. 46^{c} 8.

aith 'wieder,' 're-' (W. *et*, urkelt. *ati*,[2] but Gr. *ἔτι*): pres. indic. sg. 3, *nad áithbe* (that ebbeth not), Fél. Apl. 15, Aug. 12. Verbal noun: *áithbe*, sg. dat. *in-áithbiu* (gl. remeat), G. C. 864 note.

cit-a: secondary pres. pl. 3, *cita-m-bélis* (gl. sapere), Ml. 29^{c}: pret. sg. 1 *lase citaróbasa* (gl. sentiendo), Ml. 44^{b} 22 (*cit*, accented *cēt*=W. *cant*, Corn. *cans*, Br. *gant*, Gaul. *canta*). Verbal noun: *cétbaith*=W. *canfod*, Corn. *canvas*, *κατάβασις*.

ess (Lat. *ex*, Gr. *ἐξ*): pres. indic. pl. 3, *esbát*, LU. Ir. Texte, p. 529, l. 3.

ess-a: inj. sg. 3, *esebá*, ibid. fut. *conna eseba*, LU. 35^{b}. Verbal noun *esfaid*: *Bā snim trā la hÉrcoil 7 lasna miledaib olchena in mácc . . . do ésfaid ūadib* (so Hercules and the soldiers besides had grief that the boy had gone from them), Edinb. MS. XV. 5^{b}.

[1] This preposition occurs in compound verbs after the preposition *imm*, urkelt. *ambi*, when there is a crasis of the consecutive vowels (*imme* also written *imma*). It also appears in at least thirteen other Old-Irish verbs, viz. *ab-á-menim* (opto), *amm, ar-á-biu, ar-á-chelaim, ar-á-chrinim, ar-á-chuilim, ar-á-foclur, ar-á-fōimim, ass-á-fiad, ass-á-gninim, *ass-á-guu* [*aságu dia*, Ml. 58^{b} 9], *ass-á-gussim, *cit-á-bau, cit-a-bīu, fo-á-canim, iarm-á-faigim*, and *t-á-bur* used, generally, as the dependent form of *do-biur*. Like the (possibly cognate) Skr. *ā* (Whitney, § 1080, Gr. *ἀ*, K.Z. XXVII. 478), it hardly ever occurs in front of any of the other prepositional verbal prefixes. It also seems to occur in the nouns *asca, árosc* (proverb, *a-ro-scvo-*: cf. *rosc eatha*), and in the adverb *a-frithissi*. It is identical with the British verbal prefix *a* (G.C. 420, 423, 425), with the *a* in *a-ddef, a-ddyscj*, and with the Greek *ἀ* in *ἄλτο*=*ἀ-σάλτο* (Curtius), *ἀ-μιχθαλόεσσαν*, Iliad Ω 753, and the Greek *ἐ-* (weakened from *ἀ-*), commonly called the syllabic augment. And it may possibly be the *a-* in the Gaulish *a-lauda* (whence Fr. *alouette*: cf. Ir. *luad*). So in Greek *ἐ* (=*ἀ*) seems to occur in *ἐ-Fέλδωρ* and *εὔληρα*=*ἐ-Fληρα*, Dor. *αὔληρα*=*ἀ-Fληρα*, Lat. (*v*)*lora*.

[2] I write *ati*, not *áti*, because the Old-Irish *aith-* 're-,' when followed by *c* or *g* or *b*, never gives rise to *ee* or *ep*, as it would do if the *th* were post-tonic. Thus we have *aith-gne* (recognition), *ad-gēn-sa* (I recognise), *do-r-ad-chiuir* (redēmit), *t-áid-chriec* (redemptio), *an-do-n-aith-chuiredar* (gl. redeunte), *aith-be* (re-meat). But when we have the other prefix *aith-*, urkelt. *áti*, Gaul. *áte*, Skr. *áti* (across, beyond, over), we find *éicdid* (=*aith-cōdid*), *écmai* (=*aith-cum-ai*), *écne* 'knowledge' (=*áith-gnē*), and *épil*=*áith-bail*.

for (Gaul. *ver*, Gr. *ὑπέρ*) : inj. sg. 3, *dia-fórraib* [=*for-roi-b*] *fúidel* (if a remnant should be over), Saltair 3919, pl. 3, *bénnacht Brigte ocus-Dé fordon-rábat immalle* (let Brigit's blessing and God's be upon us together !), Brocc. h. 104 ; secondary pres. pl. 3, *rīasiu no-forbaitāis*, H. 2. 17, p. 167[a] ; pret. sg. 3, *ra-fórba*, Ir. Texte, p. 567, but *roforb*, H. 2. 17, pp. 155[a], 167[a] ; passive pret. sg. *ra-fórbad*, ibid. pl. 3, *ro-fórbaide*, ibid. ; verbal noun *fórbe*, *fórba*, sg. dat. *fórbu*, G. C. 230 ; part. pret. pass. sg. *fórbthe*.

for'-for : pass. pres. indic. sg. 3 : *hō burórbaither in-gnīm* (when the deed shall have been completed), Ml. 15[a] 6. pret. pl. 3, *fororbaide laithi na cainti* (the days of the lamentation were completed), Rawl. B. 512, fol. 12[b] 1.

for-ro : ss-pret. sg. 3 : *forro-r-b(a)is* (gl. superavit), Ml. 34[c] 16.

imm (= Lat. *ambi*, Gr. *ἀμφί*, Skr. *abhi*) : inj. sg. 3 : *ciambad* [= *cia-immbad*] *lónnbrass dīgal Dé* (although God's vengeance be bitter-great), Saltair 3617 ; pret. pl. 3 : *ciamtar* (=*cia immbatar*) *ámrai ilardai* (though they were wonderful, numerous), ibid. 5800.

tu[1] : inj. sg. 3 : *airn-dib*, Ml. 17[c] 8, *con-dib* (ut sit), *con-dip*, *arṅdomróibse* (ut mihi sit=*aran-tu-mm-ró-b-se*), Wb. 10[d], v. 12, *codonroib* (ut nobis sit, *co-tu-nn-ró-b'*), Wb. 20, v. 9.

tu-a : fut. sg. 3 (with suffixed pron.), *dabus buan a bithmairg* (the constant sorrow for it will be lasting), Glenn Masáin MS. p. 4, col. 1.

tu-ess : pass pret. sg. *-tésbad*, Brocc. h. 88, *-thésbad* Ir. Texte, p. 97, l. 18. The verbal noun is *tésbuith*, Z.[2] 881, better *téssbaith*, sg. acc. *tre-thesbaid*, Sg. 5[a] 15.

tu-ess-a : inj. sg. 3 : *ni thésaba maith na hordan foirb*, H. 2. 17, p. 136[b] ; *-téseba*, LU. Ir. Texte, p. 214, l. 4 ; perf. sg. 3, *tésarbae* (gl. aberat, *tu-ess-a-ro-bae*), Ml. 34[c] 16.

tu-for : *duforbaithe* (gl. ueniretur), Ml. 31[c] 11 ; perf. sg. 3, *do-t-r-or-bai péist*, Corm.

[1] As Thurneysen has pointed out (Rev. Celt vi. 145), *tu* is the accented and primitive form of the prep. of which the pretonic form is generally *do*. (In Ml. 43[d] 27, I find a pretonic *to* : *coic bliadnai deac to-tórmiuch.*) So in Gaulish : *Tu-bogius*, and perhaps *to-me-decavi*. When in compound verbs *tu* follows *for*, we get the form *fort* (*fort-gillim*, Wb. 4[c] *foirt-bē* .i. *géarrfaidh*, O'Cl.) : when it follows *frith* (W. *gwrth*), we get *friss* (*th-d* regularly becomes *t*, but *tt*, *th-t* and *d-t* regularly become *ss*).

tu-ru: pret. sg. 1, *nī rú-thórba-sa*, Ml. 44^{c} 29; sg. 3, *darórbai* (gl. cuia interfuit), Sg. 203^{a} 18, *an-dorórpai* (gl. et ueniens), 106^{b} 8, *domrórbai . . . . ríth roráith in slógsa* (the course which this host ran hath profited me, *tu-mm-rú-ro-bai*), Fēl. prol. 25; pl. 3, *hī-ró-thorbatar m'aithir* (in which my fathers profited), Ml. 44^{c} 29; verbal noun *tórbe* (= *tú-ro-baio*).

From this root also comes Old-Ir. *bái, báe*, Middle-Ir. *baa, bā* .i. *maith* (good), O'Cl. .i. *tórba* (profit), O'Dav. *nī bái líb* (lit. non bonum apud vos), manducare dominicam cenam, Wb. 11^{d} *hóre nar'bu bé la-Iúdeu crétem* (because the Jews did not like belief, lit. quia non fuit bona apud Iudaeos fides), Wb. 5^{b}. This is compounded with the propositions *ad, de, ess, fo* and *tú-ro*, and we have thus *abba* (*rofail am a mor-abba damsa*, indeed I have great cause therefore), LL. 177^{a}; *ar aba* (because) O'Don. Gr. 265; *ar-apai-dhe* (because thereof), H. 2. 17, p. 131^{a}; *débe* (discrepance, difference), Ml. 50^{b} 12; *debe mec* (i.e. *mbecc*, a slight difference), Ml. 40^{a} 20; *és-bae, és-pae* 'inutilis' (whence *és-pach*), G. C. 870, l. 1; *fú-bae*, Sg. 26^{a} 8.

Other derivatives are *cobaith, cuibdiud* (concinnitas), *de-baid* (dissension) Ml. 50^{c} 18 (whence *debthach, dephthaigim*), *comchét-baith, forbaide* (*forbuide*), *foirbthe*. And yet another is *tig-bae* (superstes), where *tig* (end) seems cognate with στιγ-μή (punctum).

Before considering the corresponding forms in the British languages, it will be well to see how Welsh deals with the acute and the toneless vowels *a, u, ā, ī*, and the diphthongs *ai, ei* and *ou*.

I. acute *a*

(1) remains intact:

(2) followed by *e* or *i* or the vowel *y*, becomes *e* or *o*:

(3) followed by the semivowel *y* (written *i*) or (in loan-words) by *i* from *ū* (*ō*), becomes the diphthong *ei*:

(4) followed by *o* or *u* (*w*), becomes *o*:

(5) followed by *cs, ct, gs, gr, gl*, becomes (with the guttural) *ai, ae*.

(6) becomes *ā* in monosyllables ending in *g, d, b* : *dd, f*: *ch, th, ff*: *s*(= *st*), and *n* or *l* not formerly doubled or accompanied by another consonant. This *ā*, when a syllable is added, reverts to *ă*.

II. toneless *a*
(1) remains intact or becomes *e*:
(2) followed by *i*, becomes *e* or the vowel *y*:
(3) followed by the semivowel *y*, becomes *ei*:
(4) followed by *o* or *u*, becomes the vowel *y*.

III. acute *u*
(1) remains intact:
(2) becomes *w*:
(3) followed by *a*, becomes *o*:
(4) followed by *g*, becomes (with the *g*) *ou*:
(5) followed by *b*, becomes (with the *b*) *u*:
(6) becomes *w* in monosyllables ending in *g, d, b* (=urbrit. *c, t, p*), *dd, f*; *ch, th, ff*; *s* (ex *st*), and *n* and *l* when not formerly doubled or accompanied by another consonant.

IV. toneless *u*
(1) becomes *e* or the vowel *y*:
(2) followed by *g*, becomes (with the *g*) *ou*:
(3) in loan-words, when immediately followed by *i*, becomes *ew*; by *e*, becomes *aw*.

V. acute *ắ*
(1) becomes *au* (*aw*):
(2) followed by a flexional or derivative syllable, becomes *ŏ* or *ĭ*:
(3) followed by *i*, becomes *ew*:
(4) followed by *v* or *g*, becomes (with the *v* or *g*) *eu*:
(5) followed by the semivowel *y*, becomes the diphthong *ai*.

VI. toneless *ā* becomes *a*.

VII. acute *ĭ*
(1) remains intact:
(2) becomes the diphthong *ai*.

VIII. toneless *i*
(1) remains intact:
(2) becomes *e*, *i* or the vowel *y*:
(3) before *v*, becomes (with the *v*) *iu* (*yw*) or *ui* (*wy*).

IX. acute *ai*
(1) remains intact:
(2) becomes *oe*:
(3) followed by *e* or *i*, becomes *ei*:
(4) followed by *u*, becomes (with the *u*) *yw* or *ew*.

X. toneless *ai* becomes *a* or *e*?

XI. acute *ei*
(1) becomes *ui* (*wy*) or (when followed by another syllable) *wý*:
(2) in modern monosyllables becomes *ai*, which (when a syllable is added) reverts to *ei*.

XII. toneless *ei*
(1) remains intact:
(2) becomes *i*:
(3) followed by *vo*, becomes (with the *vo*) *iu* or *uw*.

XIII. acute *ou*
(1) becomes *u*:
(2) in some obscure words becomes *uw*, which, when a syllable is added, becomes *u*.

XIV. toneless *ou* becomes *u*.

Examples.

I. (1) *cár* (amicus, Ir. *cara*) : *guás* (servus, Ir. *foss*) : *má* (locus, Ir. *mag*) : *cát* (pugna, Ir. *cath*) : *máp* (filius, Ir. *macc*) : and perhaps *cám* (curvus), though the cognate Gr. *σκαμβός* is oxyton.
(2) *glendid* (munditia) from *glan* : *heli* (salsugo) from *halen* : *iechyd* (sanitas) from *iach* : *plentyn* (a child) from *plant* : *rheffyn* (corda) from *rhaff* : *cledyf* (gladius, Ir. *claideb*) : *mor* (mare), Gaul. *mori*, urkelt. *mari* : *canfod* (videre), urkelt. *cantobati*.

(3) *lléiddiad* (occisor) from *lladd*, √*slad* : *edifeiriol* (poenitens) from *edifar* : *meibion* (filii) from *mab* : *geir* (verbum) now *gair*, pl. *geiriau*, from **gáryo* : *brein* (corvi) sg. *bran*, from **bránya*, a collective : *geill* (potest) from **gályat* : *guo-deimisauch* (sustulistis) from *vu-dámyass-*. So in the loan-words *breich* (*braich*), *reid* (*rhaidd*), *yspeit* (*yspaid*), *Meir* (*Mair*) from *brāchium*, *rādius*, *spātium*, *Māria*, pronounced *brāchyum*, *rādyus*, *spātyum*, *Márya*. So in *dreic* (*draig*) from **dracī* = *dracō*, *lleidr* from **latrī* = *latrō*, and *dy-spaidd* (eunuch) from **spadī*=*spadō*, *σπάδων*.

(4) *nodwydd* (acus), Br. *nadoez*, Ir. *snāthat* and the loan-word *morthol*=**mártulus*.

(5) *llaes* = *laxus*, *am-lais* (circumsolutus), *llaeth* (milk) = *lact-* : *traeth* (littus)=Ir. *tracht* : *aer* (praelium), Ir. *ār*=*ăγρα* : *caffael* (adipisci), urkelt. *cabágli*.

(6) *gwāg* (vacuus), *tād* (pater), *clāf* (aegrotus), urkelt. *clamo-s* : *glās* (glaucus), urkelt. *glasto* : *glān* (mundus), but comparative *glănach*.

II. (1) *Caratauc*=*Caratăcos*, *Guassauc*=*Vassăco-s*, and the loan-words *canghell*, *castell*, *mantell* : but *cenawl*.

(2) *lemenic* (gl. salax), urkelt. *lambaníco* and the loan-words *kebyster* (capístrum), *selsic* (salsícium).

(3) *meneich* from **mónachia* pronounced *monachya*.

(4) *myrthwl* from *martúlus*.

III. (1) *hucc* (sus). *Tuscois* (gl. tuscus).

(2) *llw* (oath, Ir. *luge*), *swch*, *cwn*, *drwg*, *dwfn*, *rhwd*: *Maelgwn*=*Maglocúnos* (but *Cynfael*=*Cunomáglos*).[1]

(3) *boch* (cheek) from Lat. *bucca*.

(4) *iou* (yoke)=*iugum*.

(5) *du* (dark, black)=Ir. *dub*, Gr. *τυφ-λός*.

(6) *pŵl* (obtusus, hebes.)

IV. (1) *ffer* (ankle)=*σφυρόν* :

(2) *poulloraur* (writing-tablets), Ir. *pōlire*=*pugillāres* :

[1] I am indebted to Prof. Rhŷs for this excellent illustration of the different treatment of accented and of toneless *u*.

(3) *rhewin*=*ruína* : *cystrawen*=*construéndum*.

V. (1) *lau* (hand, Ir. *lām*) : *paup*=Ir. *cāch* : *laun* (*llawn*)= Ir. *lán*, Lat. *plēnus* : *di-auc* (segnis, cf. ὠκύς) :

(2) *hestoriou* pl. of *hestaur* = *sextārius* : *brodyr* pl. of *brawd*)[1] primeval Welsh *brātr*=*frātrem* : *toddi* (to melt, *tawdd* (molten).

(3) *llewni* (to fill) from *llawn*=Ir. *lān*.

(4) *breuant* (windpipe) = Ir. *brágat-* : *breuan* (quern) = Ir. *brō*, gen. *broon*, Skr. *grávan*.

(5) *braich* (arm) borrowed from Lat. *brāchium* pronounced *brāchyum*.

VI. *sarhaet* (contumelia)=Ir. *sārugud*, urkelt. *sāragétu*, and the loan-word *ffurfāfen*=*firmāméntum*.

VII. (1) *guir* (verus, Ir. *fír*), *hir* (longus)=Ir. *sír* : *tir* (terra)=Ir. *tír*.

(2) *claiar* (tepidus), which Davies compares with χλιαρός (from σκλιαρός? Rhŷs), *daiar*, *daear* (terra), *haiarn* (ferrum), Ir. *iarn*, Gaul. *isarno-* : *gaem*, *gayaf* (hiems) : *graian* (glarea), Ir. *grían* : *traian* (triens), Ir.*trían*, and the loan-word *ceroenhou* (leg. *-nou*), pl. of *ceroen*= *carína*. In *cystwyaf*=*castígo*, *íg* has become *wy*.

VIII. (1) *Iarnwallon*, urkelt. *Īsarnovelāunos* (*-velámnos*?).

(2) *heddwch* (pax), Ir. *sīd* : *anwiredd* (untruth), urkelt. *anvēreyá* : *prynedig* (emptus), urkelt. *prīnatíco-s* : and the loan-word *dewin*=*dīvínus*.

(3) *byw* (vivus)=Skr. *gívá* : *buyt*, *bwyt* (cibus), Ir. *biad*= Skr. *givátu*.

IX. (1) *Aipht*=**Αἴγυφτος* : cf. Mod. Gr. *Γύφτος*.

(2) *oet* (age) *aetas*, and the loan-word *Ebroec*.

(3) *cein* (bene), Ir. *cāin*, urkelt. (*s*)*caini*.

(4) *Gryw*=*Gráius*, Mid. W. *Ebryw*=*Hebrácus*, but *Iddew* =*Iudáeus*.

[1] For the loss of the final *r* compare *arad* (plough) from *aratr*, Ir. *arathar*, and the loan-word *trawst* from *transtrum*. So (as Rhŷs ingeniously proposed) the comparatives of equality in *-et* (G.C. 300) are to be equated with the Irish forms in *-ither ocus* and *-ither fri*, O'Don. Gr. 371.

X. No sure example. Old Welsh *caitoir* (gl. pube), leg. *caitóir*? is now *cedor* : *Cýnfal* is a primitive Welsh *Cónmael*, urkelt. *Cunomáglos*.

XI. (1) *pui* (gl. quid), Ir. *cía*, Lat. *quei* : *cruitr* (gl. pala), Ir. *crīathar* : *luit* (fuscus), Ir. *līath* : *gŵydd* (goose), pl. *gwŷddau* (Rhŷs, Lectures, 131) : *gwystl* (hostage), Ir. *giall*, O.H.G. *gīsal*, and probably, as M. Ernault suggests, Gaul. *Co-gestlus* (Rev. Celt. i. 294), *Congeistlus* (Corpus Inscr. iii. No. 4887).

(2) No sure example: *bai* (vitium), pl. *beiau*, O.W. *bei*.

XII. (1) *ei* (his, her) in the written language.

(2) *i* (his, her) = Ir. *āi*, Skr. *asyá*, *asyás*. Corn. *Piran* = Ir. *Ciarān*, urkelt. *Qveirágnos*.

(3) *diu*, *duw* (god) = Skr. *devá*.

XIII. (1) *bud* (victoria, Ir. *būaid*), urkelt. *boudi* : *llu* (exercitus), Ir. *slūag*, urkelt. *slougos* : *tru* (miser), Ir. *trūag*, urkelt. *trougos* : *tut* (populus), Ir. *tūath*, urkelt. *touta*.

(2) *buwch* (vacca), pl. *bychod* : *cnuwch* (coma, Davies), *cuwch* (supercilium, frons contracta) : *lluwch* (dust), *rhuwch* (cribrum). In the loan-word *diluw* = *dilúvium*, *uw* represents *úv*.

XIV. *uchel* (altus), Ir. *ūasal*, Gaul. *uxellos*, urkelt. *ouxelós*, from **oupselos*, cf. Gr. ὑψηλός: *bugail* (pastor) = Ir. *būachaill*, urkelt. *bou-cāli-s*.

Now we can lay down with confidence that, in the Welsh verb substantive, the forms regularly beginning with *be*,[1] *bo* and *boi* belong to the root *ba*; that those beginning with *bi* and *bwy* belong to the root *bīv*; that those beginning with *by* and *bu* belong to the root *bu*; and, lastly, that the absence of any forms beginning with *bw* shows that the non-diphthongal

[1] Such rare instances of *e* from *u* as *he-garaf*, *an-he-gar*, *He-wel*, G.C. 93, and *kedant* (erunt) Laws 2. 1. 4. (rightly written *bydant* in the same sentence) must be regarded as scribal errors. *He-labar* (= Ir. *su-lbair*), G.C. 93, is Old-Breton, not Welsh: *creman*, G.C. 93, is Old-Cornish. *Deil* (folia, sg. *dal-en*) cannot descend from the urkelt. *dulā* in Gaulish πεμπεδουλα (cf. Ir. *duilk*). It is cognate with θάλλω (ex θάλjω), θαλλός, and Lat. *flos*.

forms belonging to √*bu* were, as in Irish, toneless proclitics or enclitics.

The British forms belonging to √*ba* are the following:

Injunctive.

Sg.	1. pl. *bom*, Corn. **bon*.
bych,	2. „ *boch*, Corn. **bogh*, Br. *bihet*.
boi, *boet*, *bo*, Corn. *bo*, *bo-va*,	3. „ *bont*, Corn. *bons*.

Here *bych* exhibits an interesting agglutination of a pronoun of the sg. 2, which we also find in the Old Cornish injunctive sg. 2 from √*bīv*, namely *bīic*[*h*],[1] and in the Old-Irish preterite *mā ro·sellaib* (si vidisti) Félire, July 4. As *sv* in anlaut regularly becomes *chw* in Welsh and *b* (*f*) or *s* in Irish,[2] we may safely say that we have here the neo-celtic reflex of the Greek σύ, or rather of its enclitic dat. (σοι) or acc. (σε). The Old-Welsh *boi*[3] (urkelt. *baiat ?*), Mid. Welsh *boet* (G. C. 559) seem optatival forms, the latter with a primary ending. The *ō* in sg. 3 and pl. 1, 2, 3 represents an Old-Celtic *ā*. Thus *bō*=*bāt*, Ir. *bā*. In the Cornish *bo-va* from *bā-eve* we have the reduplicated pronoun *ev-e*(*v*)=an Old-Welsh *em-em*, where *em*, urkelt. *imo*, is the Skr. *ima*, which occurs only in the acc. sg. and nom. and acc. dual and plural. The Br. *bihet* (urkelt. *baseto*) seems an s-aorist, the intervocalic *s* regularly becoming *h*. Cf. Skr. forms like *dhāsatha* (Whitney, § 893).

In the imperative the only form which can be certainly referred to √*ba* is *boet* (sit), identical with the *boet* of the injunctive.

[1] In [*h*]*dn-bīic guell* (gl. aue) G.C. 1063. Prof. Bühler compares for the agglutination the Kāçmīrī *tse chhukh* (thou art), *gatchakh* (thou goest).

[2] Compare *chwī* (vos), urkelt. *svīs*, Ir. *-si* : *chwaer* (soror), urkelt. *svesōr*, Ir. *siūr* and *fiūr* : *chwech* (sex), urkelt. *sveks*, Ir. *sēs-* and *fēs-* (in *mōr-sēsur*, *mōr-fēsur*), *chwant* (desiderium), urkelt. *svandta*, Ir. *sant* (√*svand* in (σF)ανδάνω), *chwerw* (amarus), urkelt. *svervo-s*, Ir. *serb* (i.e. *serv*). Rhŷs (Early Britain, 301) has cautioned us not to confound this Welsh *chw* from *sv* with Welsh *chw* from *scv*= Ir. *sc*. E.g. *chwalu* (dispergere, dissipare), Ir. *scailim* (whence the Lowland Scotch to *scale*): *chwedl* (tale), urkelt. *scvetlo-n*, Ir. *scēl* : *chwydu* (to vomit), Ir. *scithim*, urkelt. *scvetāmi* : *cy-chwyn* (to start), Ir. *scinnim* : *chwyfio* (to move), Ir. *scibiud*.

[3] *hac-bui* (gl. excutiendus erit) G.C. 1056.

Secondary Present.

Sg. *bewn*,	Corn. *ben*,	Br. *benn*[1]	1. pl. *beym*,	Corn. *ben*, Br. *bem-p*
	Corn. *bes*,	Br. *bes*	2. „	Corn. *beugh*, Br. *bech*
bei,	Corn. *be*,	Br. *be*	3. „	Corn. *bens*, Br. *bent*.

Secondary Future.

Sg. Br. *bihenn*	1. pl.	**bihem-p*
bihes	2. „	**bihech*
bihe	3. „	*bi*[*h*]*ent*

√*ba* is compounded with the prepositions *com-ar* (W. *cyf-ar*) and *tu-ar* (W. *dar*), and with the verbal stems *ad*(*g*)*na*, *gwydd* (Corn. *goth*, Br. *gouz*, urkelt. *vida*) and *pieu*.

II. BEN.

I do not think that, as a verb, this root is ever found in Irish uncompounded. The following instances of its simple form, which I quoted in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxviii. 82, now seem to me to belong to *benim* (I strike), √*bhen*:

ss-pret. sg. 3, *benais* [MS. *ben*ꝫ] *a digbail rib, gan mo comairlisi do denam* (the loss caused by it, [scil.] not performing my counsel, has struck against you) Glenn Masáin MS. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, p. 7, col. 1:

passive pres. indic. sg. 3, *benair fri-cach n-ae an-dēde-se* (this pair [of attributes 'generalis et specialis'] is struck against, attributed to, each of them), Sg. 28ᵇ 8.

But it is frequently found compounded with prepositions, and then has often (e.g. *-tésban* 'de-est,' *-tórban* 'prod-est') merely the meaning of a verb substantive. Thus:

cēt- secondary pres. sg. 3, *no-chetfanad* (sentiebat), Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6ᵇ 1.

con-cēt: pres. indic. sg. 2: *lase ɔcḗitbani* (cum consentis): *cot-cēt*: pres. indic. sg. 2, *cotchḗtbanam*.

de-ru: pres. indic. sg. 3, *ni-dérban*, St. Paul II. 13.

[1] Here, as in the corresponding tense and person in Irish, the double *n* seems due to the primeval accent. *Benn* is urkelt. *beúni*, just as in Irish *binn* (for *beinn*) is urkelt. *beńi*. In each case the pretonic root-vowel is weakened to *e*.

for: pres. indic. pl. 3, *is i-récomarc fórbanait a-rénda* (its finals end in a dissyllable), BB. cited by Atkinson, Irish Metric, p. 28. Pass. pres. sg. 3, *fórbanar*, Ir. Texte, p. 567: but *forbantar*, H. 2. 17, p. 134[a]: pret. sg. 3, *ro-fórbanad*, Ir. Texte, p. 567.

for (aspirating) = *ὑπερη*, *s-upra*: pres. indic. sg. 1, *forfiun* (gl. anclo), sg. 3, *forfén*, Ml. 64[c], pass. pres. indic. sg. 3, *forfénar*, Ir. Texte, p. 567.

tu-ess: pres. indic. pl. 3, *tésbanat* (deficiunt), Wb. 11[d], *nī-tés-banat*, Pr. Cr. 62[a].

tu-ru: pres. indic. sg. 3, *nī-tórban* (non prodest), Wb. 12[b].

tu-ru-ru: pres. indic. pl. 73, *durorbanat* (gl. prosunt), Ml. 43[b] 5.

It will have been observed that, in all these forms, when the root-vowel has only the grave accent (nebenton), it becomes *a*. So in Latin, as Mr. Wharton has pointed out (*Academy*, Jan. 24, 1885, p. 67), a radical *e* when pretonic often becomes *a*.

√*ben* seems to occur uncompounded in the case of several nouns. Thus: *esbatu*, gen. *a-esbatad* (gl. inutilitatis suae), Ml. cited G. C. 869, 870, urkelt. *exbéntōt-s*, *bḗimm* (iter), urkelt. *benmén*,[1] where the *e* of the pretonic syllable has remained intact, owing, perhaps, to the slender vowel of

[1] That this and the other neuter stems in *men* (G.C. 268–270) were originally accented on the suffix seems clear from the reduplication of the *n* in *dnmann* (nomina), urkelt. *enména*, *cémenn* (leg. *cḗmmenn*) 'passuum,' urkelt. *cengména*, *drómmann* 'terga,' urkelt. *drosména* [cf. Lat. *dorsum*], *lḗmend* 'saltus,' leg. *lḗmmenn*, urkelt. *vlengména*. The difference in this respect from Skr. (Whitney, § 1168) is remarkable. So in *Hḗrenn*, *Hḗrinn* (Hiberniae), *Fortrenn* (Verturiōnos ?), *lénn* (mantle), *ólann* (wool), *sálann* (salt), *as-lénnim* (gl. ceno), *srénnim* (gl. sterto) the double *n* seems due to the primeval accent: *Iveryón-os* (W. *Iwerddon*), *lína* (cf. Gaulish λαῖνα), *volána* (W. *gwlan*), *saláno-s*. So in the loan-words *echtrdinn*, *cúcenn*, *múlenn*, *masculinni*, Sg. 67[a], 17 from *extrāneus*, *coquḗna*, *molḗna*, *masculḗni*, words which tend to prove that the accent did not retreat to the first syllable until after these words had been borrowed, *i.e.* until after Christianity had been introduced into Ireland. This accentual *n* (if I may use the expression) occurs also in Gaulish, e.g. *Gobánni-cnos* to be connected with Ir. *góba* (faber), gen. *góbann*, originally accented like Skr. *ukṣán*, *vibhván* and cognate (according to Windisch) with Gr. *γο-μ-φόσ*. Perhaps also in *Lemánno-s*, *Cebénna* and *Ardvénna*. So in Old-Welsh *corsenn* (gl. arundo), urkelt. *curacastína* (Ir. *curchas*) and Old-Cornish *elinn* (novacula), urkelt. *altína*, and the loan-word *fruinn* = *frḗnum*.

the suffix. *Bét* 'eine unverständige oder unrechte That' (Windisch, O'Clery's *bét* .i. *gníomh*, deed) may also represent an urkelt. *bénto-s*, a passive participle of *ben*, accented (seemingly) on the root, not (as in Gr. and Skr.) on the suffix.

I have not found this root in the British languages, except in *bones* (*bonas*), one of the two Cornish forms of the infinitive of the verb substantive. The derivative ending (urkelt. *á-tu*) is the same as that of *kerthes*, Beunans Meriasek, 543, 627 (=W. *cerdet*, pergere), *kerhes* 954, *powes* 1015, *kemeras* (=W. *cymryt* sumere, Br. *quemeret*), *gwelas* (=W. *gwelet*, videre, Br. *guelet*)—*t* in inlaut and auslaut regularly becoming *s* in Cornish. *Bones* occurs compounded with the prep. *de* (Ir. *tú*, *do*) in *de-vones* (venire), G. C. 577. Here in the pretonic syllable the root-vowel *e* has become *o*.

III. BĪV.

The forms belonging to this root often retain their original meaning, 'to live,' and, unless when used as mere copulas, are accentuated like ordinary verbs. Verse proves that in several cases (*bía* Fél. Ep. 168, *bías* March 13, *biait* prol. 308, *biasu hi pein*, LU. 115), they are dissyllabic. This alone would make one doubt Windisch's theory as to their origin from √*bu*; but the form *biuu-sa*, Wb. 16[d], where the first *u* is a vocalised *v*, and the second *u* is the representative of the urkelt. *ō* in **bívō*=Lat. *vīvo*, seems to render this theory impossible.

Present indicative active.

Sg. *bīuu, bíu, bīim*[1]	1. pl.	*bímmi, -bíam*
bī	2. „	**bíthe, -bíth*
bíid, bíth, bíd	3. „	*bīit, bīet*[2]
-bīi, -bí, pí		*-bíat*
rel. *bīis, bís*		rel. *bíte.*

The conjunct form of sg. 3 aspirates (*ni-bi chon-dumu do-de[g]gnīmaib*, Ml. 35[d] 17), and must therefore have early lost its final *t*.

[1] *biim il-lepaid immalle fri rīg* (I am in bed along with a king), LL. 187[a].
[2] *biet da atarcud and*, Sg. 198[b] 6.

Injunctive.

Sg. *bēu*,[1] *bḗo*,[2] *-bbḗo*,[3] *bī́amm*	1 pl.	**bḗmmi, -bīamm*
bḗ, bī[4]	2 „	**bḗithe, *-bḗid, -bī́d*[6]
bḗith / *-bēe, -bē, bīa*[5]	3 „	**bīait, *bēit* / **-bīat, *-bēt.*

Secondary Present.

Sg. *bī́inn*	1. pl.	*-bī́mmis*
bī́th[7]	3. „	*bī́tis.*

I have not found sg. 2 or pl. 2.

Future.

Sg. *bī́a-sa, bḗ*[8]	1. pl.	*-pī́am*
bī́ae, bī́a[9]	2. „	*-bī́eid, -bī́ed*
bī́aid,[10] *bī́eid, bī́ed* / *-bē, -bīa, -pīa* / rel. *bī́as*[11]	3. „	*bīait*,[12] *bī́eit, bī́et* / *-bīat, -pīat* / rel. *bḗte, bḗite.*

[1] *cid in-imnid, cid hi-socumail beusa*, Ml. 53ᵇ 8.

[2] *cēn mbéo-sa for nim*, Rawl. B. 13ᵇ 2. Hence the Mid.-Ir. *bḗo-mm* with suffixed pronoun, Ir. Texte, p. 391.

[3] *ro-bbeo-sa fort-lā́imsiu* (may I be at Thy hand) Fēl. prol. 273 (Laud 610).

[4] *gúid iar-fī́rdul cia-bḗ hi-tóss im-dilgud dot-immarboss* (though thou be in silence, pray in a true way for forgiveness of thy sins). Saltair, 1607, 1608. In Saltair 2035 we find *dirsan . . . . nach-bī́siu fri-cḗte i-fūs* (alas, that thou art not at market here), *erich coro-bī im suidhi se*, Ir. Texte, ii. p. 139.

[5] *co-ni-bbē* Sg. 199ᵇ 4, *ro-bbē* 169ᵃ 1 (where the *bb* seems due to the accent): *am-bénnacht ron-bī́a* (may we have their blessing), Fēl. Jan. 13.

[6] *na-bī́d ū́amnaig* (be ye not timid), Saltair 4830.

[7] *ro-m-bī́th óroit let, a Maire!* LH. 19ᵇ (Goid.² 148). This occurs with a suffixed pronoun, *bītho-m-sa*, but I have here mislaid my reference.

[8] In Middle Irish a deponential *bīar* occurs: *bīar fūiridhe dano ic ernaidhe th' aithisce*, H. 2. 17, p. 128ᵇ.

[9] *ba-tuicse amal-bī́ae . . . . co-rī́ae int-úsce do-brā́gait* (it is optional how thou shalt abide until the water shall reach thy neck), Saltair 1599. *nocebīá nacḗin . . . . súnn i-pḗin darmḗssese* (thou shalt not be long here in pain after me), Saltair 2043.

[10] *bī́aid cā́ch dī́b ina-thégdais* (each of them shall abide in his dwelling), Saltair 1952, and see ibid. 5859, 6255, 8201, 8202.

[11] *cach-nṓeb bṓi, fil, bī́as* (every saint who has been, who is, who shall be) Fēl. Ep. 289 (Rawl. B. 512), where the verse proves that *bī́as* is not only dissyllabic, but accented on the penult. So in the line *is barr oir bias fort chind*, LU. 131ᵇ. In prose: *dobḗrthar dī́yal for-cech-ráin[n] pectha bī́as léu* (vengeance will be inflicted on every portion of sin which they shall have), Ml. 24ᶜ 2, *cindas bias*, Sg. 40ᵃ 15.

[12] *bī́ait fōt . . . . áirbi imdai árchaṅgel* (abundant hosts of archangels will be under thee), Saltair 835.

With infixed pronouns are made forms expressing 'habebo' and 'non habebo.' Thus: sg. 1, *manim-bē sēt sírhettla* (unless I shall have the way of long penitence), Saltair 2086: sg. 2, *nod-bia* (leg. *notbīa*) *mo sochraitesea*, H. 2. 17, p. 129ᵃ: *rot-bīa-grād, rot-bía ónōir* (thou shalt have rank, thou shalt have honour), Saltair 3354: *nit-bía . . . rígdomna mác nIsrael* (thou shalt not have a crownprince of the children of Israel), ibid. 6007: with pl. nom. *rot-bíat limm áinige* (thou shalt have honours with me), ibid. 5845, sg. 3, *rom-bia máo . . . . diam-ba cómainm Séth* (he shall have a son, whose name shall be Seth), better *rambīa* 4175, *rodṁbīa ném* (he shall have heaven), ibid. 811. Pl. 2, *nocho-for-bía áirchru bíid no étaig* (ye shall not have perishing of food or raiment), ibid. 4062.

With suffixed pronouns we find in Middle-Irish the forms *bia-t aithrech, a Guaire* (thou wilt be repentant, O Guaire), LU. 116ᵃ, *biatsa*, LB. 205ᵇ, l. 43: *is he forácaib Patraic ina churp, ocus bieis* [*bies*, Eg. 93] *ann cubrath* (he it is whom P. left in his body, and he will live therein till Doom), Rawl. B. 512, fol. 26ᵃ 2, where the suffixed *s* seems identical with the suffixed *s* in *leis*, etc.

Secondary Future.

The only person of which I have found examples is sg. 3, *Rothairṅger*[*t*] *d 'Abram . . . . ram-bíad tír bithdíless* (he promised to Abraham that he should have land ever his own), Saltair 2792.

Perfect.

Of this tense I have only found sg. 3 and pl. 3. Sg. 3, *ro-bbí*, Sg. 45ᵇ 1 (where the *bb* is due either to reduplication[1] or to the accent): Pl. 3, *ro-béotar*, LU. 62ᵃ. When the *bī* is post-tonic, it becomes *bi* (*bai*), *be* (*bae*). Thus: *ni rúbi*, Wb. 11ᶜ, v. 11= *nī-rúbai*, Sg. 7ᵈ 3; Ml. 20ᵈ 4; *ni-róbe*, Wb. 18ᵈ 2=*nī rábae*, Ml. 28ᵈ. So in Middle-Irish: *ō na rábi ifus in-láech* (since the hero, Potiphar, was not at home), Saltair 3194; *mind i-rábi tálland dérgōir* (a diadem wherein was a talent of red gold), ibid. 6728; *co rábi in-rianfeth róblaith* (so that the sea-breeze was very gentle), ibid. 7616. Pl. 3, '*indat-esíde asberat*,' *or*

[1] *bbī* = Skr. *jîjîva*.

Cuchulainn, 'nách móo fil do Ultaib imbethaid oldás robétarsom dib?" ("Are those," saith C., "they of whom men say that there is no more of the Ultonians alive than have lived, —(i.e. got their lives,—from them?"), LU. 62a,[a] l. 16. Passive pret. sg. *hu rubíth a nél impe* (when its cloud was around it, the ark), Ml. 82[d] 11. Verbal nouns: *bíth, bíthiu.*[1]

Of these forms the most remarkable is the injunctive sg. 1 *bíam* (W. *bwyf*), which is used as a future, and which occurs in Ultán's hymn to Brígit, l. 8: *Bíam-sóer cech-inbaid lamnóib do-Láignib* (I shall be safe always with my saint of Leinster), in the Félire, Ep. 165 (Laud 610): *Bíam-ráith-sa dia-ráithsium nod-géba cachdía* (I will be surety for the security of him who shall repeat it every day), and in LU. 61[a], *bíam cú-sa do imdegail do chethra* (I will be a hound to protect thy cattle). This is a middle-form = Gr. *βείομαι* (*τί βείομαι* why should I live any more? Iliad XXII. 431). The fut. sg. 2 *bíae* is=Gr. *βέῃ*, Iliad *Ω* 131. As to the preterite, the pl. *bíat* points to an urkelt. *bívesonto* with middle-ending.

This root is compounded with the following prepositions:

ar: pret. sg. 3; *hóre ari-n-ro-be* (quia nobis superfuit), Wb. 29[d]: Secondary pres. sg. 3; *doáirchechain Scathach do iarum anni ari-dm-biad* (S. then foretold to him what should remain for him), Rawl. B. 512, fo. 117 b. 1.

ar-a: pres. indic. sg. 3 *arabí*, Ir. Texte, p. 262, l. 22, *arabí* .i. *is ferr*, O'Dav. Secondary pres. pl. 3, *arabítis* (gl. instabant), Ml. 43[d] 15.

cit-a: pres. indic. sg. 3, *intan cita-m-bé* (cum sentit), Ml. 36[b], pl. 3, *cita-bíat iarum in-cnámai in-fóchaid* (sentiunt postea ossa tribulationem), Ml. 22[d], *cita-bíat chlúasa* (sentiunt aures), Sg. 3[a] 1: injunct. sg. 3, *cita-m-bé* (gl. sapere), Ml. 36[b]. Secondary pres. sg. 1, *ceta-biinn* (gl. sapiebam), Wb. 12[c], *cita-m-bénn* (gl. cum primum sapere uolui), Ml. 44[c].

etar: pret. sg. 3, *ond áes tuaithe eter-ar-ro-bæ* (from the laymen among whom he lived, interfuit), Wb. 28[b]. Secondary pres. sg. 3: *asbert side, in eterbíad a gnímu acht tised doib co és ferdetad? Asbert cách, eter-da-biad,* LU. 60[b].

[1] These occur only in the nominal prepositions *fo-bíth(n), fo-bíthin* 'propter,' G.C. 659.

fo: *fo-m-bia* (gl. vitiare), *i.e.* quod vitabit, vitiet, Ml. 15ª 11.

fo-ro: pres. indic. pl. 3, *forfiat son* (perficiant hoc), Ml. 23ª 19.

for: inj. pl. 3, *for don ittge Brítge bét* (may Brigit's prayers be upon us!), Brocc. h. 89, a curious instance of tmesis,[1] Fut. sg. 3, *issed áinm forbía*[2] *cobráth* (it is a name that will abide for ever), Ir. Texte, p. 567 (where it is placed under the verb *forbenim*), with infixed relative: *in-cechúair for-m-bía farn-dáil úaimm dúib* ([it is] at every hour that ye shall have your share from me), Saltair 3511. Secondary pres. sg. 3, *forbīad a hainm Herind cobrath*, (that his name would abide in Ireland for ever), LU. 61ª.

imb (*in*?): fut. sg. 2: *im-bé eirr oengaile* (thou wilt be a champion of duelling), LU. p. 125, l. 13.

remi: *boaire remibī boairechaibh* (a cowchief that takes precedence of cowchiefs), Laws, iv. 316, l. 5.

tu-for: fut. pl. 3, *dofórbīat* (gl. peruenire), Ml. 27ª 10.

In the British verb substantive the Welsh injunctive sg. 1 *bwyf*, Corn. *beyf*, is=Ir. *biam*, Gr. *βείομαι*. The Cornish injunctive sg. 2 (*bíic*[*h*], *bey*, *by*), pl. 1 (*byyn*, *beyn*, *been*), 2 (*byugh*, *beugh*), 3 (*byns*) also come from √*bīv*, the original long *ī* being represented by *y* and *e* as in *scryfis*, *gwyr*, *gwyn*, *my*, but also *screfys*, *me*. The Welsh imperative sg. 3 *bit*, pl. *bint*, correspond to the Ir. *bíith*, **bíat*=Skr. *gívatu*, *gívantu*. Lastly, Cornish makes from this root a secondary preterite as follows:

[1] So *as rúna rindid* for *ass-r-índid rúna*, Fēl. Jan. 12 (cf. *as rindid*, gl. retulit, Ml. 58ª 8): *cia ro cátha clói* for *cia roclói cátha*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 25ª 2. *ro ór nais mdchad* for *romdchad ór más*, O'Dav. s.v. Mas (Mac Firbis' copy). Prof. Thurneysen (Rev. Celt. vi. 139 note) has noticed another tmesis in Sg. 204ª b *de-bi áth nom Choimdiu cóima*, which he renders correctly by "Que le Seigneur me préserve du jugement!" But I venture to think that this excellent Celtologue is wrong in referring the verb *cóima* to *conóim* 'servo,' √*av*. The *m* would then be unaccountable. *Cóima* stands (quite regularly) for *cúm-ema*, and is the reduplicated ā-injunctive of *con-émim*, √*yam*. This root occurs in composition also with the prepositions *air-fu*, *di* and *tu* (*arfóimim*, *dítiu*=**di-yami-tion*, and *do-émim*). In *cóima* (ex *cúmemā*) the accent is on the first syllable, because *cóima* is here used as an imperative (the verbal vocative). So when the *s*-injunctive is used as an imperative, the accent is on the first or only syllable, e.g. *cómeir* from *conérgim*, *túir* from *doúriccim*.

[2] In *forbía lōg farn-ímarbos* (ye shall have the reward of your sins), Saltair 1148, and *forbía forn-éittire féin* (ye shall have your own hostage), ibid. 3503, *forbía* stands for *for-b-bía*, where the first *b* represents the infixed pronoun of the second person plural.

Sg. *byen, bean,*		1. pl. **byen*
byes		2. „ *byeugh*
bye, bya, bea	}	3. „ **byens*
re-bye, re-bee, re-bea	}	

√*bıv* occurs in composition with the prep. *han* (= Skr. *sam* and the verbal root *gwydd* (urkelt. *vid* to know). Thus *henpych gwell*=O.-Corn. [*h*]*an-bhic*[*h*] *guell* (valeas melius): *kymeint ac a wypwyfi* (tantum quantum ego scio, i.e. *gwyddbwyf*), G. C. 574.

IV. BU.

In Irish, as may be expected, no present is formed from this root. Here the recent remarks of Prof. Alfred Ludwig [1] may usefully be quoted: Anders steht es mit der verbalwurzel *bhû*. Bei diser ist es klar und unzweifelhaft, dass ihre verwendung als wurzel für 'sein' in der bedeutung des wachsens, als der ältern, ihren grund hat. 'Gewachsen sein' ward als ein 'sein' schlechthin aufgefaszt, und 'wachsen' als ein 'werden' eine vorbereitung zu einem (relativen) 'sein.' Daher finden wir in den beiden ältesten sprachfamilien kein praesens dises verbs in der bedeutung sein: griech. *φύω*, nach der weise diser sprache, die die einfachen wurzeln transitiv faszt, bedeutet: ich lasze wachsen (vgl. eng. cottongrower), und erst *πέφυκα* und aor. *ἔφυν* werden als verba des seins verwendet, selbst dise jedoch fast nur poetisch. Eine erinnerung an das stadium der concreten bedeutung hat das ältere Sanskrt darin bewart, dasz es *bhû* im sinne von 'gedeihen, guten fortgang haben' (im gegensatz zu *parâ-bhû* wie deutsch wësan, farwësan) ganz gewönlich verwendet, obwol daneben 'bhavati,' etc., völlig einem 'asti,' er ist, gleichbedeutend als regelmäszig vorkommt, ja 'asti' u. a. durch die analogen formen von *bhû* oft glossiert wird. So zeigt gegenüber dem griech. *φύσις*, dessen bedeutung ganz allgemein ist, das entsprechende Ssk. *bhûtiḥ* die anwendung im sinne 'trefliche beschaffenheit' dasz nämlich ein ding das vollkomen geworden ist, was es seiner natur nach

[1] Die mit *b*- beginnenden formen des verbum substantivum in den germanischen sprachen, aus den Sitzungsberichten der königl. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. For a loan of this brochure I am indebted to Prof. Max Müller.

werden sollte. Auch der italische sprachstamm, obwol *fu-* dort schon ganz abstracte bedeutung erlangt, zeigt kein präsens, da *fuam*, *fuiam* als aorist zu faszen ist.

In Irish, the only quotable formations from this root are (so far as I know) the following:

Pret. sg. 1, *ba samlaid sain rosnaus[s]a in farrci co mbói isin phurt* (it was thus I swam the sea till I was biding in the port), LU. 114[b], 30. Sg. 3, *bái*, *bói*, *bóe* (Saltair 3169), *bái*, rel. *bóie*. Here *būi* and its variants are=Skr. *babhūva*, and the relative *bóie* is=*bói*+*-e*, urkelt. *yó*=Skr. *yát*, the nom. and acc. sg. neut. of *yás*.

Aorist sg. 3, *-bu*,[1] *-bo*, *-pu*, *-po*, pl. 1 *ro-bumar*, Ml. 43[b] 6, *ro-bummar* Ml. 62[d] 5, *-bommar*. Here *bu* is = Skr. *a-bhūt*, and *buma-r*, *bummar*, *bomma-r* (with a deponential ending) is =Skr. *a-bhūma*.

As *bu* (*bo*) aspirates (*nipu ṡirsan* LL. 252[a], *com-bo-chomsolus*, FB. 2, *ropo thol*, G. C. 181), it must at an early period have lost its final *t*. Being always used as a mere copula, *bu*, of course, is toneless. Thus: *gor-bo-mál cach-máige móir Iósep* (so that Joseph was lord of every great plain), Saltair 3431, where note also that the *c* of the toneless *co* has sunk to *g*: *nīr-bu dín[n]lim la-Día ndil* (it was not despicable in dear God's eyes, lit. apud Deum carum), Saltair 4207: *nirbo dréchrothail dérmār* (it was not . . . enormous), ibid. 4226.

Fut. sg. 3, *bud amlaid so di*diu *dognēthi ernaigthi* (it will be thus, then, that ye will make prayer), L.B. cited O'Don. Gr. 442, in form=Skr. *bhavate* third sg. pres. indic. middle.

Passive pret. sg. 3, *both*, *roboth*, Ir. Texte, p. 398.

Inf. *buith*. This might possibly be referred to the root *ba*. But as the gen. sg. of the compound *cētbuith* is *cētbutho*, Sg. 25[b] 7, we may safely equate it with the Gr. *φύσις* from *φύτις*.

Future infinitive *both*: *bóth dún i-fóchith* (futuros esse nos in tribulatione), sg. gen. *buthe*, Ml. 39[a] 5; *buithe*, Ml. 53[d] 15, acc. *buit*, Ml. 46[c] 10, 47[c] 8, dat. *do buith*, Ml. 46[c] 19. As

[1] In *nī-bbu* (non fuit) Sg. 6[a] 9 the *bb* are due to the primeval accent. So perhaps in the perf. *ro-bbói* Sg. 178[b] 4; but here the *bb* may represent the old reduplication. Prof. Zimmer "lässt *robu* aus *robói* entstehen, ein mir unbekannter lautübergang," Thurneysen, Deutsche Litteraturz. No. 32, col. 1162. The form *nirbuo*, Ml. 88[b] 4, seems a mistake for *nirbo*.

the pres. sg. 1, when suffixed to other verbs, expresses the future, so this verbal noun (*both*, urkelt. *buta*, W. *bot*, Corn. *bos*, Br. *bout*), formed from the present stem, also expresses the future.

Future participle passive *buthi*, *buithi*, urkelt. *butívo-s*, *ba buthi*, Ml. 29ª 8. This, like all other such participles, is to be compared with Latin formations in *-tīvus*.

The preterite *bāi*, *bōe*, with the help of pronouns and negative particles, expresses 'habui' and 'non habui.' Thus: *nī-m-bái* (=*nī-n-b.*) *sámāi* [leg. *sámai*] *la-Séphē* (he had no rest as to Ziphaei), Saltair 6384; *nímbbái súidi sáigthi sís ónd áidchi dolúid Dávīd* (from the night on which D. went he, Saul, had not the peace of a sought seat), ibid. 6399; *nisnbái* [MS. *nirnbai*] *bin*[1] (he had no sin), ibid. 3279: plural *nisnbóe sáere no sáergrad* (they had neither freedom nor free rank), ibid. 3662; *rosnbái cénnach fochétōir* (they forthwith had buying), ibid. 3544; *nisglúais, rosnbái inna-táss fri-ráe dā-láthi* (it, the sun, moved not itself, they had it silent—lit. in its silence—for the space of two days), ibid. 5107.

The *b* of the 1 sg. subjoined forms the so-called b-futures (e.g. *ríccub*, *forchánub*, *béndachub*, *dorímiub*) stands for a prehistoric *-bu*, *-bō*=Lat. *-bo*.

The root *bu* occurs compounded with *cēt* in the verbal noun *cētbuith*, gen. *cētbutho*, p. 239, supra.

In the British languages the formations from √*bu* are more numerous. Thus:

Present and Future.

Sg. *bydaf*, Corn. *byzaf*, Br. *bezaf*	1. pl. *bydwn*, Corn. *byzyn*, Br. **bezom-p*
bydy, Corn. *byzyth*, Br. **bezez*	2. pl. *bydwch*, Corn. *byzeugh*, Br. **bezit*
byd,[2] Corn. *byth*, Br. *bez*	3. pl. *bydant*, Corn. *byzons*, Br. **bezont*.

These forms all come from an urkelt. stem *buya*, identical with the stem of Lat. *fīo*, the *y* (according to Rhŷs' fortunate discovery) regularly becoming *d*. From the same stem the

[1] acc. pl. *finn*, Sanct. h. 7. The double anlaut, *b*, *f*, points to an urkelt. stem *svíni*.
[2] O.-Welsh *bīd* in *nac* [*h*]*en-bid* (gl. nulla residit Juv., lit. 'non erit' (*henfydd*).

Breton makes an injunctive which also serves as a future. Welsh has a relic of this formation in sg. 1 and 3, and Cornish has a trace of it in pl. 2, where Breton uses an s-aorist *bihet*.

Injunctive.

Sg. *bydif*,[1]	Br. *bezif, bizif*	1. pl.	Br. *bizim-p*
	Br. *bezi, bizi*,	2. pl.	*byddwch*, Corn. *bejough*
bydhawt,	Br. *bezo*	3. pl.	Br. *bezint, bizint.*

Imperative.

Sg. *byd*,	Corn. *byth*, Br. *bez*	2. pl.	*bydwch*, Corn. *bejough*
	Corn. *bejens*,[2] Br. *bezet*	3. pl.	Corn. *bejens*, Br. *bezent*.[3]

Preterite.

Sg. *buu-m, bum*,	Corn. *bū-f*	1. pl. *buam*,	Corn. *buen*,
buos-t,	Corn. *bus*	2. pl. *bua-wch*,	Corn. *bu-gh*,
bu,	Corn. *bue*, Br. *boue*	3. pl. *buant*,	Corn. *bons*,

we have obviously (though somewhat disguised by neoceltic agglutinated pronouns) the urkelt. *bouo, bouto, bouo*, pl. *bouimó, bouo, bouonto*=Skr. *(ba)bhūva, (ba)bhūtha, (ba)bhūva, (ba)bhūvimá, (ba)bhūva, babhūvus*; and the non-aspiration of *m* in the W. pl. 1 *buam* may be explained by supposing that in urkelt. *bouimó*, as in Skr. *babhūvimá*, the accent was on the person-ending).[4]

[1] Skene 184, 185, 187, 189, 190, 191; on the last page of the Book of Taliessin occurs (in a passage not read by Skene) *a minheu bydif* (Rhŷs).

[2] This and the other Cornish imperatives sg. 3, ending in *ens, ynz, ans* (G.C. 516) have not yet been explained. I suspect we have here a neoceltic agglutination (to the injunctive sg. 3) of the pronoun which we find suffixed in Ir. *trī-it, trem-it* (per eum), O'Clery's *treimhid*. The urkelt. stem of this pronoun may have been *enti* from *em-ti*.

[3] These represent an urkelt. *buydnt-u*, with suffixed *u*.

[4] This is the explanation of the unaspirated *m* (or double *m*) in the 1 pl. active of Irish verbs, and of double *m* in the 1 pl. of Irish deponents such as *intsam-lammar* (imitamur), *laimemmar* (audemus), *lase conas[r]lemmar-ni* (cum consulimus), Ml 18° 1. The *m* in urkeltisch here preceded an accented vowel, and was therefore left unaspirated or (what is the same thing) was doubled in writing. So we have *do-mmdthi*, Ml. 18° 7, *nī-mmḗrat* (non manebunt), Wb. 30°, *du-mmésar-sa* (gl. metibor), Ml. 78ª. *ro-mmébdatar*, LU. Ir. Texte 676, *do-mmémaid* LU. 19ᵇ. Thurneysen is perfectly right in saying (Rev. Celtique, vi. 145), "la consonne devant la voyelle accentuée n'est souvent pas aspirée, trop souvent pour que ce ne soit qu'une faute de scribe, tandis qu'après l'accent l'aspiration est presque toujours marquée." Therefore *always* in the British languages, and *originally* in Irish, the *m* of the first person sg. (=a toneless protoceltic *-mi*) was aspirated. The agreement here with Sanskrit accentuation is perfect.

Secondary Preterite.

Sg. *buasswn*, Br. *bisenn*,	1. pl.	Br. **bisem-p*
Br. *bises*,	2. pl.	Br. *bisech*
buassei, Br. *bise*	3. pl. *buassynt*,	Br. *bisent*.

Here *buass-wn*, *buassei*, *buassynt* are probably to be compared with Lat. *fuissem*, *fuisset*, *fuissent*.

Passive forms are Welsh *buwyt* ('man war'), *byddir*, inj. *bydder*, secondary pret. *buasid*. Cornish *beẓer* (*drethe may fether the wel*, O. 46). Breton *bezer*, part. pret. *bed*, *bezet*.

Verbal noun: Welsh *bot*, Corn. *bōs*, Br. *bout*, = *φύσις* from **φυτις*, and also *bezout*, *bezaf*, which latter forms, says Ebel, sometimes signify the future.

This root occurs in composition with the prepositions *ar-cant*[1] (W. *ar-gan*, in *arganvu* 'animadvertit,' O. Bret. *er-cent*), *com-ar* (W. *cyf-ar*), *tu-ar* (W. *dar*), *han* (Skr. *sam*), and *gor* (Ir. *for*, Gaul. *ver*, *ὑπέρ*). It is also compounded with the verbal stems *ad-(g)na*, Skr. *ǵnā*, and *gwydd* (Corn. *goth*, Br. *gouz*, Skr. *vid*). In Cornish we find it compounded also with *car*, *clew*, *dreyl*, *pieu*, *tal* (cf. Br. *talvout*), *ty* and *whyr* (Br. *hoar*).

V. ES.

Present indicative.

Sg. *iss* (*is*) 3. pl. *hit*,[2] *it*.

Here *iss* (O. Welsh *iss*, *is*) is = urkelt. *esti*, Skr. *ásti*, *ἐστί*, the *t* being assimilated, and *hit* (*it*) = urkelt. *senti*, Skr. *sánti*. A trace of the primeval final vowel of *it* is visible in the fact that it aspirates (*it chethir chēt*, G. C. 182). Both forms in Celtic are toneless proclitics. Hence the assimilation of the *t* in *esti*, and the change to *h*, and eventual loss of the *s* in *senti*.[3]

[1] Cf. the Gaulish coin-legend AR-CANTO-DAN(os), Rev. Celtique, i. 293.

[2] Saltair 195, 364, 4066. The *hit-s̄* in Sg. 45[b] 9, with the mark of length over *i*, seems a scribal error.

[3] So in the case of the toneless preposition and conjunction *amal*, urkelt. *samala*, as compared with the adjective *sámail*, and the adv. *sámlid*, urkelt. *sámalis*, *sámaliti*, Lat. *similis*, the *s* is dropped from the toneless syllable. So in the case of the toneless article *(s)ind* and relative pronoun *(s)an*. So in the case of initial *f* (*v*) : *sb-dilim*(bene nutrio) for *feb-dilim* : *olann* (wool), urkelt. *volâna* : *orddu* (thumb), urkelt. *vordō(n)s* √*vardh* : *remmad* (distortion), urkelt. *vrembâtu*, *vrengvâtu*, A.S. *wrencan* : *ess*, W. *ych* ('ox'), pl. *ychain*, urkelt. *vexón* = Skr. *ukshán* : *ar*, *or*, *ol* (inquit), √*ar* : *athach* (breeze), urkelt. *vâtâca*, √*vā* :

To express 'qui, quae, quod, cuius, est,' *as* (see infra) is generally used. But in Middle Irish we sometimes find *is*. Thus: *ní fuil d'fine Ádaim bén is férr délb ina-í* (of Adam's family there is no woman whose shape is better than hers), Glenn Masáin MS. 7ª; *tre-lár na cáthrach his Émath* (through the midst of the town which is Hamath), LB. 205ᵇ.

The gen. sg. and pl. of the relative pronoun is expressed by *issa*, later *assa*. Thus *issa* (gl. quorum), Ml. 90ᶜ 3.

The ordinary suffixed personal pronouns are appended to *iss*, and we thus get the forms *issum* (sum), *issot* (es), *isit* (sunt). After the conjunction *ūair* the toneless *i* is lost and we thus have *ōrsam héolach sét sénchais* (since I am a wise path of story), Saltair 1786. The independent personal pron. *sib* is appended to *it*, and we thus get *itsib* (estis, lit. sunt. vos), Wb. 19ᶜ.

When *iss* is preceded by the conjunction *ō*, we get the form *ōs* (ex quo est).[1]

When *iss* or *it* is preceded by either of the conjunctions *cē* (*cìa*), 'quamvis,' 'si,' and *ma* 'si,' the particle *u* (*o*) is generally suffixed. Thus *cēs-u*, *cīas-u* (quamvis sit hic, haec, hoc), *mass-u*,[2] *mass-o*[3] 'si est hic (haec, hoc'), pl. *mat-u*. In Breton, also, this particle is suffixed to *iss*, and we get, accordingly, the form *so* 'est,' G. C. 555, with loss of the toneless vowel. It appears to be identical with the *au*, *o* suffixed in pronominal forms like *d-áu*, *dóo* (ei), *occ-o* (apud eum), where the reflex of the Zend demonstrative pron. *ava*, Gr. *αὐ* in *αὐτός*, has long ago been recognized.

When *iss* is preceded by the demonstrative pronoun *saich*, *sech*, we get the formula *sechis* 'id est.'

lingim, urkelt. *vlengā́mi*, √*velg*; and the loan-words *espartain* from **fespertín* = *vespertína* and *Ulcūin* = *Vulcā́ni*. Here, as in the case of *cucenn* (coquína), *mulenn* (molína), we see that Latin loan-words must have been introduced into Ireland before the accent shifted to the first syllable.

[1] Ebel (G.C. 488) strangely refers to √*es* the emphatic pronominal formulae *os-mē*, *os-tū* (gl. tute, gl. tutemet), *os-nī*. They represent urkelt. *uxo-mē*, *uxo-tvā*, *uxo-nīs*, where *uxo* is cognate with *ὑψοῦ*, *ὕψι*. In Ir. *os-munud*, and in Gaul. *Uxxo-pillus*, Mommsen, Inscr. Conf. Helv. 222, 352, it seems to occur compounded with a noun. Urkelt. *cs* from *ps* is also, apparently, in W. *llachar* (gleaming, glittering), urkelt. *laxaro-s*, Ir. *lassair* (flame), urkelt. *laxarix*, Lit. *ląsnà* (flame).

[2] Corruptly *massa* in Middle Irish: *massa-thú*, Saltair 1139.

[3] *maso-fír*, Saltair 3497.

When *it* is preceded by the interrogative pron. *ce, ci*, we get the forms *cit, citnē* (a contraction of *c-it-ind-ē*), Wb. 6[a], G. C. 710, 711, and (in Middle-Irish) *citni*, Saltair 2347, a contraction of *c-it-ind-ī*.

To *iss* the toneless adverb *am* (urkelt. *sama*) is sometimes suffixed. We have accordingly, *n-iss-am* (not so is), *nisam-sin dúitsiu* (gl. non curaris), Ml. 44[b] 23.

This root *es* is generally compounded with the prep. *a*, which has been noticed above, p. 222, note 1. We thus have the following forms:

Present indicative.

Sg. *amm*		1. pl.	*ammi*[1]
ai,[2] *at*		2. „	*atib*,[3] *adib, atbar*[4]
as	3. „		*at*
rel. *asn*[5]			rel. *ata, atta, atan, atn*.[6]

This and (presumably) the enclitic *damm*, which will be considered immediately, are, so far as I know, the only instances in Old Irish of a compound verb having in the sg. 3 the primary ending. Here *amm*=*a-'smi* : *ai*=*a-'si* : *at*=*a-'si* plus *t*, a neoceltic agglutinated pronoun of sg. 2 : *as*[7] =*a-'sti*, with assimilated *t* : *ammi*=*a-'smési* where *-mési* is =the Vedic *masi* (Whitney, § 548) : *atib*=*at* (sunt) plus *sib* (=*svīs-svīs*, W. *chwichwi*) : *at*=*a-'sánto*, where *-ánto* is the Skr. secondary middle-ending *ánta* : *ate*=*at* plus a relative pronoun=Vedic *yā* for *yāni*; and, lastly, *atan* (*atn*)=*at* plus the relative pronoun (*s*)*a-n*, identical with the neuter article in the nom. and acc. sg.

[1] The transported *n* in the isolated *ammi*, *nḗulig* (sumus gnari), Wb. 14[d], is a scribal error.

[2] *cia do-ai-siu mac* (unto whom art thou son?), LL. 187[c] 31.

[3] *atib tṓg tréithfir* [leg. *tṓithfir*?] (ye are wretched feeble men), Saltair 7985. O'Clery, perhaps rightly, explains *tréith* by *aincolach* (ignorant).

[4] *atbar dḗsachtaig fen*, Alexander-Saga (LB.), ed. K. Meyer, § 70.

[5] *huare asn*-aquas, *nī* aqua, *tuic and*, Ml. 48[c] 19. *intan asn-ainm do-luc*, Ml. 48[d] 5. *asberat asn-dia cloine*, Ml. 21[c] 11. *an-asn-esngabthi*, 22[d] 9. *amal asn-arasc*, 55[a] 13. Now we can confidently correct the scribal error in Ml. 27[b] 13. Read *amal* [*as*]*nē dorigēni cechn-dḗil* (as it is He that made every element).

[6] *an-atn-acailsi* (gl. interpellati), Ml. 48[a] 10. *confitetar són ata-n-doini intain durochratar* (these know that they are human beings when they have fallen), Ml. 91[c] 18.

[7] This always aspirates *c* (e.g. *as-choimtig, as-chotarsne*, G.C. 182), and must, therefore, in protoceltic, have ended in a vowel.

This last form is not in the Gr. Celtica, p. 488, although it constantly occurs in the MSS., e.g. *it-sib atà-chómarpi A'bracham*, Wb. 19[c] : *ata-ṓa* (qui sunt minores) Sg. 30. 30[b]. 13 : *filus dáneu trecenēle mártre atta-lṓgmara le-Dī́a* (lit. sunt porro tria genera martyrii quae sunt pretiosa apud Deum) Cambrai homily : *ni-fil chúmtubairt ata n-anmman sidi* (non est dubium quin sint nomina haec) Sg. 154[b], where the *n* of the suffixed pronoun appears. So in *atan-gnī́mai* (quae sunt opera), Ml. 42[b]. 21, 23. Here we have the Celtic reflex of Skr. *ayám*. But the aspiration caused by *ata* in *ata-chomarpi*, Wb. 19[c], and the absence of the transported *n* in *ata-ōa*, Sg. 30[b], shows that in this form we have a suffixed pronoun which originally ended in a vowel.

All these forms seem proclitics. Thus in Fēl. prol. 60 : *at-ḗ cen[ā́]es már-som* (they are without age like himself, scil. Jesus), where *mar* stands for *immar*.

The root *es* also occurs compounded with the prepositions *tu-a*.

Present indicative.

Sg.	*-ta, -dam*[1]	1. pl. *-tam, taim-ne,*[4] *-dammit*[5]
	-dai, -da[2]	2. „ *-tad, -dad*
	-das[3]	3. „ *-tat, -dat, -dad*[6]
		rel. *-datae,*[7] *-date, -daite.*

These forms are referred by Ebel and Windisch to the root *tā* ; but the shortness of the vowel shows that this is wrong. Almost all seem enclitics. The *t* of the preposition, therefore, in most cases sank to *d*.

√*es* also occurs, though rarely, in composition with *in*.

[1] *dian-dam chondelc fritsu, a Dǽ, ni-ta ferr indaas cethir* (if I am compared with thee, O God, I am no better than a quadruped), Ml. 91[d] 8. *ni-dam dermatae[h], ni-dam buidech*, Ir. Texte, p. 800.

[2] *an-dai-siu, mad-da*, Ir. Texte, p. 800.

[3] So in Breton : *deux* (est). In the Cornish *mar-sūs* = Br. *mar-deux* (si sit), the former *s* is from the *t* of the prep. *tu*. So in *nyn-sūs* (non est), Br. *ne-deux*.

[4] Fēl. prol. 157, 161 : *in-bith trū́ag hi-tdimne : cid na-tire hi-tdimne.*

[5] *ol-dammit fadēssin* (quam sumus ipsi), LL. (I omitted to note the page and column).

[6] *ar ni-dat gleoir . . . . arm-beoil* (for our lips are not pure), Saltair 1611 : *ni-dat-tlaithi* (they are not tender), ibid. 1571. *lī́a nat-luibi for maigib* (more numerous than are—*nat* for *indat*—plants on plains), *ibid.* 935.

[7] *in datae* (quam sunt), Ml. 43[d] 17. A form with a suffixed nasal occurs in Ml. 44[b] 9 : *in-datm-briathra, indatm-bri[a]thra.*

Thus: pres. indic. sg. 1, *ni-rágsa dó ṫair im-siniu hi-tuistigud* (I will not go to him, for I am elder in generation), Saltair 1848; sg. 2, *a Iṓb, it fóimsid fri-sí́d* (O Joab, thou art a . . . . as to peace), ibid. 6969. Compare *ἔνειμι, insum.*

Lastly, √*es* is compounded with *ro*: Thus: *rosat* (=*roiss* +*at*) *glḗchert fri-ar-lānles* (thou art purely right for our full benefit), Saltair 3574. *Carsat* (what hast thou? lit. quid est tibi?): *Carsat cómairle sin, á ingen?* (what is that counsel which thou hast, O girl?), Glenn Massāin MS. p. 3, col. 2= *carsat comairle sin, a rīgan* (O queen), ibid. p. 4, col. 1. Compare *πρόειμι*, Il. A. 70, Lat. *prosum.*

In the British languages √*es* has yielded the following forms: *iss* (est), Martianus Capella 4. a. b, *is.* With suffixed pron. *iss-id*, ibid. 43. b. b.: Juvencus 81. Mid. Welsh *sit* (leg. *sid*), now *sydd, ys-ef* and *'sef* 'that is.' Br. *so* (est)= *iss-u.* With forms of √*i*: *ys-oed, ys-yd-ynt.* Compounded with the prep. *a*: *oes=a-iss*, Corn. *eus* (*us, es*), Br. *eux.* With pronouns (actually or originally) suffixed to the verbal prefix *a* are made forms expressing 'habeo.'

Sg. Br.	*a-m-eux,*	Corn. *a-m-b-us*	1. pl. Br. *honn-eux,*
Br.	*e-z-eux,*	Corn. *'th-us*	2. pl. Br. *hoz-eux,* Corn. *as-bus*
Br. msc. *en-dev-eux,* fem. *he-dev-eux.*		Corn. *an-ǵev-es*	3. pl. Br. *ho-dev-eux*

Here in the Corn. sg. 1 and pl. 2 there is a combination of √*bu* and √*es*, just as in Welsh there is a combination of √*es* and √*i* in *ys-oed, ys-yd-ynt.* In sg. 3 we have combinations of the pronoun *am* with two other pronouns *hen-* (Ir. *sen, sin*) and *he* (Ir. *sī*). This pron. *am*, suffixed to the prep. *tu*, occurs also in pl. 3, combined with the pron. *ho*= Old Latin *sos*, Ir. *so* in *etarru=etar-su, forru=for-su, airriu= air-su, intiu=ind-su, seccu=sech-su.* This combination of *tu* with the pronoun *am* is also found (with the initial of the preposition medialised) in Old-Welsh *rac-d-am* (gl. sibi), Juv. 67, urkelt. (*p*)*ranc-tu-amō.* Its stem would be in urkeltisch *amo*=Skr. *áma-s* 'he,' which Whitney (§ 503) says occurs in a formula in the Atharvaveda. In pl. 1, the *h* (if not a

mere scribal stupidity) was inserted to prevent hiatus: *h-onneux* for *a-onneus*, where *onn*, Ir. *unn* (G. C. 333), urkelt. *onsnō* (*onsnū*, *onnū*) seems the dat. pl. of the stem *n̥sme* and is =the Skr. instrumental *asmā́*, later *asmā́bhis*.[1] Here Celtic *n* corresponds with Skr. *m* as in Welsh *my-n* (meus)=Skr. *máma* (O. Bactr. *mana*, O. Bulg. *mene*).

VI. GAB.

In protoceltic there seem to have been two roots, *CAB* and *GAB*. To the former belong several words in the British languages, which begin with *c*, e.g. W. *caffael* (adipisci), *cahel*, *cael*, Br. *cafout*, Corn. *cafos*. In Gothic the cognate word (*haban*) begins with *h*. To the other root *GAB* belong the Irish *gabaim*, *gabāil*=the Welsh *gafael* 'prehensio,' the Old-Irish verbal forms *im-caib*, *im-cabthi*, *in-cēbthar*: the verbal noun *imcabāil*, Sg. 203[a] 8, and the adjective *ær-su-cb-uir* (acceptissimam), Ml. 67[c] 8. This root represents an Indo-European *ghabh*, and is cognate with Latin *habẹo*. The Irish *gabaim* often has the meaning 'to have,' e.g. *gabaim greim* (ich habe nutzen), 'to take' (*gaibid cloich n-aili*, *gaibit engraic* Sg. 200[b] 10, 204[a] 7), 'to take one's way' (*conair* being understood), and with the prepositions *for* and *fri* 'to begin.' And in the preterite active, sg. 1 and 3 and pl. 3 (but only in the preterite), with or without the help of a pronominal object suffixed to the prefix *ro-*, it is frequently used to express 'sum,' 'est' and 'sunt.' Thus: *ni arthóin mná dano gabussa inso*, LU. 74[a]; *cēin ro-n-gábus i cárcair* (quamdiu sum in carcere), G. C. 922 (Glenn Masáin MS. 1[a]); *amal ro-n-d-gab* proximitas *in* ad (as proximity is [implied] in [the preposition] *ad*), Sg. 217[a] 2; pl. 3, *amal ro-n-d-gabsat in-optit* (as they are in the optative), Sg. 190[b] 6.

Zimmer's explanation of such forms (Kelt. Studien, ii. 64, note) seems to me both ingenious and probable. "Im späteren Latein (Beda z. B.) ist nun *esse coepi*, *coepisti*, etc., eine

[1] Brugmann, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxvii. 398. The Irish so-called dat. pl. in *-aib* cannot be explained from a dative ending *-ābhyas*, which would have yielded *-aibe* in Old-Irish. The ending *ai-b* represents an urkelt. instrumental *-a-bis*, Skr. *-a-bhis*. The Gaulish *mātr-e-bo namausika-bo*, however, proves that the primeval Celts had a true dative pl.

gewöhnliche umschreibung. Dies *coepi* wurde von den Iren —wie Ir. *ṗian ṗéne=poena* und *ṡians=sēnsus* ausweisen — *cēpi* gesprochen und als perfect von *capio* aufgefasst : demnach vôn ir. *gaibim=capio*[1] ein *rogabus* wie *coepi* verwendet!" *tu, do.*[2] So in Old-Irish itself the preposition *tú* when toneless becomes *do.*

VII. I.

This root occurs in Old-Irish in sg. 3 and pl. 2 and 3 of the present indicative active and in plur 3 of the injunctive active and secondary present. It is found only in combination with the pronouns *ci, ce* and *dian* (cui), *nan* (qui, quae, quod non), *ōn*, the conjunctions *cĕ, mā* (si)—whether alone or followed by the particles *nu*[3] or *nī*—, *con* (ut), and *in* (ubi) ex *isn, in-san* (Thurneysen), and the negative particles *nā, nī.* As in Attic Greek with *εἰμι*, the present has sometimes a future force.

With *ci, ce,* we have the so-called neuter interrogative pronoun *cid, ced,* which aspirates *c, f,* and *s* (*cid chenēl, cid ḟolad,* G. C. 356), and must therefore have ended in a vowel. It represents an urkelt. *cvi-iti,* where *iti* = Lat. *it.*

With *dian* (cui) we have *dian-id* (cui est); where *id* is urkelt. *iti.*

With *nan* we have *nan-d* (qui, quae, quod non est), a contraction of *nanid.* The same form with suffixed pron. of pl. 1 : *huare nānd-un-tānaic,* Sg. 26[b] 2.

With *ōn* we have *id-ōn* (id est), Mid.-Ir. *edōn,* LB. 42[a] 26, now *eadhōn.*

With the conjunction *cĕ* we have *cid* (si est, quamvis, licet, sit), urkelt. *cve-iti,* pl. *cit* (quamvis, licet, sint) = urkelt. *cve-yónti* (cf. Skr. *yanti*) : followed by the particles *nu, ru* : *ceno-d*

[1] If Zimmer here means that *gaibim* (rectius *gabaim*) is etymologically equivalent to *capio,* he is wrong. The Ir. cognate of *capio* is *cacht,* ex *cactus,* **captus.*

[2] The tonelessness of the possessive pronouns explains why the *v* of *var*(*n*) [written *far*(*n*), *for*(*n*), *bar*(*n*), *bor*(*n*)], urkelt. *vostron,* has not been provected to *f.* So the toneless *var* (inquit) (√*svar*) is written *bhar* (Glenn Masáin MS. 1[a]), and was certainly pronounced like German *war*

[3] This particle, which is always toneless, is identical with the Greek toneless *νυ.*

(quamvis sit), Sg. 29[b] 17, 192[b], *ciaru-d* (quamquam fuit), Wb. 12[d] = *ciarid*, Sg. 26[d] 2.

With *mā* we have pres. indic. sg. 3 *mād* (si est), urkelt. *mā-iti*; with suffixed pronoun *mādat* (if thou art), H. 2. 17, p. 168[a]; pl. 2 *mad*[1] (si estis, eritis), urkelt. *mā ite*,[2] Skr. *ithá*, Lat. *itis*; pl. 3 *mat* (si sunt), urkelt, *mā-yónti*. Secondary pres. pl. 3 *matis* (si essent), urkelt. *mā yónte* (Skr. *iyáte*) plus a neo-celtic agglutinated pronoun.

With *ma-nu*, *ma-ru*, and *ma-ni* we have *manu-d* (si est), *maru-d* (si fuit) and *mani-d* (si non est), which of course aspirates.[3]

With *con* and *in* we have *con-id* (ut sit), (Middle-Ir. *conad*), and *in-id* (in quo, ubi est).

With the negative *nā*: *nā-d*[4] (qui non est), *nat* (leg. *nāth*), G. C. 741, 742; *cēin nadṅ-bid*, Ml. 33[a] 5; *huare nadn-digni*, M. 23[b] 10. With the negative *ni*: *ci-nīd-fil*, M. 30[a] 2 = *cenid-fil*, Sg. 46[a] 15.

Impersonal construction: *cid-e* (gl. de quo sint), Sg. 3[a] 9.

This root combines with the prep. *tu*. We have, accordingly, pres. indic. sg. 3, *arṅ-did*, *arn-did*, Sg. 198[b] 3, 200[a] 13; *con-did* (ut sit, donec), Wb. 12[b]; *dian-did* (cui est), often contracted into *diant*, *nant* (from **nandid*) 'qui, quae, quod non est,' G. C. 743. Injunctive pl. 3 *nandat*[5] (qui, quae non sint), where the *-at* seems comparable with Lat. *eant*, Skr. *áyan*, though in the Irish word we have, as usual, a middle-ending (*anto*).

To the forms *cit* and *mat* the pronominal *u* (*o*) is often suffixed. Thus: *cet-u chummascthai* (si sunt ea promiscua), *cet-o thōisegu* (etsi sunt ii priores), *mat-u hē ata horpamin* (gl.

[1] *is-lib atā a-rogu tra*, *mad-ferr* (leg. *mād-ferr*), *cotobsechfider dichossce alailiu* (est penes vos ergo electio eius, si eritis meliores, instituemini alia institutione), G.C. 483. In *māt cóscruch on chath sa* (if ye go victorious from this battle) *māt* seems a scribal error for *māth*.

[2] That in protoceltic, as in Sanskrit, the 2 pl. pres. indic. act. ended in a vowel is clear enough from the aspiration caused by *dioiprid* in the phrase *dioiprid chāch* (privatis quemvis), Wb. 9[c].

[3] *manid-chrétid* (ad v. si non est (quod) creditis), Wb. 13[b]. *manid-chómalnid ar-roprédchad dūib* (si non impletis quod praedicatum est vobis), Wb. 18[b].

[4] This form aspirates: *nad chomricthar*, Ml. 33[d] 10. *nād šluindi*, Sg. 25[b] 13.

[5] This form, of course, aspirates: *erúth nandat chómsuidigthi sidi leo* 7 *nād trehtat tinfed* (quomodo non sunt composita haec eis et non habent aspirationem), Sg. 201[b].

si qui ex lege heredes sunt), Wb. 1c. We have already found this pronoun suffixed to the pres. indic. sg. 3 of √*as*, and I have proposed to identify it with the Zend demonstrative *ava*, Gr. *αὐ* in *αὐ-τός*.

In the British languages we find in the primary and secondary presents a complete set of forms belonging to the root *i*. Thus:

Present.

Sg. *wyf*,	Corn. *off*,	Br. *ouf* (*of*)	1. pl. *ym*, Corn. *on*, Br. *om-p*
wyt,	Corn. *os*,	Br. *out*	2. pl. *ywch*, Corn. *ough*, Br. *ouch* (*och*)
iu,[1] *yw*,	Corn. *yu*, *eu*,	Br. *eu* (*eo*, *e*)	3. pl. *int*,[2] *ynt*, Corn. *yns* Br. *int* (*ynt*).

Secondary Present.

Sg. *oedwn*,	Corn. *en*,	Br. *oann* (*voan*)	1. pl. *oedem*, Br. *oam-p*
oedyt	Corn. *es*,	Br. *oas*	2. pl. **oedych*, Br. *oach*
oid,[3] *oed*,	Corn. *o*,	Br. *oe*, *oa* (*voa*)	3. pl. *oedynt*, Corn. *ens*, Br. *oant*.

There are also the passive forms: *oedit*, Br. *oat*. In Welsh, Breton, and Cornish this root is compounded with the prep. *tú* (toneless *do*), of which the *t* regularly becomes *s* (*ġ*) in Cornish:

Present.

Sg. *twyf*,	Br. *douf*,	Corn. *sof*	1. pl. Br. *dom-p*
	Br. *doud-e*,	Corn. *sos*	2. pl. Br. *douch*
tiw,	Br. *deu* (*deo*),	Corn. *sew*, *so*	3. pl. Br. *dint*, *dind-y*.

Secondary Present.

Sg. *toedwn*,	Br. *doan*		1. pl. Br. **doam-p*
			2. pl. Br. **doach*
toed,	Br. *doa*,	Corn. *so*, *ġo*	3. pl. *toedynt*, Br. **doant*, Corn. **sens*, *ġens*.

[1] *iss-it pad-iu itau gulat* (lit est id quod est ei patria), Juvencus, cited by Rhŷs, Lectures[2], 226.

[2] *enuein* di Sibellae *int hinn*, Martianus Capella, 11b b.

[3] *nat oid guocelesetico*, ibid. 12a b.

In Welsh these forms are always preceded by the verbal particle *yt* = Ir. *aith*, urkelt. *ati*.

It is also compounded with the prep. *yt*, Corn. *es* (*us*, *eǵ*, *uǵ*), Bret. *ed*[1] = Ir. *aith*, urkelt. *ati*.

Present.

Sg.	Corn. *esof*, Br. *edoff*	1. pl.	*ydym*, Corn. *eson*,	Br. *edom-p*
	Corn. *esos*	2. pl.	Corn. *esough*,	Br. *edouch*
	Corn. *usy* (*uǵy*),	Br. *edy* 3. pl.	Corn. *usons*.[2]	

Secondary Present.

Corn. *esen* (*eǵen*), Br. *edoenn*	1. pl.	Corn. *esen*	
Corn. *eses*	2. pl.		
Corn. *ese* (*esa*, *eǵe*, *eǵa*)	3. pl.	Corn. *esens*,	
Br. *edoa* (*edo*)		Br. *edont*.	

In Cornish and Breton $\sqrt{i}$ is compounded with a double *es*, *ed*, and we have Corn. *as-uǵ-y* (est) and with prefixed negative particle, *nyn-s-uǵ-y*, *nyn-ǵ-uǵ-y* (non est), *nyn-'s-es-e* *nyn-ǵ-es-e* (non erat), Bret. *n-ed-ed-y*, *nen-'d-ed-y* (non est).

The parallels in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit to many of these forms are obvious. Thus *wyf* = εἶμι, Skr. *émi* : *wy-t* (with a suffixed neoceltic pronoun) = εἶς, Skr. *éṣi*, and *iu*, *yw* (with loss of final *t*) for *ui*, *wy*[3] = Skr. *éti*. Here it will be observed that in all three persons the root (to use a Skr. expression) has *guṇa*. Not so in the plural. Here *ym*, urkelt. *imós* = Skr. *imás*, and *int*, urkelt. *yónti* = *yánti*. Then in the secondary present we have again the *guṇa*-strengthening, just as in the Skr. imperfect sg. Thus Br. *oa-nn* (=*aia-nn*) is = Skr. *áya-m* (= *a* + *aya-m*), *oas* (= *ais* + a neoceltic assimilated *t*) is = Skr. *āis* (= *a* + *ais*), *oe* (= *ait*) is Skr. *āit* (= *a* + *ait*). But (unlike Skr.) the British verb has the

[1] The forms beginning with *aed* in Gr. C. 552 are simply *edoff*, *edy*, etc., with the ordinary verbal prefix *a*, which, in *es-a-ed-of*, occurs as the second preposition.

[2] Beunans Meriasek 1264, 1335. *kyn'th-usons* 2366.

[3] So *drywo* (soothsayer) for *drwy*, *druis* = *druí(d)s*, O. Ir. *drui*. Rhŷs (Lectures, 225) tries to bring *yw* from *es-o* 'made up of the verbal root *es* and the pronominal element *o*, as in *ef-o* he' : he also tries to bring *oedd* from *esejat*, and *wyf* from *esami*.

guṇa-strengthening also in the plural. Thus *oam-p*[1] = *aimá*, *oant* = *aiánto*. The *d* in W. *oe-d-wn*, *oi-d*, *oe-d-em*, *oe-d-ynt* is probably, as often, from *y*, and (e.g.) *oid* is = *aiat*, *ayat* and *oe-d-wn* is = *aiúni*, *aiyúni*, where the *-úni* (to be separated from the Irish *-inn* = *-āni*) remains to me obscure.

This root is compounded with the prepositions *dar* (Ir. *do-āir*, *tair*, urkelt. *tu-(p)are* = Gr. παραι), *han*[2] (Skr. *sam*, Gr. σύν), and *yr*, and with the verbal stem *pieu* (possidere), which is cognate, perhaps, with Lat. *queo*, *quī-vi*. See examples in G. C. 573, and Rev. Celt. ii. 195, where Rhŷs compares *yr-wyf* (I am), *yr-oeddwn* (I was), with πάρειμι and παρῆν.

VIII. MAG.

This root (probably cognate with Goth. *magan* posse) does not seem to occur in Irish, but is frequently used in the British languages as a verb substantive in the pres. indic. sg. 3 and pl. 3, thus:

Sg. W. *mae*, Corn. *ma*, Br. *ma*. Pl. W. *maent*, Corn. *mons*.

The verbal prefix *y* (*e*) is generally prefixed, and hence Thurneysen (*Keltoromanisches*, 30) was led into the error of supposing that *y mae* was=*ym-ae*, belonged to the root *ag*, and might be phonetically equated with the Latin *ambigit*.

In Breton the following forms seem to exist:

Sg.	*e-maoun*	1. pl.	*e-maomp*
	e-maout, *emedi*	2.	*e-maoch*
	e-ma	3.	*e-maint*.
Passive.	*e-maur*.		

In modern Welsh *mae* (like *taw*) has the force of the English conjunction *that*, Rhŷs, Lectures, 130.

[1] for *oam-p-ni*, where the *p* is a mere fulcrum inserted between the person-ending *m* and the suffix *ni*.

[2] Ebel (G.C. 573) strangely supposes this preposition to be a verbal root or theme, and translates it by oriri? It occurs after the preposition *o*, Corn. and Br. *e*, in pronominal forms such as *o-hon-af* (a me) = Corn. *a-han-af*, Br. *a-han-ouf* (de me), *o-hon-at*, Corn. *a-han-as* (de te), Br. *a-han-ot* (ex te), *o-hon-awch*, Br. *a-han-och* (de vobis), etc., G.C. 380, 381.

IX. TĀ.

Present Indicative.

Sg. *tấu, tốo* / *-dāu, -dō*	1. pl.	*-taam, -tām*,[1]
tāi / *-dāi, -dat*[3]	2. pl.	*tấthi, -dāthe*[2] / *-tāad, -tād*
tā / *-dā*	3. pl.	**tāat, -tāt*
rel. *-dāas, -dās*		rel. *-dāte.*

The relative forms are commonly used after the comparative: *ol-dāas* (quam est), *ol-dāte* (quam sunt) *a-daas*, (gl. quamvis) *in-daas*. Here the *ol* seems identical in form with the conjunction *ol* (quia).

To express 'habeo' and its other persons, the third sg. of this tense in its absolute form is used with suffixed personal pronouns. We have, accordingly, the following forms:

Sg. *tấthum*[4]	1. pl.	*tāithiunn*,[8] *tấthunn*[9]
tấthut[5]	2. pl.	**tāithib*
tấthai[6] / *tấthus*[7]	3. pl.	*tấthat*[10]

Here the pronominal suffixes of the first and second persons seem, in form, instrumentals: *tāthumm*, urkelt. *(s)tāti-máyō*, Skr. *(ti)ṣṭhāti-máyā*, *tāthunn*, protocelt. *(s)tāti-onnŏ*, Skr. *(ti)ṣṭhāti-asmā́*, *tāthut*, urkelt. *(s)tāti-tváyō*, Skr. *(ti)ṣṭhāti-tváyā*. The suffixes of the third person are still obscure to me.

[1] *mar* [= *immar*] *tấm*, Saltair 3493.

[2] *at lia Greic ol dāthe* (the Greeks are more than ye are), H. 2. 17, p. 134[a]. In the expressions *in tḗr 'gā-dathai* (leg. *'ga-dāthāi*) *'cosnam* (the land for which ye are contending), *innī 'ga-dathāi 'cosnam*, LB. 206[b], the independent is used for the dependent form, and the *t* of the root is sonantised by the (lost) nasal of the relative.

[3] *cia dian-dat cēliu-siu?* *ol se* ('unto whom art thou servant?' saith he), LU. 71[a]; *ni-dat coimedaig* (leg. *coimetaid*) *inill* (thou art not a safe guardian), Battle of Moira, 170.

[4] Fél. prol. 217 (LB.), better *tāithiumm* (est mihi).

[5] Fél. July 24, *lit.* est tibi.

[6] 'he has,' Laws iv. 310, = *thaithi*, H. 3. 18, p. 264.

[7] 'she has,' Fél. Feb. 5.

[8] Ir. Texte, p. 316, l. 12.

[9] Fél. prol. 217 (Laud 610).

[10] *tathad* .i. *atā lèo*, O'Cl. Gl.

'Non habeo' and its other persons were expressed by *tā* with the negative particle *nī* or *nico* (Middle Ir. *noco*) and a pronoun suffixed to the particle. We have accordingly:

Sg. *nīmthā, nocomthā, nochonomthā*[1] 1. pl. *nīntā*
nīttā[2] 2. pl. *nīptā*[3]
3. pl. *nīsta, nocosta.*[4]

Optative.

Sg. *tḗ,*[5] *te* 3. pl. *teeet, tḗat.*[6]

Here *tḗ* for *tēt* = Lat. *stet*, Osc. *sta-ᵉ̯-t*, Gr. *στα-ίη(τ)*, and *tēat*, urkelt. *taianto*, is = Lat. *stent* (from **sta-ient*), except as to the person-ending *-anto*, which belongs to the middle-voice. The 1st sg. was certainly *tēu, tēo* (see the compound *i-tēo* infra), where the *u* reflects the *-au* in Goth. *bairau.*

Injunctive.

Sg. *-tā, -dā* 1. pl. *-tān, -dān*
-dā 2. pl. *-dāth*
-t,[7] *-d* 3. pl. *-tāt*[8] *-dat.*

These forms are used as mere copulas, and are toneless proclitics. Hence the sinking of *t* to *d.*[9] The 1st pl. must have originally ended in a vowel, as it aspirates (*ni-dan-chumachtig*, Wb. 14ᶜ). Here, as in the imperative *bān*, the *m* of the toneless suffix *āma* has become *n.*

[1] *nim-thā for-sámail súnnse* (I have not the like of you here), Saltair 3481. *nim-thā lūad ar-an-ilar* (I have not utterance because of their multitude), ibid. 7290. *nochomthā lábra lā́nglan* (I have not full-clear speech), ibid. 2088. *nochonomtha-sa*, LU. 103ᵇ.

[2] *nītta nī indit-mōide* (non est tibi quidquam in quo glorieris), Wb. 2ᵇ.

[3] *niptā nī́ dom-déolaidecht* (ye have not anything for my favour), Saltair 1444.

[4] *tī́r Cannāin nistā darḗis an-ḗcnaig* (Canaan's land they have not in consequence of their blasphemy), ibid. 4734: *noco-s-tā maith . . . cono-s-tī allus* (they have no good thing until sweat shall come to them), ibid. 1451.

[5] *co-te mo thorbe-se duib* (gl. quid vobis prodero?), Wb. 12ᶜ; *ca-te imdibe crist?* (what may be Christ's circumcision?), Wb. 27ᵃ; *ca-tte didiu far failte-siu frinn?* (what, then, may be your joy in us?), Wb. 19ᵈ, where for *-siu* the scribe has *-sin*; *dilig dam cach-cin rom-thḗ* (forgive me every crime that I may have), Saltair 7791.

[6] *asbera frib co-teeet mo bēssi-se* (dicat vobis qui sint mores mei), Wb. 9ᵃ; *ca-teet* diuitiae *sund* (what may 'divitiae' be here?), Wb. 5ᶜ; *Pantaleo, Muric, am-mṓrslūaig ca-tḗat?* (Pantaleo, Mauricius, what may be their great hosts?), Fél. Sep. 22.

[7] *nan-t* (nihil esse), G.C. 743.

[8] *natat-béca*, Ml. 18ᵇ 6.

[9] Thurneysen, Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, 9 Aug. 1884.

As Ebel remarked (G. C. 922), the root *tā* is found in the impersonal construction. Thus: *dār-slắna ōn-chinaid-se* (we are free, lit. sound, from this crime), where *dār=tā+ar* (for *nar*, urkelt. *nostro*=Lat. *noster*) the nom. or acc. of the pronoun of which the possessive *ar-n* (for *narn*,[1] protocelt. *nostron* =Lat. *nostrum*) is the genitive. In a negative sentence the pronoun is suffixed either to the verb or to the negative particle. Thus: sg. 1 *ni-dā-m snímach* (I am not distressed), Saltair 2382, pl. 1 *ni-dā-'r gláin* (we are not pure), ibid. 1609. *ni-dā-'rn-ídain*[2] (non sumus idonei), ibid. 3626. Thus again: sg. 1 *nim-thā láām* [leg. *lắim*] (non sum manus), Wb. 12[a], *ni-mp-thā*[3] *fírion* (non sum justus), Wb. 8[d]. *ni-m-da sātech* (I am not satisfied), LU. 60[b]; *ni-m-da mac* (I am not a child), LU. 62[a].

It takes the accusative: *nin-tā airli arm-ban* (non est nobis oboedientia mulierum nostrarum), Wb. 31[c].

This root occurs compounded with the following prepositions:

ad (cf. Lat. *a(d)-sto*:

Present indicative active.

Sg. *attắu*,[4] *attố*	1. pl. *attắam*
attắi	2. pl. *attắaith*
attắ	3. pl. *attắat*.

As *attắat* aspirates (*ataat chétnaidi*, Sg. 28[a] 4), it must have ended in a vowel, which, doubtless, was that of the secondary middle-ending *-tó*.

The impersonal construction is found: *ata-bar dāsachtaig fen* (ye yourself are mad), Alexander-saga, § 70, Rawl. B. 512.

Present indicative passive.

Sg. *attāthar* 3. pl. **attātar*.

[1] The original *n* is kept in the gen. dual *nāthar*, *nār*, G.C. 325, Ir. Texte, p. 316 (S.P. ii. lines 1, 14), which is, of course, to be compared with Gr. *νωΐτερος*.

[2] This is a grammatical error for *nídār-idain*: cf. *amini n-eulig*, supra.

[3] From *nī-mb-thā*, the *b* being here (as in sg. 2 of the secondary present of √*ba*) provected to *p* by the following *th*, pronounced *h*. So in *impsuide* (gl. obsidio), Ml. 43[b] 10, where the *b* of the prep. *imb* has become *p* before *s*, pronounced *h*. [So in *ni-p-tā*, leg. *ni-ph-thā*? (ye have not), Saltair 1444, the *v* of the infixed pronoun becomes *f* (*ph*) before *t*.] This *mb*, generally written *mm*, represents the instrumental sg. of the personal pronoun of sg. 1. It is a protoceltic *mibi*, in which the suffix seems identical with that of Lat. *tibi*, *sibi*, *ibi*.

[4] *isin cétmad bliadain atáu cosindiu*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 14[b] 2.

ar=*παρά*, Skr. *párā*: pres. indic. sg. 3, *artáa* (superest)= O. Welsh *arta* (gl. restat).

ar-a: pres. indic. sg. 3, *arathá* (gl. relicuum est), Wb. 10[b].

di: sg. 3 *dítā*, Ml. 120[a] 6: pl. 1, *ditaamni*, 117[b] 9: pl. 3, *ní dithāt*, 113[a] 2.[1]

for: pres. indic. sg. 3: *barr buide for-do*[*t*]*-tā* (a yellow head-of-hair is on thee), LU. cited Windisch, Ir. Gr. p. 119. *immad n-oṅg*[*g*]*alar fortā* (there remains abundance of lamentable diseases), Saltair 1453.

imm-ua-ad: *A Demuin, cid 'moatai diar-lenamuin* (O Devil, why standest thou to follow us?), Saltair 1722.

in: pres. indic. sg. 1, *sechanī ittōo* (super id quod sum[2]) Wb 17[d].; *itū ic-frithalim immach nan-anmanna* (I am tending the beasts afield), Saltair 1187. Sg. 2, *anī hitāi* (id quod es[3]), Wb. 5[b]: *mased hitāi 'con-iarair* (if it be that thou art seeking them), Saltair 3102. Pl. 3: *itat ind* (*ḟ*)*ascri grotha . . . . i foraithmet ind ferta cosind laithise indiu* (the curd cheeses are in remembrance of the miracle to this day to-day), Rawl. B. 512, fol. 21[b] 2. Optative sg. 1: *Ateoch, a noem-Patraic it*[*ḟ*]*arrad itēo* (I entreat, O holy Patrick, that I may be along with thee), LU. 113[b], where *itēo* rhymes with *bēo*=*vīvus*.

tu-ess: pres. indic. sg. 3, *testa* (deest) Beda Cr. 18, better *doesta*, Ml. 35[d], *desta*, Wb. 26[d] 24. Pret. sg. 3, *an-dæsta* [*duesta*, Eg. 93] *dia ais*[*s*]*om* (what was wanting of his age), Rawl. B. 512, fol. 13[b] 1. *Robōi mōr mbrōin . . . inti, fōbíth testa uadib an-degthōisech*, H. 2. 17, p. 155[b]. pl. 3, *is annsin testātar Castor ocus Pulluic*, ibid. 140[a].

tu-di-ess: pres. indic. sg. 3, *ma dudesta nī* (si quid desit), Wb. 25[a]. *an-dudesta, anī dodesta* (id quod deest), Wb. 1[a]. 26[c].

remi: pres. indic. pl. 3, *remitaat* (gl. praesunt), Wb. 25[c].

It also occurs, compounded with *cenmi*[4]), in the adverb

[1] For these and other unpublished forms from the Milan codex I am indebted to Prof. Ascoli's great kindness.

[2] Ebel, G.C. renders this by 'super id in quo sum.'

[3] Ebel, G.C. renders this by 'id in quo es.'

[4] Apparently = *cenmo*+*ei*, where *ei* = Gr. *ἐνί*. Other prepositional compounds with this *ei* are *iarmi*, *rémi* (*remi*, Ml. 67[b] 11, 73[b] 2), *sechmi*, *tarmi*, *tremi*, which come respectively from *ei-armo-ei*, *remo-ei*, *secomo-ei*, *tarm'ei*, *trem'ei*. So *immi* is from *ambi-ei*.

cenmithá (unless it is, except), G. C. 706, Mid. Ir. *cenmothá*, Saltair 140. Of this the form *cenmá* (Mid. Ir. *genmō*) seems a contraction, the aspirated *t*, as often, disappearing. The pl. *cenmothát* (O. Ir. **cenmithát*) is quoted by O'Donovan Gr. p. 266, and occurs in the Saltair, 521, 3417, 3421. A contracted form *cenmthát* occurs in the same poem, 399.

It is also compounded with *im* (urkelt. *simi*, Lat. *simi-li-s*) in *imtá* (leg. *imthá*) 'so is' Senchas Mār. III. 30, *nimthá* (not so is), Fél. prol. 97, 129, 137, 185, pl. *nimthát* (not so are), Fél. prol. 77.

Lastly, this root occurs with reduplication in the verbs *sessaim* (urkelt. *sistāmi*), *ar-sissiur*, *assissiur* (=*ad-sistiu-r*), *ar-ássissiur*, and the nouns *séssam* (urkelt. *sistāmo-s*) a standing and *áirissem*, *táirissem* (for *air-sistem*, *tu-air-sistem*). Here the *s* of the original anlaut is preserved in the syllable of reduplication, and, in this respect, Irish agrees with Latin and Greek (*sisto*, (*σ*)*ίστημι*), and differs from Sanskrit (*tiṣṭhāmi*). In the fem. noun *hiress*, *iress* (faith), urkelt. (*p*)*arasista*, a similar reduplication seems to have occurred. In the *m* of the negative prefix in *ám-airess* the influence of the primeval *p* is traceable.

The only trace in the British languages of the use of √*tā* for the verb substantive is the so-called Welsh conjunction *taw*, as to which Davies remarks: '*Taw*, etiam Demetis est idem quod *Mai*, Quòd, quia, quoniam.' So Rhŷs (Lectures[2], 130), where, after remarking that *mae* means 'is' and that *mai* is a proclitic with the force of the English conjunction *that*, he says: 'the same use of a verb as a conjunction occurs in *taw* 'that,' commonly used in South Wales instead of *mai*: *taw* is obsolete as a verb.'

Compounded with *ar* and with its *ā* shortened in the post-tonic syllable, we have √*tā* in the Old Welsh *arta* (gl. superat). Compounded with *yt*: Corn. *yta*, *ytowns*.

W. *sefyll* (stare, Corn. *sevel*, Br. *sevell*, *sāf* (stato = Corn. *saf*), *saif* (stabit, Corn. *sēf*), *sāf* (statio) f. Corn. *saf*, Br. *saô* seem to stand for *sestamiallo-*, *sestama*, *sestamit*, *sestamā*. Corn. *saffe* (steterat), *sefsys* (stetisti), *sevys* (stetit), *sevys* (levatus), *sevcugh* (state) belong to the same root.

The obscure and imperfect Irish verb *docuisin* means 'which exists,' and is probably compounded of the prepositional prefixes *tu* and *con*, and the root *stan*, whence the Greek δύστηνος = δυσ-στηνος, lit. 'in a bad state,' thence 'wretched.' Of this √*stan* the Teutonic √*stan-d* may be a weiterbildung.

X. VAL.

Present Indicative.

Sg.		1. pl.	*failmet*[3]
fail, feil, fel,[1] *fil, fuil*[2] rel. *file*		3. pl.	*failet,*[4] *filet*[5] rel. *file.*

This (so far as I know) is the only instance in Old-Irish of an independent simple verb having the secondary ending in sg. 3. Here *fail* is = an urkelt. *vali(t)*, cognate, but not identical, with Lat. *valet*, and *failet* is = an urkelt. middle-form *valento*. They respectively express the English *there is* (Fr. *il y a*) and *there are*. As *fail* aspirates,[6] it must have lost its final consonant at an early period. The relative form *file* also aspirates when sg.[7] and, doubtless, likewise when pl. The sg. form is probably = *vali(t)-yo*, the pl. = *vali(t)yā*. Ebel (G. C. 491) says that these relative forms are not found after neuter nouns. Such nouns, he thinks, are always followed by *fel, feil* or *fil*. This is one of the few mistakes made by that master. There are five instances of *file* used with a neuter nominative by the accurate glosser of the Sanct Gall Priscian.[8]

The sg. *fail* occurs with a dual subject.[9] It also occurs

[1] *nī fel sáithar n-ant*, Ml. 48c 29.

[2] *dotíagat múir go fuil ind*, Ml. 45d 12.

[3] *ní-failmet darth' airmitein* (we are not above respecting thee). Saltair 6320, where the independent form is (as often in Middle-Irish) used for the dependent.

[4] Saltair 345, 493, 497, 501, 502, 927.

[5] ibid. 477.

[6] *ni fail chumscugud*, G.C. 182.

[7] *file choibnius*, G.C. 182.

[8] *ainm n-inchoise cenēuil iss-ed file la Laitneoiri tarhēsi n-aitherrechtaichthi la Grecu*, Sg. 30b 6. *is diall femin file fair*, 93b 2. *ar iss-ed file do* hodie, 140a 3. *masu ro file iarnachūl*, 148b 9. *tarēsi indi as* infimas *file* hodie, 200b 3.

[9] *fail dí chaillig* (there are two nuns), Brocc. h. 105. *fail (fil, feil) dā rētlainn* (there are two stars), Fēlire, March 3.

with a neuter plural.[1] All forms are regularly followed by the accusative (G. C. 922). Thus: *nī-fil aimsir* (there is no time, nom. sg. *aimser*), *nī-feil titlu* (there are no titles, nom. sg. *titol*).

With *fail*, as with *tā*, we find the impersonal construction. Thus: *for-sn-am-fil* (on which I am), Corm. s.v. *ān*; *huair nachat-fil-siu* (since thou art not), Ir. Texte, p. 285, l. 4; *inbaid inad-fail*, LL. 62[a]; *ci nin-fil* (quamvis non simus), Wb. 16[b]; *for-s-dan-fil* (on which we are), LL. 201[b] 53; *nachi-b-feil* (quod non estis), *fil-us* (sunt), *nīs-fil* (non sunt), *nīs-fail*, Ml. 44[b] 12; *airm in-dus-fil* (the place in which they are), LL. 62[a].

Fail, like *tā*, is used with a negative prefix to express 'non habeo.' The prefixes employed are *ni* and *nico*. Thus *nīm-fail bith inna-héisleis* (he does not neglect me),[2] Saltair 2562, *nichar-fail tlácht na dágbīad* (we have neither raiment nor good food), ibid. 1560.

Injunctive.

Only the 3 sg. *fel, feil, fil* is quotable.

These simple forms, when used as mere copulas, seem to be proclitics.

The root *val* enters into composition with the prepositions *ad* (*aith* ?) and *tu*.

Pres. indic. sg. 3, *atar-fail cen-dúine trén* (we are without a strong man), Saltair 3761.

Pres. indic. sg. 3, *dofil Crist cona-soscēlu* (adest Christus cum evangelio suo). This compound is used for the impersonal construction. Thus we have *con-dum-fel* (ut essem), *con-dat-fil*[3] (ut esses), *da-dot-fail*[4] (es), *con-dib-feil* (ut sitis).

October, 1885.

[1] *fail leis secht nimi* (there are with Him seven heavens), Saltair 629. *fail leis nōin-grād*, Saltair 639, where the MS. has, corruptly, .ix. *ngraid*.

[2] Literally: 'there is not to me being in his neglect.'

[3] *Nisinn dotrát . . . . ōt-mórnuigib con-dat fil . . . fo-bithphianaib* ('it is not we,' says Eve to the Devil, 'that put thee forth from thy great plains, so that thou shouldst be under eternal pains'), Saltair 1739.

[4] *dadotfail fodēin tóimdig im-bithphēin* (thou thyself art . . . . in eternal pain), Saltair 1747.

IX.—INFLUENCE OF ANALOGY AS EXPLAINING CERTAIN EXAMPLES OF UNORIGINAL *L* AND *R*.

By Dr. Frederick Stock, M.A.

(*Read at the Society's Meeting, on Friday, June 5, 1885.*)

This paper is occasioned by Prof. Skeat's Notes on Etymology read before the Philological Society Nov. 7th, 1884, treating among other words of the following:—Listre, legistre, decretistre, divinistre, sophister, alchemister, barrister, chorister, roister, cartridge, partridge, treasure, philosopher, coffer, order, Londres, lavender, provender, jasper, culprit, bridegroom, hoarse, corporal; could, myrtle, manciple, participle, principle, syllable, treacle, chronicle, canticle.

Prof. Skeat somewhat incautiously stated in his paper (p. 3) that: 'To those who tell us that we cannot explain the *r* in this word (divinistre), we have merely to reply that *we are not called upon to do more than to declare it to be intrusive*,'[1] and again (p. 6), 'But in the words manciple, participle, principle, syllable, the *l* is certainly intrusive.'

There is throughout the President's paper no due recognition of the possible influence of Analogy on these words.

The school of philology, in which I have been trained, teaches me in the case of any word or inflexion, whose etymology is wanted, first to apply known phonetic laws. If this application is unsuccessful, then, and this second only in order of application, not in importance, to see if there is any evidence or probability of the influence of analogy; and only when both these processes fail to give a satisfactory result, and when there is no possibility of onomatopœia, to put aside the word or form as not explained in our present state of knowledge.

It will hardly be expected from me that I should attempt to give an exhaustive account of the influence of analogy in checking or combating or changing the results of purely

[1] The italics are my own.—F. S.

phonetic development. Analogy works in most cases, if not in all, consciously and frequently with apparent caprice, whereas organic change takes place unconsciously and regularly. Analogy attacks words generally one by one, and brings them over by degrees to the dominating or favourite form. Organic change, on the other hand, affects all examples of the same sound in a dialect at once. It represents indeed a physical change in the organs of speech.

But analogy working thus in consciousness has such a vast field of conditions or environment, that it is impossible in one short paper even to attempt to treat the subject exhaustively. The possibilities of analogy are almost as infinite as the possibilities of mental operation, and I shall be compelled to confine myself to a bare suggestion of its most important and frequent manifestations.

The influence of Analogy as affecting words and inflexions I take to be a lateral contagious influence of words and inflexions already in a dialect upon other words and inflexions either already in that dialect or introduced from without—deflecting such words and inflexions by their contagious influence from the form which would be taken, or which has been taken, in the course of organic phonetic development. It may be compared with the influence of a society in its larger or smaller groups upon the inherited character of its individual members; or with the influence of a contagious disease, if this is preferred, on hereditary tendencies.

This analogical influence manifests itself in the following among other conditions. A. There must always be mental proximity for the incidence of efficacious analogy. This proximity may be more or less close and does not admit of classification except as greater or less in degree.

a. There may be more or less resemblance in form. This resemblance again can only be classified as greater or less.

b. There may be the influence of numerical preponderance, the number of actual occurrences in usage being reckoned and not the number of words only. One common word may influence hundreds of less common words.

c. There may be the influence of some peculiar fitness or

suitability of the dominating word or words for the vocal organs of the speaking population. One form may become fashionable or popular.

d. There may be some special and perhaps fortuitous (possibly historical) influence, which determines the potency of an analogy, which would not otherwise have been dominant.

Of course these classes of influences are not mutually exclusive. Several of them may, and most frequently do, work together; the only one, which seems to be invariably present, being the first influence, viz. mental proximity—similarity of idea or of function.

This A. will work in conjunction with any or all of the four marked *a, b, c, d.* I will endeavour to illustrate my meaning by examples.

1. Mental proximity (A) (past tense of the same verb) works with similarity of form (*a*) and some influence of suitability (*c*) or caprice (*d*) not quite clear to me in levelling the persons of the past tense of the verb to ride: Anglo-Saxon: *ic rád, ðu ride, he rád, wê, gé, hié ridon,* now running in Modern English 'I rode (=*rád*), thou rodest, he rode, we, you, they rode.' I say the capricious influence is not quite clear to me, for in German the weak form of the same tense of the cognate verb is selected to oust the strong forms of the preterite tense of *rîten,* the medieval German forms *reit, rite, reit, riten, ritet, riten,* being represented in modern German by *ritt, rittst, ritt, ritten, rittet, ritten.* A, *a, b.*

Examples of this kind may be multiplied almost indefinitely in English, German and French, and doubtless in all languages; the origin may have been 'sheer blundering,' but the result is great convenience, and use has established and authorized the forms as they are.

2. Mental proximity (A) (formation of plural) has worked in conjunction with numerical preponderance (*b*) and some peculiar suitability (*c*) in extending one form of the Anglo-Saxon plural, the ordinary inflexion for the Norman-French plural, over many of the English nouns which previously employed a different inflexion: *e.g.* instead of 'book' pl.

'beek,' which would be the hereditary representative of *bôc* pl. *bêc*, we have 'book' pl. 'books.'

Similarly the weak form of the past participle and the weak conjugation of verbs generally has extended their dominant influence over many verbs originally strong. A, *b*, *c*.

3. It seems to be a recognized fact among the authorities that four (I suppose common) Old Slavonic verbs, *jesmĭ*, *vĕmĭ*, *damĭ*, *jamĭ*, have dominated all the first persons singular of all the classes of conjugation in the modern representatives of Old-Slavonian, so that they now all end in *m*. A. *a*, *b*, *c*.

4. Delbrück in his "Einleitung in das Sprachstudium" instances the curious analogy of *duabus* as influencing the dat. and abl. plural of such words as *dea*, *filia*, *mula*. Delbrück explains this influence as a case of mental proximity with fair resemblance in form, in which the analogy of *duabus* (no numerical preponderance) only becomes potent under the influence of a fortuitous circumstance, the necessity of dissimilation from the dat. and abl. plural of *deus*, *filius*, *mulus*, etc. I can partially parallel this case with an instance from Pfälzisch, the dialect of the Rhenish Palatinate, more particularly of the villages between and in the neighbourhood of Heidelberg and Mannheim. The literary German *ü* is in this dialect *i*, so that *Fuss* pl. *Füsse* becomes *Fuss* pl. *Fiss*. The word *Fisch* would by phonetic development have the plural *Fisch*, and would not be distinguishable from the singular, but there is frequently among the fishermen of the Neckar a necessity to distinguish between the singular and plural of fish; and in looking round for an analogy they have seized upon *Fūss*, *Fīss*, and its class and have made a new singular *Fusch*, so that the declension now runs—sg. *Fusch*, pl. *Fisch*.

If any one smiles at this and thinks scorn of such vulgar formation, I would remind him of Mr. Ellis's sentence—

'We that read history, make history, more especially in words.'

By which I understand Mr. Ellis to mean: If we get to understand the influences at work in changing language in

untutored dialects *now*, we have a fair chance of obtaining a clue to the influences at work in those good old times before Philology was known. Those who call the working of Analogy 'sheer blundering' or 'vicious spelling' or by any other abusive epithet, seem to assume that, in the formation of such words as 'syllable' and 'could,' those employing the words have a knowledge of the antecedents of these words and are, in a word, etymologists, instead of being, as they really are, in 999 cases out of 1000, absolutely ignorant of the ultimate origin of these words and only desirous of collating new words with words already in their possession, and of simplifying actual inflexions.

I now proceed to consider the examples of intrusive *r* and *l* treated of in the President's paper, and to strive to give the explanation which the President declared to be uncalled for.

I will first of all dispose of those forms which I do not propose to attempt to explain from the point of view of analogy.

Listre. If this word is from lector, the *r* is not intrusive. *R* in such a position is regularly retained in French of all periods, and it seems supererogatory to suggest its theoretic removal in order immediately to reinstate the letter as intrusive.

'pastor' makes *pâtre*
'pejor' „ *pire*
'pictor' „ *peintre*

The *n* probably from the analogy of *peindre*, or possibly the form *pinctor* existed already in Low Latin from the analogy of *pingere*.

'traditor' „ *traitre*
'cantor' „ *chantre*

With regard to the *s*, although this does not fall within the province of this paper, it may possibly have been added to exhibit the quantity of the vowel *i*. If so, this *s* is the result of analogy.

Coffre, ordre, Londres. I do not propose to explain these words by analogy. I consider the *n* as a possible phonetic explanation, and compare *diacre* from *diaconum*.

Hoarse. Prof. Skeat himself recognized this form as "due to a misunderstanding of the vowel-sound, which led to a vicious spelling," and I was at first inclined to explain the Middle English form *hors*, now *hoarse*, as influenced by the analogy of the Middle English *hors*, the quadruped. But Mr. Sweet tells me that the form *hêrs* is to be found in Dutch; and Dr. Murray instances a form *hears* in Lowland Scotch, so that we are almost compelled to give up this explanation from analogy. As I find the form *hâss* in Old Norse and know that an original *rs* frequently appears in Old Norse as *ss*, I am now inclined to postulate the existence of the form with *rs* in the original Teutonic language, either as existing side by side with the form without the *r*, or as itself the earlier form.

The explanation of this *r* by analogy falls to the ground, and with it the explanation (falsely so called) of the *r* as 'intrusive.'

Fronde, jaspre. I have no explanation to offer here for the *r* in these words, nor for the *r* in *culprit*. It is not by any means certain that *culprit* is derived from *culpatum*. The Dictionary examples of *culprit* are, comparatively speaking, few and uninstructive.

Myrtle. I believe this word to be derived from a Latin form *myrtillum*, through Old French *myrtil*.

I now proceed to consider the words in which I hold that analogy has more or less exerted its influence.

Could. Obviously influenced by the analogy of *should* and *would*. A, *a*, *b*.

Prof. Skeat in his paper (pp. 5, 6) says: "Putting aside the intrusive *l* in could," by which I understand him to signify that he regards the analogical influence as too obvious to need comment.

Cartridge. This word seems to have first come into English in an architectural sense connected with the curl or scroll on the capital of a pillar. It seems to have been derived from the French *cartouche* of the same meaning.

Being a word introduced and used by workmen, there is no wonder that the word should be influenced by the

analogy of known English words, and by popular etymology made into cart*house* on the one side and into cart*ridge* on the other. The introduction of the second *r* was facilitated by the analogy of *charter*, *chartre*, for which a form *cartre* had existed in English.

The 'cartrage' or 'cartridge,' in the sense of a small receptacle for gunpowder, was introduced into English later, also from the French, which had it from Italian. The *r* of 'charter' and of 'cartridge' was again efficient in introducing an *r* after the *t*, and the popular form *cartrage* was formed with a termination *rage* appreciated by the common folk. But alongside of this form a literary form seems to have been maintained from the first with the exact French spelling *cartouche*.

I do not explain the *r* of *chartre* or *cartre* by analogy (Prof. Skeat explains it now from *chartula*). The terminations *-rage*, *-ridge*, and *-house* are, however, instinct with analogies. A, *a*, *b*.

Partridge. The second *r* in this word appears in French.

In explaining *perdrix* I proceed thus: *perdicem* allows the *dr* to be transposed, and becomes *pedricem*. There is evidence of this form in French of the fourteenth century *pietris*. *Perdicem* and *Pedricem* might suffer[1] contamination and become *perdricem*. This would give in French *perdris* or *perdriz*. Or the contamination may have taken place in French; *perdiz* and *pietriz* evolving *perdris*.

I look upon the spelling *perdrix* as due to the learning of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which discovered that the Latin had an *x* in the nominative case. *Perdrix* would phonetically have become *pérdres*. The earlier English form seems to have been *partryche*, with a suffix known in O.E. *heveneriche*. The suffix was exchanged for *ridge*, to which it was sufficiently similar to invite analogical change. I imagine the form *partryche* was made from French *perdriz* at a time when the *z* was still pronounced sharp in Norman French *perdrits*. The contamination is a result of mutual analogy. A, *a*.

[1] Compare *jecinoris* from *jecinis* and *jecoris* (Delbrück).

Corporal (noun). Prof. Skeat recognizes this as an analogical formation in imitation of *corporal* (adj.). Our President does not, however, approve of this analogical influence. He calls it "a misunderstanding of the vowel-sound, which led to a vicious spelling." There is some excuse, however, for us English in this matter. The adjective *corporel* was in use in French in the twelfth century, and the corresponding form *corporal* in English at any rate as early as the fourteenth century. The word *corps* (*de garde*, etc.) was frequent in French in military significations.

The analogy was bound to be strong in French as well as in English; but stronger in English because of the foreign vowel-sound *ā* in *caporal* and because of the approximate inaudibility of the *r* in *corporal* at the close of the sixteenth century, when the noun seems to have been introduced into English (1579, Digges Stratioticos, p. 84. "The *corporal* is a degree in dignitie above the privat souldior").

The noun *corporal* has met with some favour in French, according to Littré, as a variant from *caporal*, which was introduced from Italian in the fifteenth century. There seems to have been another *corporal* in use in English at the close of the sixteenth century, possibly in the sense of an aide-de-camp, or *personal* attendant of the general—*corporal* of the field. A, *a*, *b*.

Bridegroom. *Bridegroom* was probably influenced by the analogy of the word *groom* in English when *goom* ceased to have an independent intelligible existence. *Grome* at any rate seems older in the language than *bridegroom*. The word *groom* may itself be an analogical formation either in Norse from which it may have been introduced into English or in English itself. A, *a*, *b* (occurrence).

Lavender and *provender* I look upon as influenced in English by the analogy of *lavender*, a washerman, and *provender* in the sense of *præbendarius*. A, *a*, *b*, *c*. I hardly regard this explanation as sufficient.

Philosopher. Of this word Prof. Skeat says in his Dictionary: "Here the *r* is a needless addition, as the

French word was *philosophe*, correctly answering to Lat. *philosophus* and Gk. φιλόσοφος." I look upon this word with its, to an English ear, meaningless termination *e*, as attracted to the numerous class of English words denoting agents in *er*, baker, fiddler, harper, etc. A (agency), *a*, *b*.

Trésor. I think this word was influenced by the great numerical preponderance of words in French with initial *tré* over those in *té* especially by the great frequency of the occurrence of compounds of *trans* = *très*, and by the possible popular etymology of *trésor* as 'beyond gold, more than gold.' A, not quite clear, probably associated with the popular etymology suggested above: *a*, *b*, *d* (*or* same as *or* gold).

The other examples of intrusive *r*, legistre, decretistre, divinistre, sophister, alchemister, barrister, chorister, rustre, roister, may be all included under one class. I proceed to attempt an explanation of them from the point of view of analogy.

Before the introduction of the termination *-iste* into French from Latinized Greek words in *-ista(m)*, such as evangeliste, psalmiste, the termination *-stre* was very common in French.

1. *Nostre, vostre* being in very common use were a host in themselves.

2. *Astre* from Lat. *-astrum, -astram* became a favourite French termination.

3. The two words *maistre* and *ministre*, being also very common, formed a point of starting to facilitate the formation of doublets in *-stre* to the nouns in *-ste*.

The words *légiste* and *sophiste* and others were then attacked laterally by the analogy of *maistre* and *ministre*, assisted by the words *nostre, vostre*, and by the French adjectives in *-astre*.

I am inclined to think, but I have not been able to verify this, that the termination *-istre* and *-ister* thus acquired in Eng. and Fr. the character of an understood termination expressing agency, which might be added to other words (like *-âtre* for adjectives), and that we thus get the forms *barrister, divinistre* and *decretistre*. Such a form would be

likely to become popular in English, because of the existence of the agent terminations in *-stere*, formerly feminine.

Prof. Skeat in his Dictionary says of *huckster*, "The A.S. distinction in gender between the terminations *er* and *ster* was lost at an early period, so that the word was readily applied to men."

The hypothesis of this analogical influence led me to suppose that some other words of obvious Greek origin might be also influenced by the same analogy. I accordingly looked up *psalmiste* and *evangeliste* in Littré, and, although I could only find the form *psalmiste* quoted by Littré, I found that *evangelistre* occurs in Rutebœuf (thirteenth century).

I am inclined here to make an excursus on the procedure in this kind of development. I do not think it has been sufficiently elucidated or corroborated by ordinary English philologists. The process is the following.

A termination is developed in strict accordance with phonetic rules in the case of one or more words. It is then found to be a convenient and useful termination, and is applied to other words or roots, which in and of themselves would never have developed such a termination. I take as an illustrative example the words in *-δαπός* quoted by Dr. Weymouth in his paper this evening (Accent in Sanskrit and Greek, June 5th, 1885), and explained by him as all derived from ablatives in *-δ* followed by the preposition *ἀπό*, and taking on adjective terminations. The real explanation is probably the following:

The termination *-δαπός* was formed originally in *ποδ-από-ς* and *αλλο-δ-από-ς*, in the case of which there is some evidence or probability of the ablative forms *ποδ*, *αλλοδ*. There is, however, no such probability in the case of *ἡμεδαπός*, *ὑμεδαπός*, *παντοδαπός* or *τηλεδαπός*. The probability is that the words *τηλεδαπός*, *παντοδαπός*, *ἡμεδαπός*, *ὑμεδαπός* were formed on the analogy of the forms in common use, *ποδαπός*, *αλλοδαπός*. (I do not claim credit for this as an original explanation. I cannot find in my notes and papers my authority, or I would quote it.) Similarly *Wildner* in German is formed on the

analogy of *Gärtner, Bogener* (Behaghel), the termination *-ner* being felt as the suffix. Every one recognizes the influence of analogy in cases in which the influence has been very widespread, as for instance in the growth of the termination *-issimo* in Italian, and in the spread of the plural in *s* in English, and of the weak conjugation of verbs. It is just, however, in cases like these of the less widely-spread terminations *-ister*, *-δαπος*, *-ner*, that the initial working of analogy is most characteristic and instructive, and least frequently recognized.

I now proceed to the cases of intrusive *l*.

Syllable. I look upon this *l* as the result of the influence of the common Romance adj. suffix *-able, cuvenable, reasonable.* The termination was also well known in nouns, *e.g. table, stable.* A, *a*, *b*.

Manciple, participle, principle, are formed on the analogy of *disciple, people,* and helped by such words as *temple, example,* and by the moderate frequency of the termination *el* and *le* in Old English, as well as in many Romance suffixes. A (nouns), *a*, *b*, *c*.

Treacle (*triacle* found in O. Fr.), *chronicle, canticle,* are formed on the analogy of *article, miracle, tabernacle,* etc. A (nouns), *a*, *b*.

I believe I have now gone through Prof. Skeat's examples of intrusive *r* and *l*. It is quite[1] possible that our President accepts the position that these intrusions were caused by analogy; and I am quite certain that he could furnish very much stronger arguments and examples to corroborate this position than I can. It is indeed most probable that I, working only with very ordinary means of reference at my command, and not acquainted with the bibliography of the discussion of the words, have missed in many cases the actually efficient cause of the analogical influence. I feel confident, however, that there has been analogical influence. I accept no exceptions to phonetic laws except such as are caused either, firstly, by the lateral influence of analogy, or rather by the influence of the language or dialect as a whole

[1] Prof. Skeat does accept this position.—F. S.

or in its grouped parts, upon individual words or forms, or, secondly, by the influence of onomatopœia.

I must apologize to the Society for having presumed to attack its President's language. I cannot adequately express my gratitude as a student to Professor Skeat for his Dictionary. No one can over-estimate the gratitude I felt to Prof. Skeat for bringing out a Dictionary which reached the end of the alphabet in my student period. There are so many lexicographical efforts, which have reached the middle of the letter A or the end of C, or perhaps have arrived in different parts at the middle of the letters G, M, and O respectively, that it was an almost unheard-of privilege to read what a great modern scholar had to say about a word with initial *x*, *y*, or *z*.

I must however contend that in our President's Dictionary the operations of Analogy have met with scant respect, and that in the paper which I have attempted to criticize this evening the operations of Analogy have been thrust aside when they might at any rate have been investigated, whether they furnished a clue to the explanation of intrusive *r* and *l* or not.

X. — SOUND-CHANGES IN MELANESIAN LANGUAGES.

By the Rev. R. H. Codrington, D.D., of the Melanesian Mission, Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

(*Read at the Society's Meeting on Friday*, 19 *June*, 1885.)

1. It is necessary at the outset to define the field occupied by those Melanesian languages concerning the sound-changes in which I am about to speak. I do not undertake to survey all the languages in Melanesia, nor indeed all which are spoken in the part of Melanesia with which I am acquainted. Those which I am to consider occupy the north part of the New Hebrides, the Banks' Islands, the Santa Cruz Group, and the Solomon Islands so far as Ysabel. To these must be added Nengone, one of the Loyalty Islands (commonly called Mare), Fiji, and Duke of York Island, between New Britain

and New Ireland. For illustration I shall venture further as far as Malay and Malagasy, and in the Eastern Pacific to the Polynesian languages.

2. It is very desirable, I think, in the next place, to make it understood how very small, generally speaking, are the areas which are occupied by each of these Melanesian languages and dialects. It is natural, when the names of languages are heard, to think of them as occupying some considerable space, and the changes therefore of sounds as being met with at some distance. But in Melanesia we meet with some of the greatest changes within extremely small limits: some of the most distinctly different languages occupy a very small field indeed. A few examples will make this more clear than much explanation. The little island of Mota, in the Banks' Islands, has its own language, with very little dialectical difference within itself. Motlav, that is, Great Mota, is part of an island seven miles off, with inhabitants in every respect identical except in language. A Mota man cannot say an *h*, Motlav is full of them; a Motlav man never uses *p*, but *mb* instead, which is never used in Mota. In the same group again, in Vanua Lava, an island twelve miles long, there is a district, the greater part of the island, in which *t* drops, and is represented by an almost imperceptible break; yet, though this is the greater part of that island, the thousand people perhaps who do this are quite singular among the natives of that part of Melanesia in dropping their *t*. In another island of the same group, Santa Maria, there is a small district containing a few villages called Lakona, in which the language seems so strange to the other inhabitants of the island that it is taken for granted that no one will ever learn it. In the New Hebrides at Omba, Lepers' Island, the people on one side of a ravine use *k*, which the people of the other side of the ravine never use, but always *ngg*. I will add only the difference between Wango and Fagani in San Cristoval, of the Solomon Islands, only three miles apart, yet every *h* of Wango is *f* in Fagani.

3. I must say that I have not been able, except in the very narrowest limits, to discover a law of sound-change

between one language or dialect and another. Mota has no *h*, as Motlav has; how then is the Motlav *h* represented in Mota? By *s*, of course. A great number of words have *h* in Motlav, and *s* in Mota. But the rule cannot be made, as between Samoa and Maori, that one has *h* and the other *s*. Many words have *s* in both Mota and Motlav. It strikes one as a singular change that in Espiritu Santo *n* takes the place of *m* in very common words; but then it does not do so in every case; *natan na ima* 'eye of the house' is a door, *m* in the very common *mata* has become *n*, in the common word *ima* it remains. In the same way *n* turns to *l* in Alite, but only in some words; *l* to *dh* in Bugotu, but only in some words. One can say that in Lepers' Island every *k* of Lombaha is *ngg* in Walurigi; in Saddle Island every *k* in Motlav is *ngg* in Volow; that every Mota *p* is *mb* in most of the Banks' Islands; that every *h* of Wango in San Cristoval is *f* in Fagani; that in some dialects *t* before *i* is palatalised and turns to *tch*. If the change between any two dialects extends so far as to be regular between two sounds in each, it is a wide rule for Melanesia; as when one can say, that every *g* and *h* of Florida are respectively *h* and *s* in Vaturanga, on the neighbouring coast of Guadalcanar. It must be understood then, that generally, as between one language and another, changes of sound take place in some words, not in all.

4. Again, I must explain that in using the word Sound-change, I am not meaning that in my view there has been always historically a change from one sound to another in Melanesia. In Florida they say *koko*, in Bugotu *popo* for 'above,' in Florida *kukua*, in Mota *pupua*, for 'ancestor.' So in Maori an ear is *taringa*, in San Cristoval *karinga*. It does not appear to me possible to say that one sound is changed from the other, or that one is older than the other. But when in Nggao, close to Bugotu, one finds them say *fofo*, or in Espiritu Santo to say *salinga*, I think there is a change which has actually taken place from *p* to *f*, and *t* to *s*. It appears to me that one must allow an equal right, within certain limits of course, to sounds which interchange, and

not contemplate any genealogy or fixed succession of them in time. In Melanesia one meets with natives who read and write their own language, and perfectly hear and pronounce a distinction between *p*, *b*, and *v*, yet who, as in Pentecost in the New Hebrides, use quite indifferently *pev*, *bev*, *vev*, for 'to say.' In Fate one finds equally *fisa* and *bisa* 'to speak;' in the Sesake sentence *tava varau e parau qia*, the high hill is very high, two forms of the word are given side by side. In Santa Cruz it was most bewildering, when the language was first being learnt, to find 'ten' for example first called *naplu* and then *napnu*, 'I' at one time *ninge* and at another *nike*, with continual changes of the same kind. Of course it occurs to suppose that it is now *b* and now *p*, for example, because of assimilation to near sounds or by influence from them: in some cases this can be found, as in the Sesake sentence above; but on the whole I cannot make it out. It follows therefore that one takes certain sounds as equivalent without further question; and I must confess that to me no notion of priority between themselves whatever attaches to such sounds as *b*, *v*, *w*, *f*, historically.

That changes do occur in our own days is very certain, more or less permanent, probably, according to circumstances. Mr. Fison described to me the invasion of Fiji by *p*. In the same way Mr. Whitmee relates how *k* forces its way into Samoa.[1] There are still in Norfolk Island a few old Pitcairn women, who, by inheritance from Tahitian mothers, cannot say *r* but always use *l*. In the Tahitian of the present *r* alone is used. Many years ago I went to Wango, in San Cristoval, with a native of Malanta, who two or three years before had known the place. After he had been ashore, he told me with surprise that the Wango people were all saying *f* for *h*. That fashion has gone by; it arose from a visit

[1] "The introduced *p* bids fair to drive out the *v* from the Bau Fijian. I have striven against it in vain with my students—they persist in writing *pale* for *vale* in spite of innumerable scoldings."

Mr. Whitmee says of Samoan, "A person now visiting Samoa would hear *k* used by most of the natives in their ordinary conversation in place of *t*. But this is a recent change. It is difficult to say how this change commenced, but its spread has been noticed, and every attempt has been made to arrest it, but without effect."

some of them had made to Fagani, three miles off, where *f* is used, and it became the correct thing to speak like one who had travelled and seen the world. These changes, I suppose, are always going on, and I see no more reason why the Fagani people should not take to their neighbours' fashion and call their place Hagani, than there was for the Wango people taking to the *f*.

5. I use therefore the word Sound-change for the variations, interchanges, which are the substitution of one sound for another with which it has a natural affinity. I will give an example in a very common Melanesian word for 'rat,' which has three consonants. This is in Sesake *kusuwe*, in Mota *gasuwe*, in Lakona *wohow*, in Motlav *gohow*, in Malanta *'asuhe*, in Wango *gasuhe*, in Fagani *gasufe*, in Vaturanga *nggasuve*, in Savo *kuzi*. These may be arranged to show the changes in each consonant.

kusuwe	kusuwe	kusuwe
gasuhe (hard g)	gohow	gosug
nggasuhe	kuzi	gasuhe
gasuwe (peculiar g)	...	gasufe
'asuhe	...	nggasuve
wohow		

No one can doubt the identity of the words, though the difference between *gasufe* and *wohow* is so considerable.

6. I should mention also by way of illustration some few of the changes which occur when Melanesians use foreign words, and it will be sufficient to give a few examples of the transformation of English words. In Florida they have neither *f* nor *j*; Fiji they pronounce Pindi. They have not *w*, and substitute their *g*; an Englishman named Wilcox became Gilikakusu. The Santa Cruz people substitute *t* for both *s* and *h*; the distinction between 'box' and 'bucket' comes to very little, *bakoti* and *baketi* or *banggeti*. These are slight matters, but probably useful to observe.

7. I ought to add one thing more; that in one region there is an indistinctness which is different from variation in sound. In Ulawa principally I believe that they do not know whether they sound *v* or *b*, *t* or *d*, *k* or *g*, *r* or *l*. Yet they have both *l* and *r* in their language, and decidedly

assert that their own island is Ulawa not Urawa. In Wango they say that, properly, they have only *r* and no *l*; and a man who makes the statement will go on to call his wife Laulaha instead of Rauraha. This is worth mentioning, but it is outside my proper subject, which I will now endeavour to approach in some detail; premising that I shall deal only with consonantal sounds.

Gutturals.—Changes and Variations; *k*, hard *g*, *ngk*, *ngg*, *g* (peculiar), break ', *ng*, *h*, *w*.

1. The sound of hard *g* is rare in Melanesia; it is heard in Wango, San Cristoval, in Anaiteum, where it is written *c*, and in Nengone. In Fiji it is sounded in some words, but always written *k*. The change from *k* is seen in the Fate *kari* 'boy,' Wango *gari*; Fate *kapu* 'fire,' Anaiteum *cap*. In Nengone the suffixed 1st person singular pronoun, very commonly *ku*, is *go*.

2. Nasalization of *k* is very common, and marks the distinction of some dialects: in Lepers' Island *k*, which is used regularly at Tavalavola, becomes regularly *ngg* at Walurigi; *aka*, *angga* 'a canoe'; in Saddle Island, Banks' Islands, there is the same difference between Motlav and Volow, which replaces *k* with *ngg*; *ongg* for *ok* 'canoe.' In Santa Cruz *k* and *ngg* are indifferently used, *ko* or *nggo*. In many of the languages, however, *k* and *ngg* are equally at home, some words regularly having *k*, some *ngg*; as Florida has *nggari* 'boy.'

There is the much rarer sound of *nk*, or *ngk*, as in 'sinker'; it is heard both in Fiji and Pentecost in the word *waqa*, *wangka* 'canoe'; and it is not thought worth while to employ a distinct symbol for it.

3. The peculiar sound very common in Melanesia, which is here symbolized by *g*, no doubt is a change or variation from *k*; *iga* 'fish,' is the common Polynesian *ika*. I cannot answer for the sound in the New Hebrides south of Fate, in which island it is present, but is not recognized in print as distinct; in Fiji also it is not recognized. In the Loyalty Islands the English Missionaries use *x* for it. In all the rest of the Melanesian languages known to me it is present and very characteristic: except in a few dialects of the Solomon

Islands, where it is represented by a break. It is necessary to attempt to describe it as something of a guttural trill, not quite the same in all words, and taken sometimes by hearers for *k*, sometimes for *g*, sometimes for *r*. It is easy sometimes to miss it, and in Wango and elsewhere they do not pronounce it. As *k* has become hard *g* with them, so the Melanesian *g* appears only as a break; Florida *bage* 'bow' *gabu* 'blood,' are in Wango *ba'e*, *'abu*. This no doubt corresponds to the break left in Samoan by the falling out of *k*; *'a'ao* 'hand' is the Melanesian *kakau*; but I am not aware of any example in Melanesia of the dropping of *k*.

4. In Ambrym, Santa Cruz, and Duke of York, *ng* replaces unmistakeably a common *k*. In Ambrym characteristically the two sounds are indifferent, either *gene* or *ngene* may be said for 'to eat'; in which no doubt *g* stands for a remoter *k*. In Ambrym, Santa Cruz, and Duke of York, the suffixed first person singular pronoun, almost universally *k*, becomes *ng*.

5. The change between Florida and Vaturanga of *g* and *h* is certain; every Florida *g* is Vaturanga *h*; *gai*, *hai* 'tree.' The same change, irregularly, is common enough; Espiritu Santo *gau* 'tree,' is Motu, New Guinea, *hau*. And *g* in this word, as an example, is equivalent to *k*; it is *kau* in Sesake, as in the Maori *rakau*; the change or variation is the same as in the same word in Malay and Malagasy, *kayu* and *hazo*.

6. In Mota one dialect is fond of replacing the *g* of the other with *w*; *tagir* and *tawur* 'behind,' and *ug* and *uw* 'to blow.' To this corresponds the Florida substitution of *g* for the *w* which they cannot pronounce; a Mota word *wowut* they pronounce *gogutu*. In Mota and Fiji words the change of *k* and *w* is seen; Fiji *kumete* 'bowl,' *kune* 'to conceive,' are plainly the Mota *wumeto*, *wune*.

Dentals.—1. As in the case of the hard *g*, the media *d* is not common in Melanesia. There is a doubt in some languages whether *t* or *d* should be written; a pure *d* is only known to me in Nengone, Pentecost, Wango, and Bugotu. It is most common to strengthen *d* with *n*. In the same way *t* is strengthened with *n* in Fate, and in Tasiko. The close

sympathy between *n* and *d*, on the one hand, and *d* and *r*, on the other, causes very interesting transitions from *r* to *n*, from *n* to *t*, and from *r* to *t*. The word for 'blood,' in Malagasy *ra*, is *dra* in Malay, *dra* (= *ndra*) in Fiji, *ndara* and *nara* in the Banks' Islands; so the Polynesian *rau* is Mota *nau* 'leaf.' In Pak the Mota *manui* 'nose,' has become *metigi*; in Mota *gina* and *gita* are two forms of the same expletive; Malay *kita*, Florida *gita*, Motlav *gind*, the inclusive first person plural, come down to the Mota *nina*. In Pak the passage of *n* to *t* results in the remarkable appearance of the Malay *panas*, Maori *mahana*, Malagasy *mafana*, in the reduplicated *vavat*; as the Mota *nau* 'leaf,' has become *togi* in Pak. The common *rua* 'two,' has in Api become *tua*.

2. There is a modification of *t*, and less distinctly of *d*, in Lakona and the Torres Islands. The contact of the tongue and the teeth or roof of the mouth is incomplete, and a sort of vibration follows, which has been written *tr*. We mark it by a change of type; *tatun*, 'man,' in Lakona, *tomtom*, 'to think,' in Lo. These words are in Mota *tanun* and *nomnom*, and in other Banks' Islands tongues *tondun*, *ndomndom*.

3. In a part of Vanua Lava, in the Banks' Islands, *t* is regularly left out; the Mota *matig* 'cocoanut,' is *me'ig*; *tauwe* 'hill,' is *'o*; *vit* 'star,' *vi'*. At the beginning and end of a word nothing represents the dropped consonant, but in such a word as *me'ig* there is a certain break. In this language *t* comes in to represent *n* or *nd* of the neighbouring tongues. In the Solomon Islands also *t* is dropped; *ba'u* Wango, *pa'u* Saa and Nggao, stand for the common word for 'head' *batu*.

4. There is another change of *t* which is remarkable, because it is the only change in which I have been able to see anything of a geographical character. Before *i* particularly, but also before *u* and *e*, *t* turns into *tch*, *ts*. This is found in Api, Ambrym, Espiritu Santo, Lakona, Ureparapara, Torres Islands, and Santa Cruz: the same is probably indicated when the sound of *j* in Anaiteum is said to be that of '*te* in righteous.' Thus the word which is *tua* 'two,' in

one part of Api, is *chua* on the N.W. coast; in Ambrym a word has been written *tiene* and *chene*; in Espiritu Santo *tatua* 'man,' becomes *tatsua*; in Lakona *telinga* 'ear,' is *jelngan*; in Ureparapara *t* before *i* and *u* regularly becomes *ch*, *chichi* for *titi*, *qutuchi* for Mota *qatui*; in Torres Islands a word which if no vowel follows it is *it* becomes *ichi* when *i* is added; *tate* if the next word begins with *i* becomes *tach*. In Santa Cruz according to their way of speaking a word has indifferently *t* or *ch*; *tetiki* or *techiki*; but words common elsewhere with *t* have with them *ch*; *echa* 'one,' is *e tea*. To represent this sound we employ *j*.

5. Occasionally *s* appears for a common *t*: the numeral *vat* 'four' is in Lakona *vas*; *tava* in Wango is the Mota *sava*.

6. The most singular change is found in Rotuma of *t* to *f*; *ta* 'man,' becomes *fa*; *talinga* 'ear,' *faliang*; *mata* 'eye,' *maf*; *vatu* 'stone,' *hof*.

Labials.—In these sounds it appears to me particularly inappropriate to speak of change with regard to Melanesian languages; *p*, *b*, *mb*, *v*, *w*, interchange freely, and, as has been said, to some extent are used indifferently. This I take to be characteristic of the family of languages. If one takes a vocabulary of languages of the Malay Archipelago, such as given by Mr. Wallace, one finds a very common word for 'moon' in the following shapes: Malay *bulan*, Javanese *wulan*, Saparua *phulan*, Bouru *fhulan*, Amboyna *hulan*, the Malagasy being *volana*. Under the word 'fruit' there are similarly Malay *bua*, Javanese *wowoan*, Bouru *fuan*, Ceram *vuan*, Amboyna *huan*; with which correspond Malagasy *voa*, Maori *hua*, Samoa *fua*. A Melanesian vocabulary shows not indeed a strict correspondence, but the same sort of variation; *vula*, *wula*, *hula*, 'moon'; *buwa*, *vua*, *woa*, *fua*, *hua*, 'fruit.'

It is very common in Melanesia to support *b* with *m*, and sometimes also so to strengthen *p*; a labial is kept in that way from turning into a semivowel or becoming explosive. As therefore the range from *p* to *h* is very common, so the change from *p* to *m* is not unknown; the Florida word *malei* 'place,' is the Bugotu *bale*, and it may be reasonably thought that the Malay *pulang* 'to go back,' is the Mota *mulang*.

Nasals.—It has been shown how *n* and *d* are connected and interchange, and how in this way the same word appears with *r*, *t*, and *n*; as the common word *rau* 'a leaf,' *drau* in Fiji (*ndrau*), *nau* in Mota, *togi* in Vanua Lava.

There is a change of *n* to *ng* in Melanesia which is not at all common; such however is clearly seen in the Florida *ngara* 'blood,' which must be the Mota *nara*, that being again, as has been shown, the Malagasy *ra*.

In some Melanesian languages the *ñ* sound, as in Spanish, is a favourite modification: such is the case in Bugotu, in which, for example, the suffixed third person singular pronoun, which is almost universally *na*, becomes *ña*.

In Santa Cruz the interchange of *l* and *n* is common, and like other changes of the same character in that language confusing; but it cannot be taken as a change of *n* to *l*. Such a change, however, is characteristic of the language of Alite, an islet on the coast of Malanta. There the most common words which are everywhere found with *n* have *l*; such as *malu* 'a bird' for *manu*, *baila* 'large,' for *paina* used a few miles off. This change is of course another form of that from *n* to *r*; and in this way *d* and *l* come to appear in variations of the same word.

The change of *m* to *n* is remarkable in Espiritu Santo. There words which are elsewhere very common with *m* appear with *n* instead; the very common *manu* 'a bird' becomes *nanu*; *lima* 'hand,' *lina*; *mata* 'eye,' *nata*.

What appears to me the most interesting change from *m* is that to *ng*. There are in a great part of Melanesia two sounds of *m*, the second being of a more nasal character. The breath passes for a little through the nose; the sound is held and delayed a little in the nose before the lips open with the sound of *m*. We now use the change from Roman to Italic, or *vice versa*, to express this sound in print, but it is instructive to observe that natives wishing to express it in writing their own language have combined *ng* and *m*. Accordingly it is found that this *m* changes frequently to *ng*; a word commonly used for 'house' in the Banks' Islands is, in some form, *ima*, which is the same with Javanese *uma*,

Malay *ruma*; and as the *m* in the latter words becomes m in the Banks' Islands words *uma*, *ima*, *im*, *em*, so m becomes in other Banks' Islands dialects *ng*, and a house is *eng* in Ureparapara. It is in this way that the presence of two forms of the same word in Fiji is to be explained, *lima* 'five,' and *liga*, *linga*, 'hand.' In the islands where m is sounded, the word is always *lima*, not *lima*, so that it naturally passes to *linga*. Thus in Maori also *rima* is 'five,' and *ringa* is 'hand.'

Liquids.—The interchange or indifferent use of *r* and *l* is too much a matter of course to be dwelt upon; the changes from them are interesting to *y* and *dh*. I only know one region in which *r* becomes *y*, two islands of the Banks' group. In Motlav children never pronounce *r*, but as they grow up they begin to say it; in a neighbouring district of the same island no one says *r*, every one substitutes *y* for it; Motlav children and Bun men say *yon*, *boyos*, for *ron*, *boros*. In Ureparapara (as the island is called at Mota) it is a matter of dialect, some use *r* some *y*, some say *moros*, some *moyos*, some *paner*, some *paney*; their island is Norbarbar or Noybaybay. A direct change of *r* to *dh* I only know in a very small district of Saddle Island, of which Motlav is part. There they said *idhesei*, *inggedh*, when their neighbours use *eresei*, *ingger*. But this is parallel with the change of *l* to *dh*, which prevails in Bugotu in Ysabel. There a great number of words which have *l* in Florida, and elsewhere, have *dh* instead; the very common word for house, for example, in Florida *vale*, becomes *vadhe*, the Florida *bolo* 'a pig' is *bodho*. But the word for house is very well known with *r*; the Maori *whare*. So also the Florida *bolo* is *boro* in Duke of York Island. Thus the change of *r*, *l*, *dh*, is very plain in that region; and it is easily seen to extend further; the Mota *nora* 'yesterday,' is in Florida *nola*, in Bugotu *ñodha*, in Nggao, again, *ñora*. This change also is found in Fiji; for I cannot but believe that *cagi* = *dhangi* is the same with San Cristoval and Maori *rangi*, Malay *langit*, Mota *lang*, although the signification varies between sky, rain, wind, and the atmosphere generally.

Sibilants.—The interchange again of *s* and *h* is a matter

of course. Both are absent in Santa Cruz and Duke of York Island. When Santa Cruz people first came to Norfolk Island, great amusement was caused by their attempts to pronounce the names of the scholars from other islands, Sasaka, Wehuhu, in which were these unwonted sounds. Changes of *s* to *ch* and *dh* are found; in Vaturanga *Savo* becomes *Chavo*; in Fiji *c*=*dh* often represents *s* and *h* in other languages. The change to *z* is slight, and found, for example, in *kuzi*, the Savo form of the word for 'rat' given above.

Aspirates.—The change of *h* to *f* at Fagani has been mentioned. At Lakona and in the Torres Islands there is a tendency that way. The most interesting variation is found in Florida, where in the greater part of the country *h* is used, but in one district *z* regularly represents it, and in another *dh*. The negative is thus *taho*, *tazo*, and *tadho*. The people who use *z* and *dh* have no difficulty in pronouncing *h*; it is merely the fashion in their place to say *tazo* and *tadho*, a variation which education is already beginning unfortunately to efface. The connexion of *h*, *f*, *v*, *w*, *b*, has been already shown in the varying forms of the common word for fruit, in Melanesia *hua* and *fua* in San Cristoval, *hua* and *vua* in Malanta, *woa* in Mota, in Malay *bua*. So we have *haka*, *faka*, *vaka*, *waka*, *paka*, for a ship; and the Duke of York *winaga* 'food,' is the Fate *vinanga*, the *hinag* and *sinaga* of the Banks' Islands.

It will have been well understood, no doubt, that these changes of consonantal sounds in Melanesian languages are not exhibited as peculiar and exceptional phenomena. If they were such, they would have less value than I suppose they have. It is not for me to bring examples of similar changes in languages much better known than these to philological students, or even in the language which we speak ourselves. To bring forward fresh examples of what is known, to enlarge a little the field in which philology exercises itself, is all that I venture to attempt.

XI.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Professor SKEAT, LL.D.

(*Read at the Society's Meeting, on Friday, November* 6, 1885.)

Blaze, a white mark on a horse's forehead (Scand.). Bailey gives "*Blaze* (in a *Horse*), a white Face," ed. 1745. The word is somewhat older; Ogilvie gives a quotation from Cowley, but omits the reference. It may have been borrowed from Dutch, but is more likely Scandinavian; from Icel. *blesi*, a blaze or white star on a horse's forehead, Swed. *bläs* or *bläsa*, Dan. *blis*. Cf. Du. *bles*; O.Du. *blesse* (Hexham); G. *Blässe* (Flügel). The point to which I wish to draw attention is, that it is not the primary word *blaze*, a flame, but a secondary form, which ought to show vowel-change, so that we should expect to find a Mid. E. *bles*, and a mod. E. *bless* or *bleeze*. This fact is pointed out by Klüge, who gives the G. *Blässe*, sb. paleness, also a blaze, as derived by vowel-change from the adj. *blass*, pale, M.H.G. *blas*, pale, bald, orig. 'shining,' closely allied to the M.H.G. strong neuter sb. *blas*, a blaze, cognate with A.S. *blæse*. The sense 'bald' in M.H.G. well illustrates the word *blaze*, as applied to marks made on trees by chipping away the bark. The word for 'flame' is spelt both *blase* and *blese* in the Promptorium. I would therefore explain *blaze*, in this sense, as a phonetic spelling, in which the *a* denotes the sound of the M.E. *e* or *ee*.

Bluff. I wish to record an early example of this word. "When we came abreast of the *bluff-head*, . . . we edged away from it"; 1699, W. Dampier, A New Voyage, iii. 137. Cf. E. Fries. *bluffen*, *blaffen*, in Koolman.

Bonfire. Whether *bonfire* is really *bone-fire*, we may leave to Dr. Murray. I make a note of two very pertinent quotations. In Golding's tr. of Ovid's Metamorph. bk. vii. ed. 1603, leaf 87 back, there is an account of a plague; and it is said of the dead bodies:

"So either lothly on the ground vnburied did they lie,
Or els without solemnitie were burnt in *bone-fires* hie."

Again, in the first part of Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Act iii. sc. 3, we read:

> "Now will the Christian miscreants be glad,
> Ringing with joy their superstitious bells,
> And making *bonfires* for my overthrow.
> But, ere I die, those foul idolaters
> Shall make me *bonfires* with their filthy *bones*."

Booty, plunder. In my Dictionary, I have derived *booty* from the corresponding Scand. forms, such as Icel. *býti*; and I find that Kluge takes the same view, supposing that the word was confused (as it probably was) with *boot*, profit. But I am now quite certain that this view is wrong; and that we took the word, not immediately from Scandinavian, but mediately or at second-hand, through the French. The history of the word proves it. It is not used, that I know of, in Middle English, but appears soon after 1500. When first borrowed, it had the exact F. form, viz. *butin*. Examples are given, s.v. *buten*, in Croft's index to Sir T. Elyot's "Governour." Palsgrave has both forms, with and without the final *n*. Thus he has: "I parte a *butyne* or a pray taken in the war, *Je butyne*"; and again, "*Boty* that men of warre take, *butin*." The loss of *n* occurs again in our adj. *haughty*, M.E. *hautein*. Hence our *booty* is from the F. *butin*, explained as 'a booty, prey' by Cotgrave; and the F. *butin* was of Teutonic (probably of Scandinavian) origin. See *bottino* in Diez. Wedgwood cites Palsgrave, and hints that the word is French, but does not say so explicitly.

Botargo, a cake made of the roe of the sea-mullet (Ital.). This word is given by Nares. It so happens that the word is mentioned in Rabelais in company with "sausages"; but there is no evidence that a *botargo* was made like a sausage; it was a kind of hard cake. Capt. Smith, in 1614–5, speaks of "dry fish, greene fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Caviare, and *Buttargo*"; ed. Arber, p. 240. In 1614, he says that "Cape-Blank, Spaine, Portugale, and the Leuant, [serve] with Mullet and *Puttargo*," p. 197. I think the explanation "sausage" is due to confusion with the Span. *botarga*, one sense of which

is "a kind of large sausages"; whereas I doubt if there is any very close connection. Cotgrave gives the F. pl. form *botargues*; Littré gives *botargue*, and (rightly, as I think) says that the word is Italian, and therefore not necessarily Spanish. Florio (1598) gives the very form *botargo*, 'a kind of salt meate made of fish vsed *in Italy* in Lent.' Torriano (1688) gives the fem. pl. form *botarghe*, 'a salt meat made of the hard rows of the fish *cefalo*,' i.e. mullet. I find no such use of the word in Spanish; and I think therefore that we may safely put the word down as Italian. The modern Ital. form is *buttarga*, explained by Meadows as 'sturgeons' eggs pickled.' Littré refers us to this modern Ital. form, but it is better to take the old form *botargo* at once. As to the etymology of the Italian word, I find no suggestion. Mahn refers the Span. *botarga* to the Lat. *botulus*, a sausage; but, as I have said, there is nothing to call in the Spanish form.

I will, however, venture on a guess which seems to me reasonable, viz. that *botargo* may have been named from the fish itself. Torriano gives us *cefalo* as the fish's name, which, of course, means 'big-head,' from Gk. *κεφαλή*. Now *botta*, says Florio, is 'a kind of fish called a Millers thumbe, or a gull,' and *bota* is 'a fish that grunteth, called a mole-bout.' All that is now wanting is evidence to show that *botta* can mean a mullet; meanwhile, we find that the miller's thumb is also called a bull-head, and that the Ital. *botta* can even mean a toad, no doubt from its swelling itself out; cf. Lat. *botulus*, a sausage, with which I do not deny that there may be an ultimate connection. Cf. Du. *bot*, a plaice; Florio's *mole-bout* (above); and E. *halibut*, which show how vaguely fish-names can be used. The G. *butte* means a flounder.

Meadows' Ital. Dict. gives a form which throws some light upon the suffix also. Besides *buttarga*, he gives *bottarga*, *bottarica*, a sort of cavaire [i.e. *botargo*]. This suggests that *botargo* was formed from *bota* by adding the compound suffix *-ari-co*, which I suppose occurs again in *Balearic*.

I find a note, that in Shaw's Travels we are told that mullets are caught remarkably large on the Northern coast

of Africa, in the kingdom of Tunis. This again connects *botargo* rather with Italy than with Spain.

Box, Christmas. The word *box* in *Christmas box* no longer conveys any obvious meaning. It was an actual *box*, made of earthenware, in which apprentices collected pence from customers at Christmas; when sufficiently filled, it was broken to get at the contents. See the account in Brand, Popular Antiquities, ed. Ellis, i. 494. Brand quotes from Mason's Handful of Essaies, 1621: "he never doth good till his death; as an apprentice's box of earth, apt he is to take all, but to restore none till hee be broken"; and in another parallel quotation, dated 1642, we find: "like the *Christmas earthen boxes* of apprentices."

Braid, full of deceit (E.). In a well-known passage in All's Well, iv. 2. 73, nearly all the modern editors explain the word *braid* as deceitful, 'since Frenchmen are so *braid*.' But the fact is, that the M.E. *braid* is a sb., not an adjective, and means deceit, trick, art, fraud; and no one has made any attempt to show how it can be an adjective, as it obviously is, in this passage. The fact is simply, that *braid* is here a contracted form of *braided*, and *braided* of course means 'furnished with tricks, full of deceits,' which is much stronger than merely 'deceitful.' This contraction of words ending in *-ded* is familiar to all who have read Middle English attentively; and was long ago noticed by Sir F. Madden in his note to l. 347 of Will. of Palerne, which I have reprinted. He notices the occurrence of *comaund* for *comaunded*, *gerde* for *girded*, and adds that it occurs frequently in the Wycliffite versions of the Bible. Modern English has *spread* for the past participle, not *spreaded*; so also *led*, not *leaded*; *read*, not *readed*. The same occurs with words ending in *-ted*, shortened to *t*; as in *alight* for *alighted*, and so on. The contraction can take place when *t* or *d* is preceded either by another consonant or by a long vowel, but not otherwise.

Horne Tooke actually took *braid* to be the past participle of the verb *bray*, to pound; and explained *braid* to mean *bray'd*, i.e. pounded, and so 'compounded.' This forced meaning is quite unnecessary.

It is material to observe that the form *braid* for *braided* actually occurs in the pp. of the verb, viz. in Sir Gawayn and the Grene Knight, 2069: "The brygge watz *brayde* down," i.e. the draw-bridge was braided down, let down suddenly.

It thus appears that Shakespeare has used *braid* for *braided* improperly; it should only be contracted when it is really a past participle, not when used adjectivally. A good early example of this adjectival use of words ending in *-ed* is Chaucer's *gauded*, i.e. furnished with gauds. Cf. *beard-ed*, *horn-ed*, *gift-ed*.

Build. I have shown that our *build* is the A.S. *byldan*, derived by vowel-change from *bold*, a dwelling. I have also considered the A.S. *bold* as borrowed from the Icel. *ból*, a dwelling. But I find another account of *bold* in an article by Sievers on the Noun-suffix *-tra*, printed in Paul and Braune, Beiträge, v. 529. He says *bold* is for **bolþ-*, by metathesis for **boþl-*=A.S. *botl*, a dwelling (cf. *Bootle* in Cumberland and Lancashire). This **boþl-* or *botl* is due to a Teutonic **bo-þlo-*, or **bo-þro-*, a form in which we recognize the Teut. base BU-, and the Aryan suffix *-tra*. This brings us to the root I have already indicated, but accounts for the suffix differently.

To appreciate Sievers' view, his other examples must be examined; we have a sure parallel in the case of *needle*, of which another form was *neeld*; for this *neeld* certainly contains the Aryan suffix *-tra*.

Cad. It has not been yet noticed that this term is more than 200 years old. Brand, in his Antiquities (ed. Ellis, iii. 86), quotes an example in which a *cad* means an attendant spirit. Quoting from Osborne's Advice to his Son, 8vo., Oxford, 1656, p. 36, he remarks that Osborne compares a wife or husband to a *cad*. Unhappy marriages "must needs render their sleepe unquiet, that have one of those *cads* or familiars still knocking over their pillow." This refers to the belief that ghosts disturb sleepers by keeping up a constant knocking. I remain of opinion that *cad* is the same word as the Scotch *cadie*. In Michel's Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language, 1882, p. 183, we read: "The

cadies, an interesting class of people, who acted both as commissionaires and watchmen, at times lent a helping hand to the hangman in the discharge of his duty. Their name was originally the same with F. *cadet*, which is also English." See *cadet* in Littré, where the familiar and ironical uses of the word are exemplified. A *cady* who became assistant-hangman lent his name to reproach.

Carnival. I have already shown that Littré seems to have misunderstood the word *carnelevarium*, which meant a time of feasting, and not of fasting. The mistake arose with Ducange, or rather with Charpentier, the writer of the supplement. He explains *Carnelevarium* as a day of fasting; but at once proceeds to give an example in which the term was applied to Quinquagesima Sunday, which was a feast-day. He quotes a passage beginning: "De ludo Carnelevar. In Dominica dimissionis carnium"; etc. Here we see the source of confusion. Lent is called *dimissio carnium*, very properly; and the Sunday preceding Lent was called the "Sunday of the fast." But it always was, and still remains true, nevertheless, that "the Sunday of the fast" was *itself* a feast-day; and *carnelevarium*, taken alone, means precisely the same as *carnelevamen*, explained in Ducange as 'a day of revelry' (Bacchanalium dies); and as *carnelevale*, given as another name for Quinquagesima. The Lat. *levare* means to solace, please, comfort; and all its derivatives partake of this meaning. Ducange further refers us to Fitzstephen, where, however, the word *carnelevaria* appears rather to refer to Shrove-Tuesday, which was a feast-day also. See the passage quoted in Brand's Antiquities, ed. Ellis, ii. 61, note. Brand refers to Pegge's edition of Fitzstephen, 1772, p. 74. The very same passage is given at p. 214 of Thoms' edition of Stow's Survey of London, and his various readings are worth notice. His text has *Carnivale*, translated by 'Shrove-tide'; but the various readings give the forms *Carnivalia*, *Carnilevaria*, and *Carnelevari*. The word *carnivalia* is unmeaning, and I believe it to be merely a popular corruption of *carnilevaria*, the syllable *le* being dropped, and the suffix *-aria* turned into *-alia*.

Cinchona. I have shown, in my Supplement, that the right spelling is *Chinchona*, named from the Countess of *Chinchon*. I have now to add that, according to Pineda's Span. Dict., *Chinchon* is a small Spanish town, in the province of New Castile. The town is, in fact, so small that it is not marked in Black's Atlas.

Cobra, a snake. (Port.—L.) In a translation of Buffon's Nat. Hist., 1792, ii. 277, the snake is called '*cobra di capello*, or hooded serpent.' *Cobra* is neither in Johnson nor Bailey. Webster gives *cobra de capello*. Ogilvie gives *cobra de capello*, with *cobra di capello* and *cobra da capello* as alternatives. Cassell's Dict. has *cobra capella*, *cobra capello*, *cobra de capello*, *cobra di capello*, and informs us that *cobra di capello* is right, because *capella* means a chapel, and not a hood. But it is important to remark that *cobra di capello* is not only wrong, but impossible, for the simple reason that the phrase is Portuguese, and the word *di* is Italian. The word *de* might stand, as that is the Portuguese preposition; but the right form should surely be *do* (masculine). *Do* in Portuguese means 'of the'; whereas *de* only means 'of'; *cobra do capello* is 'snake with the hood,' and is correct.

I have to add that none of these Dictionaries give the etymology of *cobra*; nor can I find it in Diez or Littré; nor, indeed, anywhere else. But it is simply the Lat. *colubra*, a snake, used by Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal. *Capello* is the O.F. *chapel* (F. *chapeau*); see *chaplet* in my Dictionary.

Coca, a plant. (Span.—Peruvian.) I have already spoken of *cacao*, which is Mexican, and of *cocoa*, which is Portuguese. *Coca* is distinct from both, and is Peruvian. It is described in Pineda's Spanish Dictionary, who refers us to J. Acosta's Natural History of the West Indies, lib. iv. c. 22, p. 252. See also Joyfull Newes out of the newe founde Worlde, by J. Frampton, 1577, fol. 101, back. The Span. spelling is *coca*, but the Peruvian is *cuca*, of which form the Span. word is a corruption. This is certain from the description by the Peruvian Inca Garcilasso, in his Royal Commentaries of Peru, bk. viii. c. 15. Rycaut's translation speaks "of the Herb which the Indians call *cuca*, and the

Spaniards *coca.*" I cannot find that Mahn has any authority for saying that the word is also *Mexican.* The plant grows wild in Peru.

Contraband. I have marked *contraband* as Italian, and I think the quotation in Littré justifies this, as it says the term was used by the Venetians in the sixteenth century, and the French form is already in Cotgrave. The Spanish form is precisely the same, but it is not given in Minsheu (1623), and only appears in Pineda's Span. Dictionary (1740). There is an early example of it, however, in Howell's Letters (Sept. 8, 1623), where he mentions "*ropa de contrabando*, prohibited goods," Letters, sect. 3, let. 6. Here *ropa* is a Spanish form, the Italian has *roba.* The form *contrabandista*, a smuggler, is certainly Spanish; the Ital. has *contrabandiere.*

Cowslip. I have explained this as originally *cow-slop*, the literal sense being 'the droppings of a cow.' Mr. Magnusson points out to me that the Icel. word for the flower is *kú-reki*, i.e. cow-droppings, and that the Icel. word was borrowed from the A.S. *cú-slyppe*, the latter part of the word being translated in order to preserve the meaning. Odd as this may seem, it is matched by the prov. E. *cow-daisy*, which does not mean the flower, but the circle of cow-dung, also called *cow-blake, cow-clap, cow-plat, cow-shard, cow-sharn;* see Halliwell. Another prov. E. name for *cow-slip* is *cow-strippling* or *cow-stropple*, lit. cow-dribblings, or the last milk drawn from a cow by pressure. See *strip, strippings, stroakings*, and *strop* in Halliwell.

Creel, a kind of basket. (Gaelic.) M.E. *crel*, with long *e.* "A basket and iij *kreles*"; Wills and Inventories, Surtees Soc., i. 224; A.D. 1564. Spelt *creill* in Laing's Select Remains of Scottish Poetry, King Berdok, l. 25; also in the Ballad of the Wooing of Jok and Jenny, st. 7. See also *creil* in Jamieson. The etymologies in Jamieson cannot be right. It is a Gaelic word, spelt *craidhleag* by Macleod and Dewar, who explain it by 'a basket, a creel.' O'Reilly quotes '*craidlag*, a basket,' from Shaw's Gael. Dict. I suppose it is allied to *cradle.*

Crow-bar. I give the usual account, that the *crow-bar* was probably named from some resemblance to the crow's beak. The old name was simply *crow*, without the *bar*; see under **Prise**, p. 320. Cotgrave has: "*Corbin*, a crow; *bec de corbin*, a chirurgeon's toole, called a crowes-bill."

Crowd. The verb to *crowd* answers to M.E. *crouden*, to push. The related A.S. word is given by Ettmüller and Leo as **créodan*. I wish to point out that this form of the infinitive is *theoretical*; and I entirely fail to discover any possible reason why the A.S. infinitive should not have been **crúdan*, in perfect accordance with the M.E. form. There are only two examples of the verb in all A.S. literature. One gives us *crýdeþ* as the 3 pers. sing. present, and the other gives us *créad* as the past tense. Both of these could easily come from an infinitive **crúdan*, precisely as we get the 3 pers. sing. pres. *býhþ*, short for *býgeþ*, and the pt. t. *béah*, from *búgan*, to bow. The only related word is the O. Dutch *kruyden*, to push, given by Hexham; now spelt *kruijen*, by loss of *d*. Now, precisely as the O. Dutch *buygen*, to bow, answers to A.S. *búgan*, so the O. Du. *kruyden* must answer to an A.S. *crúdan*. After writing this note, I found that Stratmann has already made this suggestion.

Davit. The etymology of this nautical term is uncertain. It is very remarkable that Capt. Smith (Works, ed. Arber, p. 793, A.D. 1626) spells it *Dauid*, and prints it in italics as if it were a man's name. He speaks of "the blocke at the *Dauids* ende." Perhaps this is the right solution, though we cannot tell what relation this *David* was to *Davy Jones*. Dr. Fennell called my attention to the above passage.

Dell. I have wrongly marked this word as O. Dutch, whereas it occurs in A.S., though ignored by the Dictionaries. The A.S. form is *del*, neuter sb., dat. *delle*, also *dælle*; this *del* is clearly from a stem **dal-jo*, and only differs from *dale* in having a different stem. I find *þæt del* and *of þam dælle* in Cartularium Saxonicum, ed. Birch, i. 547; *to deopan delle*, id. ii. 71; and even the compound *dellwuda*, *i.e.* a dell-wood, id. ii. 232.

Doiley. I find a MS. note by Pegge, that "Doyley kept a

Linnen-draper's shop in the Strand, a little West of Catharine Street."

Doll. In my Supplement, I have partly come round to the view that *doll*, as a child's toy, is the same as the name *Doll*, and so short for *Dorothy*. The great difficulty is the want of evidence. It is therefore important to observe—as Mr. Symthe Palmer has already done—that Jamieson gives the Sc. "*doroty*, a doll, a puppet, as 'a dancing *doroty*'; also, a female of very small size." There can be no mistake here. Michel, in his Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language, p. 351, refers us, for an example of *doroty*, to "Destiny," vol. ii. p. 92; and remarks that *doroty* is from the F. *Dorothée*. Littré gives F. *dorothée* as a name for a kind of dragon-fly. If this be right, a *doll* is, literally, a gift of God.

Doublet. Note that Halliwell has *singlet*, q.v.

Duds, shabby clothes (Scand.). *Duds* is a prov. E. word, in Halliwell. It is introduced as a cant term for clothes in Beaumont and Fletcher, Beggar's Bush, v. 1, being borrowed from Harman's Caveat, where we find "*dudes*, clothes"; see Furnivall's edition, p. 83, col. i. Skelton has: "In *dud* frese ye war schrynyd, With better frese lynyd," ed. Dyce, i. 121; where *dud freze* is coarse frieze. It occurs in the fifteenth century. "Birrus, vel birrum, i. grossum vestimentum, Anglice, *a dudde*"; Wright's Vocab. ed. Wülcker, 568. 18. Jamieson has several examples of it. In one of these it is spelt *dudis*, and I have just quoted *dudes*. I have no doubt that the vowel was originally long. Hence it is the same as Sc. *doud*, a woman's cap; Devonshire *dowd*, a night-cap (Halliwell); and hence also the prov. E. *doudy*, *dowdy*, ill-dressed, shabbily dressed. The word is probably of Scand. origin; but is only preserved in the Icel. *dúðir*, swaddling clothes. Jamieson quotes the sense "indumentum levioris generis." The prov. E. *duds* also means rags; and *dudman* is a scare-crow made of ragged old clothes. It is not improbable that the root is the Aryan DHU, to shake, represented in Icel. by *dýja*, *dúa* (pt. t. *dúðir*), to shake, used of shaking spears, or shaking the locks; whence the idea of flapping or ragged clothes. With *duds* we may also connect

Icel. *diða*, to swathe, wrap up, prov. E. *duddle*, to wrap up warmly and unnecessarily, to coddle; and the old word *duddles*, bundles of dirty rags, in Pilkington's Works (Parker Soc.), p. 212. Wedgwood has already connected *duds* with the idea of shaking or flapping; and derives *duds* from the verb *dodder* or *dudder*, to shake. The truth is rather, that this verb and *duds* are both from the same Aryan root.

Duffer, a feeble, inefficient person. (Scand.) This slang term is really Scottish, being the Lowl. Sc. *dowfart*, *duffart*, stupid, spiritless, inefficient. Jamieson illustrates itself sufficiently, and rightly connects it with *douf*, a stupid fellow, *dowf*, dull, flat, melancholy, inactive, hollow, inert; which is nothing but the Icel. *daufr*, i.e. the Scand. form of E. *deaf*. A nut without a kernel is called in E. a *deaf nut*, in Scotch a *dowf nit*. The number of related words is large. Already in Gothic we find *afdobnan*, to become dumb or silent, from *daubs*, deaf; Icel. *dofna*, to become dead (as a limb), to become dull (as the mind), from *daufr*, deaf; also *dofi*, torpor, *daufleikr*, sloth, *daufingi*, a sluggard, a duffer; Du. *doof*, deaf, *dof*, faint, dull, heavy, hollow-sounding, *dof*, the low sound of oars, a hollow sound; Dan. *döv*, deaf, *döve*, to blunt, dull; Low G. *doov*, deaf, empty, sad, dull; *duff*, dull-sounding, dim-coloured, etc. The *u* is shortened from *ou*, which again is from the Icel. *au* or *o*, Dan. and Swed. *ö*. The alliance with E. *deaf* is thus concealed. The suffix, in Scotch, is the same as the E. *-ard*, as in *slugg-ard*, *drunk-ard*.

Ease. The etymology of the F. *aise* is a well-known *crux*. Prof. Mayor has, however, sent me a note to say that the Low Lat. form was *agius*. He writes: "In the Archiv für lat. Lexikographie, ii. 112, published early in 1885, you will find *agius*, cited from the Poetæ ævi Carolini i. 427. 5:—'*agius* inter frondentes lauros habitans.'" This is obviously a note of considerable importance; the form corresponds to that of Ital. *agio*, but it is remarkable that the Low Lat. *agius* seems to be here an adjective, not a substantive, and to mean 'at ease' or 'at liberty.' (I ought, perhaps, to add

that I have not verified the sentence; it will be necessary to make sure that *agius* does not here represent, as it often does, the Gk. ἅγιος, holy, a saint.) Now supposing *agius* to be an adjective, it seems to me possible that it is, after all, a derivative of the Lat. verb *agere;* it might mean 'free to act.' It is worth noticing that there is an Ital. adj. *agevole*, meaning nimble, easy to be done, whence *agevolezza*, ease, facility. This Ital. *agevole* is just the Low Lat. *agibilis*, precisely as *credevole* is the Lat. *credibilis*. And seeing that the Ital. *agevolezza*, meaning precisely 'ease,' is a mere and obvious derivative of *agibilis* (and therefore of *agere*), it really does seem extremely probable that *agius* is another derivative of the same verb. The change of sense from 'free to act' or 'acting readily' is not difficult; for there is a verb *agiare*, to render at ease, to accommodate, from which the sb. *agio* could be evolved. Considering the known difficulty of the word, this solution is worthy of examination. The difference between *agius* and *agibilis* is merely this, that the former has an active, and the latter a passive sense; the one is 'acting readily,' and the other is 'readily done.'

Moreover, there is no difficulty about deriving a word in *-ius* from a verb. Roby derives *lud-ius*, a stage-player, from *ludere*, to play; and *exim-ius*, select, excellent, from *eximere*, to except, take out.

Eddy. Examples of this word at any early period are so scarce that I make a note of the occurrence of *ydy*, an eddy, in the Buke of the Howlate, written about 1453; st. lxiv. l. 827.

[The bard, being dirty]

"Socht wattir to wesche him thar out in ane *ydy*."

Eery, Eerie. The meanings of this word are given by Jamieson, who shows that the earliest sense was 'timid'; hence, affected by fear of the spiritual world, melancholy, strange. He refers to Douglas, who has the spelling *ery*, meaning timid; see Small's edition, vol. iii. p. 166, l. 1. Cassell's and Ogilvie's Dictionaries both refer us to the A.S. *earh*, sluggish, cowardly, but make no attempt to trace the word's history. I believe, however, that this is the right

solution, and I can supply some of the missing links. The A.S. *earh* became M.E. *arȝ*, *arh*, *areȝ*, *arȝe*, etc., with great varieties of spelling; see Stratmann and Mätzner. Amongst these varieties we find three instructive forms. In the Moral Ode, l. 20 or 19, Dr. Morris (Specimens, part i.) gives the spelling *Arȝe* for the nom. pl., with the sense 'slack' or 'remiss,' from the Trin. MS. The Jesus Coll. MS. has *Erewe*. But the Lambeth MS., as printed in Morris's Old Eng. Homilies, First Series, p. 161, l. 17, has *Erȝe*. We next come to an important passage in the Cursor Mundi, l. 17685, where we find the precise form and sense required. Here the Göttingen MS. has "Joseph, be noght *eri*," i.e. Joseph, be not afraid. It would appear that the final vowel is due to the vocalisation of the final guttural; the final *-ge* of the plural gave a final *-ȝe* in the plural, easily weakened to *-ie*, and hence the singular in *-i* or *y*. If this be not quite right, the Dictionary-slips will help us out. Meanwhile, I think this etymology may be accepted. It is just mentioned by Jamieson as a possibility; but the other etymologies (if such they can be called) which he suggests, are all out of the question. It is certainly not allied to G. *Ehre*, A.S. *ár*, honour; nor to Icel. *ógn*, terror; nor have I any faith in the Irish *earadh*, a refusal, fear, distrust.

Estreat, a true copy. I have explained this; it is merely O.F. *estrete*, Lat. *extracta*. But I have to add that Mr. Stevenson, of Nottingham, tells me that the M.E. word is *streete*, and observes that it is in the Prompt. Parv., where Mr. Way, who so seldom erred, has quite missed the point, misprinted the article, and given a wrong note. It should run thus: "*Streete*, catchepol*is* bok to gader by mercyments"; i.e. an estreat, a catchpoll's book to collect fines by.

Exhaust. *Exhaust* was at first a past participle, as its form shows. See Sir T. Elyot, The Governour, ed. Croft, ii. 59.

Feeze, Feaze, Pheeze. The word *pheeze* in Shakespeare is explained by Schmidt as 'to tease' or 'annoy.' He adds that some explain it by 'beat,' others by 'drive.' Webster explains it by 'to whip with rods, to beat, to worry, to tease.' There is absolutely no reason for explaining it by 'to whip.'

The proper sense is 'to drive away,' or 'to put to flight'; precisely the A.S. *fésian*, M.E. *fesen*; see *fesen* in Stratmann, who gives ten examples; and see Nares. The explanation 'to whip' arose with Hearne, who so explains it in a passage in Rob. of Brunne's tr. of Langtoft, p. 192, l. 1, and in another passage at p. 274, l. 14. In both places it obviously means to put to flight, or drive away. The etymology is wrongly given both in Webster and Ogilvie. Webster confuses it with another modern word *feaze*, to unravel. Ogilvie separates the two, but refers Shakespeare's *feeze* to F. *fesser*, to whip. I may add that three good examples of *feese*, to harass, worry, and hence to punish, occur in the York Mysteries.

The etymology is, accordingly, from the A.S. *fésian*, a dialectal variation of *fýsian*, to drive away. Again, *fýsian* is a by-form of *fýsan*, the usual form; and *fýsan* is derived by vowel-change from the adj. *fús*, prompt, quick. Thus the original meaning of *feeze*, as a transitive verb, is to cause to be quick, to make any one flee hurriedly. We may explain the phrase "I'll *pheeze* his pride" in Troilus, ii. 3. 215, by "I'll drive his pride away"; or, as we should now say, "I'll take down his pride." The phrase "I'll *pheeze* you" in the first line of the Taming of the Shrew, means, literally, "I'll make you run away pretty quickly;" but, in the mouth of Christopher Sly, it is a mere vague and unmeaning threat.

Fester, a sore; as a verb, to rankle. (F.—L.) I have shown that the verb to *fester* occurs in P. Plowman. In my Dictionary, I have argued in favour of the supposition that the word may be English; and Mahn does the same. Wedgwood refers us to the Walloon *s'éfister*, to become corrupt, to smell badly. I have now no hesitation in saying that we are all wrong; and the solution is easy when once suggested. It is a French word, and derived, quite regularly, from the Lat. *fistula*. The proof may be seen in Godefroy, who has at last recovered for us both the noun and the verb. The verb is *festrir*, to fester, as in "la plaie commence a *festrir*," the wound begins to fester; it also occurs actively, in the

sense 'to cover with wounds.' The verb is derived from the sb., which is much commoner, and spelt in various ways, such as *fistle*, *festre*, *feste*, *feske*, *fesque*, etc., meaning an ulcer, or festered wound; as in—"Moult boins surgiens est ki set warir de *festre*," i.e. he is a very good surgeon who knows how to cure a fester. The form *fiestre* also occurs, and this may in a measure account for the fact, already proved by me, that the former *e* in E. *fester* was sometimes pronounced long. The derivation is obviously, as I have said, from Lat. *fistula*, whence also F. *fistule*, which Cotgrave explains as "the running sore called an issue or fistula." *Fistula* becomes F. *festre* and E. *fester*, just as *chartula* gives F. *chartre*, E. *charter*, and the pl. acc. *glandulas* gives F. *glandres*, E. *glanders*.

The change from *i* to *e* is also regular; with *festre* from *fistula* compare *sec* from *siccus*, *ferme* from *firmus*, etc.; see Brachet, Hist. Fr. Grammar.

The result is, accordingly, that in the original French, the verb is derived from the sb., and this will give the true sense of the word in English. We must take the sb. *fester* to mean "a running sore," and hence derive the verb. At the same time, it would seem that it was, in fact, the verb which came first into use in England, and still seems to be the more important.

Fetish. We find "*Fetisso*, which is a kind of god," in W. Dampier (1699), A New Voyage, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 105. Our *fetish* answers to the F. *fétiche;* whereas *fetisso* answers to the Port. *feitiço*, whence the F. word is borrowed; as already explained.

Feuter, to lay the spear in rest. (F.—Teut.) "His speare he *feutred*"; Spenser, F. Q. iv. 4. 45. The verb is derived from M.E. *feuter*, a rest for a spear; "With spere festened in *feuter*"; Will. of Palerne, 3437 (cf. 3593).—O. F. *feutre*, felt, a piece of felt (Cotgrave); older spelling *feltre*, a rest for the lance, of which numerous examples are given in Godefroy. (It is remarkable that this sense is not in Cotgrave, nor in Littré, being now quite lost.) The derivation seems to show that the lance-rest was lined or fitted with

felt; in fact, the F. *feutre* means anything made of felt, as a hat; and the same is true of the Span. *fieltro*. The F. *feutre* also means a kind of packing or padding, and *feutrer* is to stuff or pad a saddle. Thus the E. sb. *feuter* is simply 'a pad.' We find also Port. *feltro*, Ital. *feltro*, felt. All these are obviously of Teutonic origin; from the word which appears in E. as *felt;* cf. Du. *vilt*, Swed. and Dan. *filt*, G. *filz;* see *Felt* in my Dict. I have there remarked that the A.S. *felt* has not yet been exemplified; it occurs, however, in Wright's Vocab. 120. 5—"Centrum, uel filtrum, *felt*." Diez remarks that the *r* in *feltro* is excrescent, as is often the case (he says) after *t*. If we have to account for it by analogy, no doubt some reason for it can be produced.

Mahn, in Webster, gives nearly the correct account, but further imagines that the word was influenced by the Lat. *fulcrum*, which is quite needless, and in no way helps us.

Feuterer, a dog-keeper. (F.—Low. Lat.—C.) In M.E. I can only find the entry: "Fedorarius, a *fewtrer*"; Wright's Vocab. 582. 29. Whether this is the same word, is not quite certain. The word is tolerably common in Tudor-English, and is used by Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, ii. 1, where Carlo calls Puntarvolo "a *yeoman-feuterer*," because he stands holding his dog. It occurs again in Beaumont & Fletcher, and in Massinger; see Nares. There is a clear example in Massinger's Picture, Act v. sc. 1, quoted by Nares and in Todd's Johnson, where "an honest *yeoman-feuterer*" is explained to be "just such a one as you use to a brace of greyhounds," etc.

The word is certainly a corruption of *veuterer*, and Phillips is right in equating it to a Low Lat. *veltrarius*, though he does not tell us where to find this form, which does not seem to be in Ducange. The Low Lat. *veutrarius* occurs in the Close Rolls, 5 Hen. III., m. 7 (vol. i. p. 462); see N. & Q. 6 S. xii. 370. I suppose that *veuterer* really stands for *veutrer*, by a slight confusion; it is derived, by adding the suffix *-er* of the agent, from O.F. *veutre*, later form *vaultre*, explained by Cotgrave as "a mungrell between a hound and a maistiffe, fit for the chase or hunting of wild Beares and

Boars." The mod. F. *vautre* is in Littré. The oldest O.F. form is *veltre* (see Burguy), the same as Ital. *veltro*, a greyhound (Florio). Diez, Scheler, Littré, and Burguy all derive *veltre* from Low Lat. acc. *veltrum*; and they are agreed that this is another form of the word which appears as *vertagus* in Martial, 14. 200. 1, and also as *vertaga*, *vertraga*, *vertagra*, all meaning 'greyhound'; see Lewis and Short. Ælian says the word is Celtic (see Diez); and, in fact, Williams' Corn. Dict. gives "*guilter*, a mastiff." A curious trace of the Low Lat. word occurs in Wright's Vocab. 812. 43, where we find: "*Hec veltria*, a lese of grehowndes." A similar etymology is given in Mahn's Webster; but Mahn suggests an alternative etymology from G. *futterer*, one who provides with fodder, quite forgetting that E. words are seldom borrowed from High German, and that this quite fails to account for the diphthong *eu*. It is notorious that terms of the chase are commonly of F. origin. The change from initial *f* to *v* is common. The contrary change, from *v* to *f*, is rare; but there is a clear example in the word *fitches*, which occurs three times in the A.V. of the Bible, and is put for *vetches*; from O.F. *veche*, Lat. *uicia*. All students of Dante remember the famous word *veltro* (Inf. i. 101). Wedgwood gives the same etymology, but is very brief.

Fly, in the sense of 'coach.' With respect to this word, we must not forget that Sir W. Scott, in 1818, spoke of "the ancient *Flycoaches*"; see the beginning of chap. 1 of the Heart of Midlothian.

Furl. I have shown that *furl* is a corruption of *fardle*. I find an excellent example in Golding's Ovid, ed. 1603, leaf 138, l. 3.

"Anon the Maister cryëd—'strike the topsayle, let the maine Sheate flie, and *fardle* it to the yard.' Thus spake he, but in vaine.'

Wedgwood cites from Bailey the spelling *farthel*, with the same sense. Cf. "He that should *fardle-up* a bundle or huddle of the fooleries of mans wisdome, might recount wonders;" (1603) J. Florio, tr. of Montaigne's Essays, b. ii. c. 12; ed. Morley, p. 278, col. 1.

Gamboge. I have called this word a corruption of *Cambodia*. It is now obvious to me that it is not an E. corruption, but the necessary form of the name in French. In mod. F. the name for *gamboge* is *gomme-gutte*, but Littré notes the adj. *gambodique*, meaning 'belonging to gamboge.' The true E. word is not *gamboge*, but *cambodia*, though it is now obsolete. This appears from a notice of "the yellow purging Gum, which we thence call *Cambodia*." This follows upon a description of the country of *Cambodia*, by W. Dampier (1699), A New Voyage, vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 105.

Gavial, the crocodile of the Ganges. (F.—Hind.) This name is given in Webster and Ogilvie, and the English Cyclopædia gives *Gavialis* as a genus of the *Crocodilidæ*, including *Gavialis Gangeticus*, the Gavial or Nakoo. The form *gavial* is French, and is given by Littré. Ogilvie says it is the name of the animal in Hindostan; and there we are left, to make what we can of it. By help of Prof. Cowell, I learn that it is *not* the Hindustani name, but only a French travesty of it (unless the French took it from us, in which case it is an English travesty of it). The Hindustani name is *ghariyál*, a crocodile; spelt with a peculiar *r*, so difficult for a European to pronounce, that *v* has been substituted for it; see Platt, Hind. Dict., 1884, p. 934. Platt also gives the Hindi and Bengali forms, which are much the same. Some connect it with a certain Skt. word meaning 'plate'; but Prof. Cowell thinks that this connection is only true of the Hind. *ghariyál*, a plate of brass for beating time, which may be merely a homonym, and not the same word. There are some splendid specimens of *gavials* in the South Kensington Museum.

Geck, a dupe. (Du.) The word is well known as occurring in Twelfth Night, v. 351. Mr. Wright's note is: "In Anglo-Saxon *geác*, Mid. E. *geke*, is a cuckoo, and this is always said to be the origin of our word; but the cuckoo of real life is anything but a dupe." It is, however, a fact, hitherto unnoticed, that *geck* is not related to A.S. *géac* in any way whatever. In the first place, the A.S. *géac* did not become *geke* in M.E., but *ȝeke* or *yeke*, more correctly *ȝeek*.

It is very rare, but a quotation for it is given by Halliwell, p. 951. In Shakespeare, the alliteration in '*geck* and gull' shows that the *g* was hard. I do not think that *geck* will be found in Middle-English at all. The word furnishes one more example of the fact to which I was, I believe, the first to draw attention, viz. that the number of Dutch words imported into Tudor-English was considerable. The word is not E., but Dutch. Hexham's Du. Dictionary (1658) gives: "*Geck*, a Foole, a Foole in a play, or a Sot; *Gecken*, to Mock, to Flout, or to Jest; *Geckernye*, Foolerie;" etc. It is precisely the same word as the G. *Geck*, with the like sense. The G. *Geck* is quite distinct from G. *Gauch*. Kluge gives the M.H.G. forms *gec*, *gecke*, meaning 'fool'; and, as cognate words, the Du. *gek*, Dan. *gjek*, a fool, Icel. *gikkr*, a pert, rude person. Thus the word is formed on a base GEK-, which distinguishes it from G. *Gauch*, Icel. *gaukr*, a cuckoo, from the base GAUK, strengthened form of GEUK. It is quite true that the Icel. *gaukr* produced the Scottish *gowk*, M.E. *gouk* and *gok*, and that *gouk* sometimes means a simpleton; but this is a mere coincidence and proves no relationship.

Hatchet. The F. *hachette* is a dimin. of *hache*. This, with Diez and Littré, I have derived from the G. *hacken*, to cut. I believe this is now doubted. There is an O.F. *hapiette*, a hatchet (Roquefort), and a Low Lat. *hapiola*, a hatchet. These suggest a Low Lat. **hapia*, which would produce the F. fem. *hache*, precisely as the Lat. *apium*, parsley, has produced *ache*. If this be right, we must refer *hache* to the O.H.G. *happa*, a sickle, or rather to some by-form of it. Cf. also F. *happe*, a hook, from *happa* itself. Further light is desired.

Hay. I have given the etymology of *hay* from the A.S. *hig*, which is the form occurring in the A.S. Gospels. But it answers rather to the form *heg*, which is also found. Examples are: "Foenum, *heg*"; Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, 278. 30. "Fenile, *heg-hús*," i.e. hay-house; id. 237. 36. It occurs also in Ælfred's tr. of Beda; see Bosworth and Toller's A.S. Dict. In Matt. xiv. 19, we find

the O. Northumbrian *heg*, Mercian *hóeg*; cf. Icel. *hey*, Dan. and Swed. *hö*.

Hobbledehoy, a lad approaching manhood. (F.) Jamieson gives this form, and says it is French, but does not fully explain it. Halliwell says that *hobledehoy* occurs in 1540, in Palsgrave's Acolastus. He also remarks—"Tusser says the third age of seven years is to be kept under Sir Hobbard de Hoy." I wish to correct this, as he has quite misunderstood the passage. Tusser, in his Husbandry (E.D.S.), sect. 60, says as follows:—

> "The first seven yeers, bring vp as a childe;
> The next, to learning, for waxing too wilde;
> The next, keep under sir *hobbard-de-hoy*."

That is, Sir *Hobbard de hoy* is to be kept under; understanding by the term a lad who is over 14, and under 21 years of age. I wonder that no one has yet quite hit off this phrase. Jamieson suggests that the first part of the word is the F. *hobreau* (in Cotgrave); but he forgets an important fact, viz. that *hobreau* must of necessity have been spelt *hobrel* in O. French, though this form does not appear in Littré. We might suppose *hobble* to represent *hobbrel*, but we can do still better; for Godefroy gives the very form *hobel*, "oiseau de proie." *Hobrel*, later *hobreau*, is a mere variant of this, and means, says Cotgrave, "the hawk termed a hobby; also a mungrell, or halfgentleman, one whose father or mother were of mean parentage." Roquefort says only "a poor gentleman"; and see *hobereau* in Littré. This agrees well enough with Cotgrave's explanation of *marmaille*, which he says means: "young rascals or scoundrels, the frie of the vulgar, a troop of lewd, idle, or unprofitable *hoberdihoies*." *Hobble*, taken alone, is one of low birth, one of the vulgar fry. The *youthful age* of this particular kind of vulgar or mongrel scoundrel is implied by the epithet *de hoy*, i.e. of to-day. *Hoy* is clearly the O.F. *hoi* (Burguy), now spelt *hui*; the Span. form remains *hoy* still. The O.F. *hoi* is Lat. *hodie*, short for *hoc die*. Hence *hobel de hoy* is a vile fellow of to-day, a young upstart. *Hobel* is a diminutive

of O.F. *hobe*, a hobby, and is allied to the E. *hobby*, a sparrow-hawk, a hawk of small size and inferior kind, whence it passed into a term of contempt. It was even applied to girls; for Cotgrave also gives *obereau* without the initial *h*, and explains it as "a hobby (Hawke); also, a young minx, or little proud squall." See *hobby* (1) in my Dictionary.

Hockday, Hoke-day, the second Tuesday after Easter. (E.) For examples of *hoke-day* and *hoke-tide* see Brand's Popular Antiquities, where there is an excellent article upon the subject. The derivation usually given is, as might be expected, from the G. *hoch Tag*, or *Hockzeit*. Even Mahn knows no better. It is little short of disgraceful that Old English should ever be derived from modern German; of course, we are not informed by what channel the word reached us, nor why the G. *Tag* was turned into *day*, or the G. *Zeit* into *tide*. It is obvious that we must either treat the word as English, or, at any rate, as Scandinavian, or else give it up. I shall endeavour to show that it is English.

Our best guide will be the history of the word. In modern books, the vowel is treated either as short or long; but it was originally long, and the more correct form is *hokeday*. The shortening of vowels is not uncommon; a good example is supplied by *rood*, which is the same word as *rod*; here, as in *hokeday*, the vowel was originally long. Brand gives three quotations from Matthew Paris; in all three it is spelt *hokedaie*; Matthew of Westminster also has *hokeday*; so also *hokedai* in the Monasticum Anglicum, in an instrument dated 1363, and in other authorities; all cited by Brand. When we come down to A.D. 1450, we find the spelling *hok-day*. Thus the history shows that the old name was *hokeday*, with a long *o*, and that it occurs in Matthew Paris, who died in 1259. This takes us back to 1250, long before the period when Englishmen first became acquainted with High German.

We have next to find the meaning. All the extracts show that the day was kept as a boisterous whole holiday, devoted to sport and rude merriment. I shall assume that it meant 'day of sport,' and see what comes of it.

We have next to turn it into A.S. This is easily done; for the modern *hook*, though an unrelated word, answers to M.E. *hok* (with long *o*), and A.S. *hóc*. Hence the A.S. for *hokedai* must be **hóc-dæg*. Now I take this **hóc* to be the very word which Ettmüller gives as the supposed original whence was formed, by adding a suffix, the tolerably common A.S. *hócor*, *hócer*, mockery, derision, M.E. *hoker*, mockery (used by Chaucer). And it is at this point that German comes in to our assistance, in a very different way from that which is in vogue amongst those who derive Anglo-Saxon from German. The Old High German has the exact counterpart, the true cognate form, of this missing A.S. **hóc*. The O.H.G. is *huoh*, variously spelt *huah*, *huh*, M.H.G. *huoch*, *huch*, *huh*, duly given by Schade as meaning originally 'laughter,' and hence mockery, derision, and (I would add) sport. Schade suggests an ultimate connection with Lat. *cachinnus*, laughter, Gk. *καχάζειν*, Skt. *kakh*, to laugh, from the imitative root KAK, to laugh. My proposal is, accordingly, to explain **hócdæg* as laughter-day, day of fun and mockery, and hence to derive *hokeday*.

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If this derivation may be allowed, we may at once go a step further, and explain the festival once common at harvest-home in East Anglia, and known as the *hoky*, *hawkie*, *hocky*, or (corruptly) *horkey*. Here again we start from the form

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this. The etymology of the F. verb *aveugler*, to blind (=**ab-oculare*), was not obvious, and so it was thought that the prefix was not *av-*, but *a-*. Precisely the same remark applies to the F. *avant*, which was certainly misdivided as *a-vant*, as proved by the words *vanguard*, *vambrace*, and *vamp*. Now *en-* was a common F. prefix, which had a peculiar force, nearly equivalent to E. *be-*; so that, e.g. Cotgrave translates F. *enfranger* by the E. *to be-fringe*. Hence it seemed a much more reasonable prefix to put to a word which was to be used to mean 'to befool'; so that a F. *enveugler* may easily have been used for *aveugler*, and so an E. *en-veugle* for *a-veugle* might arise, and be further converted into *invegle* or *inveigle*; we must remember that F. *aveugler* was also spelt *avegler*. I should not have adduced this speculation, if it were a mere theory; I rather draw attention to it because it is a *fact*, that such a corruption actually took place in Anglo-French. In William of Wadington's Manuel des Peches, ed. Furnivall, l. 10639, we really find the word *enveoglir*, to blind; which is an obvious corruption of *aveoglir*. This form is not noticed by Godefroy; and I must observe that this most important book, for which we must all be grateful, is extremely imperfect. I constantly fail to find in it words that must have certainly existed. The mod. E. *inveigle* is derived from the Anglo-French *enveoglir*. Moreover, this singular corruption is not confined to this particular word. There are at least two similar examples, viz. in the verb to *impoverish* and in the sb. *imposthume*. In the former case, the O.F. verb was *apovrir* or *appovrir;* but the Anglo-French forms were *enpovrir* and *empovrir*. For the references, see *Impoverish* in the Supplement to my Dictionary. Again, the sb. *aposteme* became *apostume*, *impostume*, and *imposthume*; see *Aposteme* in Part II. of the New English Dictionary. Here the initial *a* of the Gk. *ἀπό* was actually turned into *im-*; as if from Lat. *in*.

Jupon, a kind of overcoat. The *jupon* is the same as Chaucer's *gepoun* or *gipoun*, C.T. 75, 2122. In the latter passage, Dryden writes *jupon;* Palamon, 1304. The F. forms in Cotgrave are *gippon*, *jupon*, a short cassock; from

juppe, a cassock. The latter is the same as Ital. *giubba*, Span. *aljuba*. Minsheu's Span. Dict. (1623) has: "*aljubon Morisco*, a Moorish cassocke; *aljuba*, a kind of long Moorish cassocke comming below the knee." The word is Moorish, i.e. Arabic. From Arab. *jubbat*, explained as "a waistcoat with cotton quilted between the outside and lining;" Rich. Dict. p. 494. So Diez, Scheler, and Littré. Halliwell's additions to Nares give an example of the shorter form *jup*, a petticoat.

Kelpie, a ghostly water-horse. (Gael.) Jamieson says of *kelpie*:—"I can form no idea of the origin of this term, unless it be originally the same with *calf*; *kelpie* being described as a quadruped, and as making a loud bellowing noise. This, however, it is said, rather resembles the neighing of a horse." Further light is thrown upon the matter by a passage quoted by Brand; see his Antiquities, ed. Ellis, ii. 513. Graham, in his Sketches of Perthshire, 1812, p. 245, says:—"Every lake has its *kelpie*, or water-horse, often seen by the shepherd, as he sat in a summer's evening upon the brow of a rock, dashing along the surface of the deep, or browsing on the pasture-ground upon its verge." We thus see that the *kelpie* is a kind of horse, that makes a loud bellowing or neighing sound, and browses beside a lake. It is highly probably that the word is Gaelic. There is a Gaelic word which seems to me sufficiently near it to be worthy of notice. Macleod and Dewar give the Gael. *colpach*, *colpach*, "a heifer, a steer, a bullock, a colt;" *colpa*, "a cow or horse." The Irish is *colpa*, *colpach*, "a cow, heifer, bullock, steer, colt"; O'Reilly.

Kennel (1). I have said that a *kennel* for a dog answers to Low Lat. *canile*. This word is not in Ducange. It occurs, however, twice in Wright's Vocabularies, ed. Wülcker, 198. 29; and 380. 38. "*Canile*, *domus canis*, hunda hus"; and "*Canile*, hunda hus."

Kraal, a village, in S. Africa. We sometimes see mention of a Caffre *kraal*. Webster says it is pronounced with the *aa* as *a* in *father*, or else like the E. *crawl*. He calls it a Dutch word, but suggests that it was borrowed from a native language. It occurs to me to suggest that the word was

probably Portuguese, and that, whereas the Du. *kraal* was borrowed from a word used by the natives, the natives themselves may have borrowed it from Portuguese; just as we find the words *fetish* and *assegai* to be of Portuguese origin. I therefore suggest the Port. *curral*, an enclosure for cattle, a fold for sheep, the true sense being enclosure. This would be a very natural word to apply to the African village; and, in fact, Webster explains Du. *kraal* to mean "village, enclosure, park." The Spanish form is *corral*, meaning a yard or enclosure, especially for cattle, near a house; and this word *corral* is not uncommon in English books.

The Span. *corral* is extended from *corro*, a ring of people formed to see a show; *corro* in Portuguese means an area in which to bait bulls. Diez thinks that this sb. was developed from the Span. phrase *correr toros*, to run bulls, to hold a bull-fight. If so, the etymology is from Lat. *currere*, to run.

Lagoon. I have given this word as Italian, but I believe we shall find that, as a fact, we first took this word from the Spanish *laguna*. Thus Dampier says (A New Voyage, 1699, i. 241)—"The mouth of this *Lagune* is not Pistol-shot wide." And again, in vol. iii. p. 8, speaking of a city near Santa Cruz, he says—"This City is called *Laguna* from hence: for that word in Spanish signifies a Lake or Pond." Thus the English got their experience of the use of the word *lagoon* from the W. Indies, and not (as I supposed) from Venice.

Lanner, Lanneret, a kind of falcon. (F.—L.) These words are given in Nares; *lanner* occurs in Skelton's Philip Sparowe, l. 565; *lanret* in the Prompt. Parv. *Lanneret* is merely the diminutive form. From F. *lanier*, 'a lanner'; Cotgrave. From Lat. *laniarius*, a butcher; or properly, that which tears and rends. The canine teeth are sometimes called in E. the *laniary* teeth. The verb is *laniare*, to tear, from the sb. *lanius*, a butcher. The root of *lanius* is uncertain, but there is probably a connection with *lacerare*, to lacerate.

The etymology of *lanner* is given in Webster; but I introduce it here because it enables me to solve the difficult word *lanyard*.

Lanyard. I have shown that the *d* in this word is

excrescent, and that the M.E. *lanyer* occurs in the Catholicon Anglicum, with the sense of 'thong'; also, spelt *layner*, in Trevisa's tr. of Higden, v. 369. I might have added that the pl. *layneres* occurs in the Knightes Tale, l. 1646. It is, of course, the F. *laniere*, a thong, explained in Cotgrave. The difficulty lies solely in the fact that the origin of this F. word is unknown. Littré shows that it can hardly be from Lat. *lana*, wool; and it is difficult to see how it is derived from Lat. *laniare*, to tear. And here he leaves the problem, just where I have left it myself in my Dictionary. Yet the etymology is really simple enough, when once the connection is perceived. Cotgrave gives the pl. *lanieres* with the sense 'hawks' lunes,' i.e. thongs for fastening a hawk to the wrist. Now the preceding entry in Cotgrave is *lanier*, 'a lanner,' where a lanner is a kind of hawk. I submit that we have here the missing connection. The hawk was named *laniarius*, 'the render,' from *laniare*, to tear; hence the adj. *laniaria*, scilicet *linea*, the line belonging to the hawk, a thong for a lanner, afterwards extended in use so as to include thongs of all kinds. All that we need to alter is the order of the meanings as given in Cotgrave. I would take *laniere*, a hawk's lune, first: and hence deduce the other senses, viz. 'a long and narrow band, or thong of leather; also, a leathern string to hang keyes at.' Hence *lanyard* can be safely referred back to the verb *laniare* and the sb. *lanius*. In further illustration of the excrescent *d* in *lanyard*, let me remark that even the word *lanner*, a hawk, occurs with a final *d*. "*Lanards* and goshawks, sparhawks, and ravenous birds"; *Lingua* (old play); in Hazlitt's Old Plays, ix. 379.

Lilt, to sing, to dance, to jerk, to spring. This word occurs in Middle-English, though the Dictionaries do not say so. Yet it is used by Chaucer in his House of Fame, pt. iii. l. 133 (l. 1223), where the Tanner MS. has: "And many floyte and *liltyng*-horne," i.e. and many a flute and horn that makes lively music, or horn to dance to. Again, in the Houlate, st. lix. l. 761, we find: "the *lilt-pype* and the lute, the fydill in fist." The Dictionaries give no etymology that I can find. However, the word is probably Scandinavian, and

allied to our *lull*, to sing to sleep. Cf. Norweg. *lilla*, *lirla*, to sing in a high tone (Aasen); Old. Swed. *lylla*, to lull to sleep, given by Rietz under *lulla*, which is still used in the same sense. Rietz also notices the dialectal Swed. *lilla*. The connection with *lull* is proved by the Du. *lullepijp*, a bag-pipe. Hexham gives the O. Du. *lullen*, "to keepe the tune in a song; *den lul*, the resounding in a song; *een lullepijpe*, a bagg-pipe." The *t* in *lilt* seems to be excrescent, or is, in any case, a suffix. The primary sense is to sing cheerfully, then to play dance-music.

Lither, pestilent. In 1 Henry VI. iv. 7, is a passage where Talbot sees the body of his son borne before him, and, being himself severely wounded, speaks thus of his own death.

> "Thou antic Death, which laugh'st us here to scorn,
> Anon, from thine insulting tyranny . . .
> Two Talbots wingèd, through the *lither* sky,
> In thy despite, shall 'scape mortality."

Here Dyce says it means *yielding*, in which he follows Nares; and he adds that it cannot mean *lazy* or *idle*, as it has been wrongly explained. Here he has a fling at Staunton, who suggests this explanation. But Staunton is much nearer the truth, as will appear. Nares says *lither* is soft, yielding, pliable; the comparative of *lithe*. He then quotes this passage, and four others. In the last passage of the five, he admits that the sense is 'idle'; in all the other cases he is wrong, as the context proves. The second passage speaks of '*lither* legs,' i.e. lazy legs; the third passage speaks of a 'losel *lyther* and lasye,' i.e. a scamp who is idle and lazy; the fourth passage speaks of ladies daubing their '*lither* cheekes,' i.e. their sickly cheeks, with paint. Nares also gives *litherness* (with two examples) meaning laziness or weakness. The upshot is, that there is not the faintest pretence for connecting *lither* with *lithe*. They are totally distinct words, from different roots. *Lithe* is A.S. *līðe*; whereas *lither* (with short *i*) is A.S. *liðer*. *Lither* means bad, evil, lazy, idle, sickly, and the like. As applied to air, it means stagnant, pestilent or deadly; this is the precise

sense intended in the passage under consideration, and fits the context. The two Talbots will escape from death, because they will take wings, and fly beyond the stagnant or deadly sky immediately above them, to the regions of heaven. A passage in Piers Plowman, C. xvi. 220, is curious. A wafer-maker says that he wishes the Pope's bull had power to cure the pestilence, and that it would "letten this *luther* eir, and lechen the syke," i.e. hinder or put a stop to this pestilential air, and cure the sick. I protest against the usual explanation of *lither*, adopted by Dr. Schmidt, because it is quite uncalled for, and very clumsy. If the *i* were long, then *lither* could not mean yielding, as asserted, but must mean 'more yielding,' i.e. it must be in the comparative degree, contrary to common sense. It is true that comparatives are sometimes used in the sense of 'rather'; but the sense 'rather yielding' is here ridiculous. Halliwell gives prov. E. *lithy* as meaning (1) pliant, supple; (2) heavy, warm, as applied to the weather. He does not say how this form is pronounced. It is probable that *lithy* (with long *i*), is allied to *lithe;* and that *lithy* (with short *i*) is a mere error for *lither*, i.e. stagnant, muggy. It is much to be regretted that compilers of prov. E. glossaries so often take pains to conceal the pronunciation of the words.

Loon (1), **Lown.** I have shown that the final letter in this word was formerly not *n*, but *m*. There is a curious confirmation of this in the fact that the O.F. form (borrowed from a Teut. source) was *lomme*. This O.F. word is ignored by Burguy, Roquefort, and Cotgrave; but it occurs in Le Mystère de Saint Louis, p. 188, col. 1. The passage is cited by Michel in his Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language, p. 371.

Marchpane, a sweet cake, made with almonds and sugar. (F.—Ital.) *Marchpane* occurs in Romeo and Juliet, i. 5. 9, and is well illustrated in a note by Furness. It is also given by Nares. The word does not seem to be much older than 1560. It was borrowed from the O.F. *marsepain*, now spelt *massepain*, which see in Littré. The French word was borrowed from Italian. Florio, ed. 1598, has: "*Marciapane*, a

kind of banquetting meat called a marchpane"; also spelt by him *marzapane*. *Pane* is bread, from Lat. acc. *panem*. The origin of *marza* is unknown. Mahn guesses it to be from Gk. *μᾶζα*, barley-bread, which may confidently be rejected, as that word is the origin of the F. *masse*, E. *mass*; and barley-bread is very different from almond-cake. Another guess, is that it is from a maker's name, such as would result from turning the Latin *Martius* or *Martia* into Italian. This is probable, but, from the nature of the case, cannot well be verified. That such a thing is possible is shown by the English word *sally-lunn*, which is a kind of tea-cake named after a woman who sold it. The Ital. form shows that it cannot possibly be from the Lat. name *Marcus*, as suggested in Nares.

Milliner. That the word *milliner* originally meant a seller of '*Myllain* bonets' is generally accepted; see Palmer's Folk-Etymology. But I here note that the right reference to the passage which proves this, is to The Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., ed. Nicolas, p. 337, quoted in Croft's edition of Sir T. Elyot's The Governour, vol. ii. p. 19, note *b*. Here the seller of 'Myllain bonets' is named 'Chrystopher Myllonere.'

Minx, a pert, wanton girl. This word occurs in Twelfth Night, iii. 4. 133. Mr. Wright, in his note on the line (l. 114 in his edition), says it is "of very certain meaning, but uncertain etymology"; and shows that it occurs in Cotgrave, s.v. *Gadrouillette*, and again, s.v. *Obereau*. Cotgrave calls it 'a feigned word, appliable to any such cattle.' In my Dictionary, I have suggested a connection with the O.Du. *minneken*, my love; but I add, that this does not account for the *x*. I have now another derivation to propose, in which I have much more faith. I still hold that it was a cant word, introduced, as so many were in the Tudor period, from the Netherlands. It is precisely the E. Friesic *minsk*, also found in Low German (Bremen dialect), though the usual Dutch spelling is *mensch*, as in High German. Koolman also gives the West Friesic *minsche*, O. Fries. *minscha*, mod. Fries. *minsk*, so that there is plenty of authority

for the vowel *i*. The point of this derivation lies in the precise equivalence of the terms. As to the sense, Koolman explains that all depends upon the gender. If the word is masculine, it means a reasonable being; but if neuter, it is applied to the female sex only, though not altogether (as he says) in a bad sense; as *wat wil dat minsk*, i.e. what does the creature want? The Bremen *minsk* is chiefly used of a woman, especially if one speaks of her with a touch of contempt; the phrase *sik beminsken* means to marry, i.e. to be-minx oneself. In German *der Mensch* means 'the man'; but *das Mensch* means 'the wench, the hussy.' As to the further etymology, see *Mensch* in Kluge.

Mob. That *mob* is a contraction of *mobile* is most clearly shown by the fact that Dryden writes *mobile* in his Don Sebastian, Act i. Sc. 1; whereas in Act iii. Sc. 3 of the very same play, the word is *mob*. The date of this play is 1690. Nares points out that it is spelt *mob* in 1692. Mr. Terry observes, in N. & Q. 6 S. xii. 406, that the form *mob* occurs in John Wilson's *Belphegor*, licensed Oct. 13, 1690, at p. 380 of the reprint in 1874. Since then, a still earlier example has been pointed out by Mr. A. Wallis, in N. and Q. 6 S. xii. 501:—"*Belfond, sen.* The *Mobile!* That's pretty!"—Shadwell, Squire of Alsatia, 1688, 4to. p. 3; whilst at p. 59, Sir William says to the rabble—"Here, honest *Mob*." It is spelt *mobile*, says Mr. Wallis, in the preface to A Satyr against Commonwealth, London, 1684, fol. Hence the earliest date yet found is 1688.

Moidore; see **Moy** (below).

Moy, a piece of money. Nares shows that *moy* is twice used by Pistol in the sense of 'piece of money'; see Hen. V. iv. 4. 15, 22. Mr. Wright says that "Douce pointed out that *moidore* was of Portuguese origin, *moeda* (=*moneta*) *d'ouro* [money of gold], and that it was unknown in England in Shakespeare's time. He himself derives *moy* from the French *muy, muid*, a bushel." I do not accept Dyce's conclusion. There is no necessity to explain it with reference to the particular Portuguese coin called the *moidore*. It is simply the general Portuguese term *moeda*,

meaning "money, coin, or specie"; Vieyra. This general term is far older than the derivative *moeda d'ouro*. Pistol's speech occurs in his dispute with his French prisoner, so that *moy* is, in all probability, a French modification of the Portuguese *moeda*. That there must have been such a modification is obvious from the word *moidore* itself. I have given the usual derivation of *moidore* from the Port. *moeda d'ouro*, which is the Port. name for that coin; but I now believe this to be a mistake, and that the word was not borrowed by us from Portuguese directly, but came to us in a Frenchified form. It is clear to me that the syllable *-dore* is precisely the French *d'or*, a translation of the Port. *d'ouro*. And in the same way, the syllable *moi-* is a French pronunciation of the Port. *moeda*. The word *moidore* is not in Littré, but that does not prove that it was never in use. I have little doubt that it must have been in use for a short time at least, probably about the year 1700. Similarly *moy* or *moie* may easily have been a French cant term for money, modified from the Port. word. There is at present a Brazilian gold coin, called simply *moeda*, worth £1 15*s*. 7*d*. See Engl. Cycl. art. *Money*, col. 736.

Mundungus, ill-scented tobacco. (Span.) This curious word is somewhat famous for its occurrence in l. 21 of that excellent poem by Philips called The Splendid Shilling, written in 1703; see Johnson's Dictionary. Bailey says that it was applied to anything having an offensive smell. *Mundungus* is a Latinised form of the older term *mundungo*, a name for ill-scented tobacco, used in 1689; see Nares. It can hardly be doubted that we borrowed the word from the Span. *mondongo*, which properly means hog-puddings or tripes, a strong-smelling dish sold to the poor. I find a MS. note by Dr. Pegge, in which he refers us to the Life of Gusman de Alfarache, 1622, fol., p. 39, and part ii. p. 274. *Mondongo* is probably allied to the Span. *mondejo*, the paunch of a pig or sheep stuffed with mincemeat. And, though the suffixes offer some difficulty, both of these words are almost certainly founded upon the verb *mondar*, to cleanse, to peel, to pick bones, from the adj. *mondo* (Lat. *mundus*), clean. It

is rather curious that this Lat. word should have produced a derivative with so widely different a meaning. The spelling *mundungus* may have been due to an association of idea with *fungus*.

Ombre. We get a probable date for the introduction of this card-game into England from a hint given in Brand's Antiquities, ed. Ellis, ii. 450. "The Spanish game of *ombre* is supposed by Barrington to have been introduced into this country by Catharine of Portugal, the Queen of Charles II., as Waller has a poem—On a Card torn at Ombre by the Queen." The title of this poem is incorrectly given; it appears among Waller's epigrams, with the title—"Written on a card that her Majesty tore at Ombre." Queen Catharine came to England in 1662; she ceased to be Queen in 1685.

One. Already spelt *ιon* in the fifteenth century. See Zupitza's note to l. 7927 of Guy of Warwick; and l. 12 of Sir Amadas, ed. Weber.

Paddock. I have said that *paddock*, an enclosure, is a corruption of *parrock*. This is proved by the fact that "*Parrocks*" in the hundred of Twyford, Kent, is now known as *Paddock Wood*, where there is a railway station. See Archæologia Cantiana, xiii. 128; Hasted, Hist. of Kent, 8vo. v. 286.

Pall-mall. I have treated this word under *Mall* (2) in my Dictionary. In the Supplement (also under *Mall* (2)), I give the reference to N. & Q. 6 S. vi. 29, where Dr. Chance proves, at any rate to his own satisfaction, that the Italian *palla-maglio* meant ball played with a mallet, and therefore mallet-ball or 'mall-ball.' But it is at any rate certain that the word was not so understood in England. Perhaps wrongly, we took it to mean the converse, viz. ball-mallet, or mallet for playing at ball. This is shown by a quotation in Brand's Popular Antiquities (see Pall-Mall in the index), which gives a reference twenty years earlier than any I have as yet observed. Brand says, "In a most rare book, entitled the French Garden for English Ladies and Gentlewomen to walke in, 1621, in a dialogue, the lady says: 'If one had *paille-mails*, it were good to play in this alley, for it is of a

reasonable good length, straight and even.' And a note in the margin informs us: 'A *paille-mal* is a wooden hammer set to the end of a long staffe to strike a boule with, at which game noblemen and gentlemen in France doe play much.'" Brand even gives an earlier quotation, dated 1598, which alludes to *palle-maille* as being a favourite exercise in France, and says that it had not, at that date, been introduced into England. The game was therefore introduced later than 1598, and earlier than 1621. Torriano, s.v. *Maglio*, says:—"also as *Pallamaglio*"; but he omits *Pallamaglio* in its due place. In the English index he explains *pall-mall* as *gioco di palla maglio*.

Paramatta. See **Parramatta.**

Parramatta. I have already explained that *parramatta* is a kind of cloth, named from *Parramatta*, in New South Wales. I have spelt it *paramatta* hitherto, with one *r*, as it is given in Black's Atlas. But a correspondent who lived there for two years tells me that it should have a double *r*; also, that it is a native name, and signifies 'place of eels.' On my asking which part of the word meant 'place,' I am told:—"It is a safe guess that *parra* means 'eels,' and *matta* means 'place'; for *Parramatta* is on a river (of the same name), and *Cabramatta*, some ten miles distant, is not. Water in Australia, except in rivers, is very scarce."

Pheeze. See **Feeze.**

Pickaback. To carry a person *pickaback* is to carry him on one's shoulders; see Halliwell. The old form of the word is *pickapack* (Webster); or *pickpack* (Nares). *Pick* is the old form of *pitch*, and means to throw; the *pack* is the pedlar's pack. To carry *pickpack* is to carry in the way in which a pedlar *pitches* a *pack*, i.e. upon the shoulders. I find an example in The Rehearsal (1671), Act iv. sc. 1—"*Bayes* . . . With empty arms I'll bear you on my back. *Smith.* A pick-a-pack, a pick-a-pack," *i.e.* in the manner of pitching a pack. The former *a*=on, in.

Pilcrow, a paragraph mark. (F.—L.—Gk.) A *pilcrow* is a rather common old word, signifying a paragraph, and was particularly used of the mark now printed ¶. This mark

was formerly used to denote the beginning of a new paragraph or section of a book or poem, and is common in MSS. It is sufficient to refer to Way's note on the word *Pylcrafte* in the Promptorium Parvulorum, and to Nares, s.v. *Pilcrow*. Wedgwood gives the etymology, but too briefly. Nares says: "Minshew supposes it to be corrupted from *paragraphus;* but what process, it is not easy to guess." This is quite right; it is, in fact, a doublet of *paragraph;* and I will now show the full process, which may well be said to be difficult to guess.

First of all, the Lat. *paragraphus* became F. *paragraphe*. This is given by Cotgrave, who has: "*paragraphe*, a Paragraffe, or Pillcrow; . . . as much as is comprehended in one sentence or section." The next form is *paragraffe*, just cited as an E. word from Cotgrave. After this, the middle *a* was dropped, and an excrescent *t* added at the end. This is quoted by Way from the Ortus Vocabulorum: "*Paragraphus*, Anglice, a *pargrafte* in writing." The next step is the corruption from *pargrafte* to the form *pylcrafte* in the Promptorium. This is rather violent, but we must remember that the change of *r* to *l* is the commonest of all changes in every Aryan language, that the prefixes *par-* and *per-* were convertible, and that the change from *per-* to *pil-* occurs in the common English word *pilgrim*, in which *per-* passes into *pil-* through the F. *pel-* in *pelerin*. This shows the precise process; *pargrafte* became **pergrafte*, then **pelgrafte*, then **pilgrafte*, and finally *pilcrafte*, with *c* for *g*. The change from *g* to *c* easily took place when the original form had become entirely obscured. After this, a further corruption took place, from *pilcrafte* to *pilcrow*. This was due to mere laziness. The excrescent *t* was again dropped, giving *pilcraf*, and then the *-craf* became *-crow*. Hence we get the full order of successive forms, viz. *paragraphe*, *paragraffe*, **pargraf*, *pargrafte*, **pergrafte*, **pelgrafte*, **pilgrafte*, *pilcrafte*, **pilcraf*, *pilcrow*. Not all of these forms are found, but a sufficient number of them appear to enable us to trace the complete process; at the same time, it is highly probable that some of these steps were passed over by a sudden leap. We may

assume, as sufficiently proved, that *pilcrow* and *paragraph*, words used with precisely the same meaning, are mere doublets.

I have already given this explanation of *pilcrow* in my Dictionary, s.v. *Paragraph;* but as my account, like Mr. Wedgwood's, is extremely brief, it seemed worth while to draw it out in full.

Curiously enough, the story does not end here. There is yet a third form of this unlucky word. Some people dropped the medial *-ag-* in *par-ag-raph*, thus bringing the two *r*'s together, and forming *paraph* or *paraf*. This also appears from the Prompt. Parv., which gives: "*Paraf* of a booke, or *paragraf*, Paraphus, Paragraphus." The Old Spanish also has *parafo;* see Minsheu and Percyuall; the modern Span. has *parrafo*, as well as *paragrafo*. The form *paraffe* occurs also in the Catholicon Anglicum; and I take the opportunity of pointing out that Mr. Herrtage is wrong in identifying this with the F. *paraffe* or *paraphe*, given by Cotgrave and Littré. The distinction is rather subtle. The M.E. *paraf* and Span. *parrafo* are both masculine, and represent the Gk. παράγραφος, a paragraph-mark; but Cotgrave's *paraphe* is feminine, and represents the Gk. παραγραφή, a marginal note. This is why the meaning of the F. *paraphe* is not 'paragraph' at all, but a flourish or subsignature under a man's signing of his name.

Plot (1), a conspiracy. I have stated my belief that *plot*, in the sense of 'conspiracy,' is short for *complot*, used in the same sense. It may be fairly objected, that this is not possible, on the ground that an accented syllable is never lost; so that the short form of *complot* would rather be *comp* than *plot*. But I should answer to this, that the accent of *complot* may have been variable, as some examples suggest; at any rate, the verb seems to have been sometimes *complot*, with the accent on the latter syllable. Shakespeare's use of the word is remarkable. In Rich. II. i. 1. 96, we have: "That all the treasons for these eighteen years *Complotted* and contrived in this land"; and only four lines lower: "That he did *plot* the Duke of Gloucester's death." In the

same play we have both words in one line: "To *plot*, contrive, or *complot* any ill," i. 3. 189.

It has been suggested to me by Dr. Fennell that *plot* is really short for *platform*, the use of which word is very curious. This I could hardly admit, if it were not that I had found *plotform* used as an occasional variant of it. *Plotform* occurs in Dodsley's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 423, in the sense of contrivance; "A sudden *plotform* comes into my my mind." Collier's note says: "In Sir John Oldcastle, by Drayton and others, first printed in 1600, it is used with the same meaning as in the text, viz. a contrivance for giving effect to the conspiracy. 'There is the *platform*, and their hands, my lord, Each severally subscribed to the same.'" I again find *plotforme* for *platforme* in Gascoigne's Works, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 304. Nares gives examples involving the phrases: "I am devising a *platform* in my head"—"went and discovered the whole *platform* of the conspiracie." We thus see that *platform* meant much the same as *plot*, and that *plotform* was a variant. *Platform* also meant a ground-plan, and I have little doubt that it was confused with the totally different word *plat* or *plot*, a patch of ground; this would tend to cause the second syllable to be dropped. As at present advised, my belief is that the modern E. *plot*, a conspiracy, is the result of confusion; and that it was influenced by all three words which I have mentioned, viz. the verb to *complot*, the sb. *platform*, and the sb. *plot* of ground. What was the proportional relative efficacy of these three words in producing the new word *plot*, it is for the Dictionary-slips to determine. When the words *complot*, *platform* and *plot* (of ground) have all been thoroughly worked out, we may be confident that the true mode of formation of *plot*, a conspiracy, will appear.

Porter. That '*London porter*' is so called from being drink for porters, who require to use great strength, has always been accepted. My object now is merely to supply the date.

In Timbs' Curiosities of London, p. 59, is a useful notice of the London Breweries. Timbs remarks that "the great

increase in the [brewing] trade appears to date from the origin of Porter." He then quotes the following:—"Prior to the year 1730, publicans were in the habit of selling ale, beer, and two-penny, and the thirsty souls of that day were accustomed to combine either of these in a drink called *half-and-half*. From this they proceeded to spin 'three threads,' as they called it, or to have their glasses filled from each of the three taps. In the year 1730, however, a certain publican, named Horwood, to save himself the trouble of making this triune mixture, brewed a liquor intended to imitate the taste of the 'three threads,' and to this he applied the term *entire*. This concoction was approved, and being puffed as good *porters' drink*, it speedily came to be called *porter* itself."—Quarterly Review, 1854. In the Gentleman's Magazine, November, 1785, p. 958, *porter* is said to have been first brewed by Ralph Harwood, at the place afterwards called Proctor's Brewhouse, on the East Side of the High Street, Shoreditch. This information is repeated in the same, in Part I. for 1819, p. 395, where some lines are quoted written by Gutteridge, a native of Shoreditch parish. They begin—

"Harwood, my townsman, he invented first
Porter, to rival wine, and quench the thirst," etc.

It would seem, then, that the inventor's name was really *Harwood* rather than *Horwood*.

Prise, Prize, a lever. I have suggested that the phrase 'to *prise* open a box' is due to the use of *prise* in the sense of 'a lever.' This sense I took from Halliwell. It is confirmed by the actual occurrence of M.E. *prise* in this sense. We find it in the legend of St. Erkenwald, l. 70; pr. in Horstmann, Altenglische Legende, Neue Folge, 1881, p. 267. The story is that a tomb was found, and it was thought advisable to break open the lid; whereupon the workmen

"Putten *prises* þer-to, pinchid one vnder,
Kaghtene by þe corners with *crowes* of yrne,
And, were þe lydde neuer so large, þai laide hit by sone."

See also **Crowbar** above.

Reveille. I have shown that the difficulty with this word is, to account for its trisyllabic form, the F. sb. *réveil* having but two syllables. The answer is, that it was adapted from the F. imperative plural *réveillez*, which was taken into English as a substantive. The word *rendezvous* presents us with a similar instance. I can quote a passage given by Brand in his Antiquities (ed. Ellis, ii. 176), where the spelling *reveilles* occurs. Brand says:—"In the Comforts of Wooing, p. 62 [we read]: 'Next morning come the fidlers, and scrape him a wicked *reveilles*.'" I do not know the date of this book.

Englishmen are commonly not very strong in their French grammar; I have quoted the example of *levee* in my Supplement, which appears to be a fem. past participle; whereas the F. *lever*, with the same sense, is an infinitive mood. So here; *réveillez* was easily misunderstood as a fem. past part., and spelt *reveillee* accordingly. Phillips, in his World of Words, makes another mistake, in supposing it to be the infinitive mood. He gives:—"*Reveiller* (F. i.e. to awake), the Beat of Drum in a Morning, that summons the Soldiers from their Beds, and is commonly called the *Travelly*;" which is an obvious misprint for *Ravelly*. The fact is, therefore, that the F. *réveillez* was familiarly called *ravelly*, and used to mean the same as the F. sb. *réveil*. This further explains the curious pl. form *revellies*, which I have already quoted in my Supplement from Davenant's Gondibert. This *revellies* is the plural of *revelly*, and is spelt accordingly.

Rum. I once thought this word might be of Malay origin, as I have suggested in my Dictionary. But in an article in The Academy, Sept. 5, 1885, p. 155, Mr. N. Darnell Davis gives the history of the word. "It came from Barbadoes, where the planters first distilled it, somewhere between 1640 and 1645." A MS. "Description of Barbados" in Trinity College, Dublin, written about 1651, says—"The chief fudling they make in the Island is *Rumbullion*, alias *Kill-Divil*, and this is made of sugar-cane distilled, a hot, hellish, and terrible liquor." G. Warren's description of Surinam, 1661 [1667?], shows the word in its present short form.

"*Rum* is a spirit extracted from the juice of sugar-canes . . . called *Kill-Devil* in New England." *Rumbullion* is a Devonshire word meaning a great tumult, and it may have been adopted from some of the Devonshire settlers in Barbadoes. At any rate, it has probably given rise to our word *rum*, and to the longer name *rumbowling*, which sailors give to their grog. Smollet (1751) has *rumbo*; Per. Pickle, ch. ii. and ch. ix. Blount's Glossographia, 1681, has—"*Rum*, a drink in the *Barbado's* (much stronger than *Brandy*) which they otherwise call *Kill-devil*." *Rumbullion* is clearly allied to *rumbustical*, boisterous, and to *rumpus*, an uproar; also to *romp* and *rampage*. An older form is *rampallion*, a term of reproach, meaning rather 'a rioter' than 'a riot.' Cotgrave has *ramponne*, 'a flowt, scoffe, mock,' etc. All are derivatives of the old verb *to ramp*, a French word of Teutonic origin; see *Ramp* in my Etym. Dict.

Savannah. I have given the usual account that this is a Spanish word, of Gk. origin. The Span. word means 'sheet,' and was hence extended to mean 'a large plain.' But in a Glossary at the end of a late edition of Oviedo, *savana* is included among the list of Indian words, and we are informed that it belongs to the old language of Hayti and Cuba. I think this is altogether a mistake. If we English call any large expanse of water 'a *sheet* of water,' surely we may allow that the Spanish expression 'a sheet of flat land' is perfectly reasonable. We ourselves talk of *table-land*. That the word *savana* is old in Spanish, I can at once prove, with Prof. Cowell's help. The pl. *sauanas*, meaning 'sheets,' occurs in verse 1959 of El Libro de Alejandro Magno, ed. Sanchez, 1854. This romance was written in the 13th century, long before the first voyage of Columbus. Richardson gives a quotation for *savannah* from Dampier's Voyages, but his reference is incomplete. I have found it in vol. i. p. 87 of the edition of 1699.

Scroyles, scabby fellows, rascals. (F.—L.) In King John, ii. 1. 373; and used twice by Ben Jonson; see Nares.—O.F. pl. *escroelles* (see *écrouelle* in Littré), later *escrouelles*, which Cotgrave explains by 'the King's evil.' The term in Shake-

speare has obtained the force of the pp. *escroelle*, i.e. afflicted with scrofula; people are not very particular in their use of terms of reproach. Jamieson gives Sc. *cruels*, scrofula; but Michel, in his Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language, p. 157, says that it is written *escrolles* in the Continuation of J. Melvill's Diary, p. 657. Diez derives the O.F. *escroelles* from a Low Lat. **scrofellæ*, pl. dimin. of *scrofula* (see **Scrofula** in my Dictionary). Scheler remarks upon the extreme rarity of the disappearance of an *f* between two vowels, and therefore proposes an etymology from the Low Lat. **scrobellæ*, dimin. of *scrobs*, a dike or ditch, with supposed reference to the wounds on the skin made by the disease. The former view, if it be possible, is more satisfactory, and is adopted by Littré. Indeed, Scheler himself instances *Etienne* and *antienne* from *Stephanus* and *antiphon*, but says these are not precisely similar examples, being due rather to assimilation than syncope. He quite forgets that he himself gives the usual derivation of *bias* (F. *biais*) from Lat. *bifacem*, without making any difficulty about the matter.

Sennet, a signal-call played on a trumpet. This word does not occur in the *text* of Shakespeare, and I fail to find it in Schmidt's Lexicon. But it is common in the Stage directions; occurring in Henry VIII. ii. 4; Julius Cæsar, i. 2; Ant. and Cleop. ii. 7; Coriol. ii. 1; 3 Hen. VI. i. 1. Mr. Wright has a note on it, in his notes to King Lear, i. 1. 23, showing that it occurs in various forms, such as *cynet*, *sinet*, *synnet*, *signate*, etc. In Marlowe's Faustus, ed. Dyce, p. 91, it is printed *sonnet*, by that frequent confusion of *o* with *e* of which there are numerous examples in Middle English MSS. Steevens absurdly derives it from Ital. *sonata*; others say that the etymology is unknown. In 1605, the First Part of Jeronimo begins with the words "Sound a *signate*," printed *signet* by Hazlitt. In 1602, Decker's Satiromastix has: "Trumpets sound a flourish, and then a *sennet*." It thus appears that it is different from a flourish, and, as Mr. Wright says, "it appears to have been a particular set of notes . . which marked the entrance or exit of a procession"; i.e. it was a signal-call, answering to

a modern bugle-call. First of all, several trumpets would play a general flourish, and then a single trumpet or cornet would play a signal-call, to rouse the particular attention of the audience at the moment when the actors filed in or out. To me the etymology is obvious. It is plainly the O.F. *sinet*, given in Littré as an O.F. spelling of *signet*, which is merely the dimin. of *signe*, explained by Cotgrave as 'a signe, mark, token, or note.' It comes to much the same as our *signal;* and is a doublet of our *signet*. The *sennet* was the signal for entrance or exit, and that is all. The spelling *signate* is due to putting a Low Lat. form *signatum* in place of *signetum*, a very natural mistake. Cf. Ital. *segnetto*, 'a seale, a signet, a small marke, signe, or token'; Florio. The spelling *sennet* (with *e*) is due to this Italian form; cf. also F. *seigner* for *signer* in Cotgrave; Ital. *segnale*, Span. *señal*, for *signal*, etc. The proper spelling is *sinet*, of which *cynet*, *synnet* are mere variations; *signate* is a Latinised form, due to a misconception; *sennet* and *senet* are, practically, Italianised forms; and *sonnet* is a mere blunder. Thus the sense and all the forms are accounted for. It has nothing to do with either *sonata* or *sonnet;* which are quite different things, and from a different root. The word from *sonare* is *sonance*, as in *tucket-sonance*, Hen. V. iv. 2. 35.

Shah, the king of Persia. To my article on this word, I have to add that the derivation of the Persian *sháh* is known. This monosyllabic word is abbreviated from the O. Pers. *khsáyathiya*, the usual word for 'king' in the Cuneiform inscriptions. The root is the Aryan KSI, Skt. *kshi*, to rule; and the sense is 'ruler.' The particular form is explained as being formed with the suffix *-ya* from a sb. *khsáyathi*, which is supposed to have meant 'dominion.' See Schleicher, Indogermanischer Chrestomathie, 1869, p. 153; Fick, i. 305.

Skellum, a cheat. (Dutch.) In Halliwell's additions to Nares, the phrase "a Dutch *skelum*" is quoted from Coryat's Crudities, 1611. This is an excellent example of the introduction of a Dutch word into English. From Du. *schelm*, 'a rogue, a villaine,' Hexham. Kluge says the Du. word was borrowed from G. *schelm*, a rogue. This is the O.H.G.

scalmo, *scelmo*, orig. a pestilence, with the latter meaning of carrion; hence a worthless fellow, rogue, as a term of abuse.

Spree, a frolic. I have said that this word is modern, and of Celtic origin; cf. Irish *spre*, Gael. *spraic*, vigour, animation. I have since met with the suggestion that it is from the F. *esprit*, spirit. This I believe to be a pure guess, and to be wrong. The word was formerly pronounced *spray*, which entirely upsets this notion. I should not be surprised if it should turn out that we owe this word to Sir W. Scott. Jamieson gives a quotation for the spelling *spree* from St. Ronan's Well, which was written in 1825. But he does not notice a very material fact, that in the Introduction to the Legend of Montrose, written six years earlier, Scott introduces the word with the spelling *sprays*, and in an apologetic way. Sergeant McAlpin used to indulge in occasional drinking-bouts, after receiving his dividends. "After such *sprays*, as he called them, were over, and his temper once more cool, he seldom failed to thank God, and the Duke of York, who had made it much more difficult for an old soldier to ruin himself by his folly, than had been the case in his younger days." Jamieson derives *spree* both from Gaelic *and* from the F. *esprit*; it did not occur to him that the two derivations are wholly inconsistent with each other.

Stub. I have given the A.S. form as *styb*. But there is also *stub*, masc., dat. *stubbe*. I find *on þone ellen-stub* and *of þam ellen-stubbe*; Cartularium Saxonicum, ed. Birch, i. 316.

Swan-hopping. Under the heading *swan-upping*, Halliwell tells us that it means taking the swans for the purpose of marking them; and adds—"*Upping* the swans was formerly a favourite amusement, and the modern term *swan-hopping* is merely a corruption from it." It was not exactly an amusement, but an annual custom which was considered necessary; but it afforded amusement to those engaged in it. The statement, that *swan-hopping* was originally *swan-upping* is constantly repeated, but those who affirm this very carefully avoid giving any reason for their belief. The proof is practically given in Hone's Every-day Book, vol. ii. coll. 958–962, where Hone cites a tract dated 1570. In this

tract, there is mention of "the *vpping-daies*" in sect. 8. In sect. 15, we find—"that the swan-herdes . . . shall *vp* no swannes"; in sect. 14, "that no person *take vp* any cignet unmarked" . . . and in sect. 28, "that the maister of the swannes is to have for every white swanne and gray *vpping*, a penny"; etc. Hence this oft-repeated statement is, fortunately, not an invention (as such statements often are), but true. *Vp* = take up, is here used as a verb.

Tartan. There is a note on this word, too full to be neglected, in Michel's Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language, p. 75; where references are given. He gives the O.F. form as *tirtaine*. The *ir* must have passed into *er*, as in the common word *her* (M.E. *hire*), after which the change of *er* to *ar* is in accordance with the almost universal rule. The word is at least as old as 1471.

Ted, to spread hay. (Scand.) I have a few words to say in reply to Mr. Wedgwood's criticisms on my derivation of *ted* from the Icel. *teðja*, to spread manure. His argument is that *teðja* simply meant to manure, without any idea of spreading. I might reply that manure is, as a fact, only applied to the earth by spreading it. But I would rather draw attention to facts which he has entirely overlooked, and upon which I did not enlarge because it seemed to me unnecessary. If Mr. Wedgwood will consult the Icelandic Dictionary once more, he will find that, in the closest possible connection with *taðr*, manure, is the Icel. *taða*, 'hay from the well-manured home-field,' as Vigfusson explains it. Such is, of course, the true sense of *taða*, but Mr. Magnusson informs me that it also simply means 'hay' (but not 'growing grass' when uncut). In fact, Vigfusson at once proceeds to give the derivative *töðu-verk*, 'the making hay in the infield,' which of course carries with it the sense of making hay in general, and is simply *ted-work*. Again, the Norweg. *töda* means (1) manure, (2) manured land, (3) hay, and even aftermath; the verb *tedja* not only means simply to manure, but to spread manure over, or (as Aasen says) *sprede gjödsel paa*. The connection of the verb *to ted* with the Icel. *taða*, hay, is surely obvious; and if we

connect it with *taðа*, we must needs connect it with *tað*. The idea that the original sense of *tað*, manure, was 'that which is scattered,' is not mine, but Fick's; see his Wörterbuch, iii. 113; and every field testifies that such is the actual condition in which manure is found. Moreover, the Icel. *tað* appears in provincial English as *tad*, *tath*, or *teathe*, manure. The derivative verb is *teðja*, used in Icelandic only in the particular sense of spreading manure, prov. E. *tathe*, Lowl. Sc. *taid*; but, if it had been wished to express the sense of spreading hay (Icel. *taðа*), the verb would have taken the same form as before; and the fact of the word occurring in prov. E. as *ted* is quite enough to show that it could sometimes have that sense. All the help that Wedgwood gives us is to quote the cognate High German forms, such as *zetten*, to spread, strew, etc. But these are precisely the forms which I have quoted already, and there can be no doubt that the German philologists are satisfied of two facts. The first is, that *ted* is a Low-German form; and the second is, that the High-German *zetten* is precisely the Icel. *teðja*; see Fick, iii. 113; Schmeller, Bayerisches Wörterbuch, ii. 1159; Schade, s.v. *satjan*. Another allied word is G. *Zettel*, the warp of a web, derived by Kluge from *zetten*, to spread, to spread out, to strew; and, although Kluge does not explain the root, he has no hesitation in taking the Teutonic form of the root to be TAD. The prov. E. *ted* is now used also with reference to the spreading of flax; but the extracts already given from Palsgrave and Fitzherbert show that it was formerly used of hay.

Threshold. Sievers has an important note on this word in his article on the Noun-suffix *-tra*, pr. in Paul and Braune, Beiträge, v. 530. The gist of it is as follows: "Teut. **þresko-ðlo-*, O. Icel. *þresk-oldr*, A.S. *ðresc-old*, *ðersc-old* (see Grimm's Gram. ii. 232, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxiii. 381, Fick, iii. 341). The word, being misunderstood, was altered by popular etymology into various forms, such as O. Icel. *þreskjoldr*, Icel. *þreskjöldr*, A.S. *ðersc-wold*, *ðersc-wald*." Thus Sievers takes the suffix to be nothing but the Teut. *-ðlo-*, put for *-ðro-*, Aryan *-tra*. One interesting result is that,

if this be right, the mod. E. *thresh-old* is the correct form after all. Compare note on **Build** (above).

Topsy-turvy. I have already shown that this word is almost certainly connected with the M.E. *torvien*, to throw, and *terve*, to fall down. This view is strongly confirmed by the occurrence of the Lowland Scotch verb *our-tyrve*, to turn upside down, of which Jamieson gives a capital example from Wyntoun. I now find another example in the Buke of the Houlate, st. lxv. l. 837, written about 1483. We are told that the Cuckoo had a fight with a Lapwing (Sc. *tuchet*) and that he "Tit the Tuchet by the tope, *ourtirvit* his hed, Flang him flat in the fyre, fetheris and all"; i.e. seized him by the top-knot, and turned him topsy-turvy.

Tucker, a fuller. (F.—O. Low G.) M.E. *touker*; spelt *towkere* in a various reading of Wyclif's translation of Mark ix. 2, where the text has *fullere*. In Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, p. 629, l. 2, the Lat. *fullo* is glossed by *towkere*. In Piers Plowman, A. prol. 100, the text has *tokkeris*, and the various readings are *tokkeres*, *towkers*, and *toucheris*. The word is really French, and simply means 'beater'; being derived from the verb now spelt *toquer*, given by Littré; Cotgrave has "*toquer*, to clap, knock, or hit against." It is still preserved in E. *tocsin*, which I have duly explained. This verb is a mere variant, in fact an older form, of F. *toucher*, to touch; see further, in my Dictionary, s.v. *touch* and *tucket*. I quote the Anglo-French *toukier*, to touch, in my Supplement, s.v. *touch*. This at once accounts for *toucheris* in P. Plowman, in the sense of *tuckers*. I have only given *tucket* in the sense of 'a flourish on a trumpet'; I might have added the phrase '*tuck* of drum,' i.e. beat of drum. Jamieson gives some good examples of *tuck of drum* under the spelling *touk*, *tuck*, to beat; he quotes—"Trumpets sound, and drums *tuck*." Sir W. Scott writes it *touk of drum*, Heart of Mid Lothian, c. xii. In Douglas's Virgil, Aen. bk. viii., 'a mychty *touk*' means a heavy blow or stroke; ed. Small, iii. 166. 29. The Ital. *toccare* means both to strike and to touch.

It is usual to derive the F. *toucher* from the O.H.G.

succhen. It would seem, however, better to derive it from the cognate Low G. *tukken*, to beat, to touch. See this form in E. Friesic and in O. Dutch. In the special case of *tucker*, it can hardly be doubted that the word is ultimately of Walloon or Flemish origin, and came to us from the Flemish weavers in the time of Edward III. I bring forward this word because the Dictionaries say little about it. Wedgwood assigns it a Celtic origin; but a Flemish one is far more likely.

Typhoon. I have shown that this is a Chinese word, misspelt so as to make it resemble Greek. I have now to add that the old spelling (before the Greek etymology was thought of) was either *touffon*, as in Hackluyt's Voyages, ii. 239, 240; or *tuffoon*, as in Dampier's Voyages, vol. ii. pt. 3, p. 71. Dampier says: "I know no difference between a *Hurricane* among the Carribee Islands in the W. Indies, and a *Tuffoon* on the Coast of *China* in the E. Indies, but only the name." In vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 35, Dampier again speaks of the violent storms called "*Tuffoons*," but adds (*Typhones*) within marks of parenthesis. The account in Hackluyt is said to be translated from Italian. Torriano gives the Ital. form as *thiphone*.

Vambrace. The etymology of this word, from the F. *avantbras*, is well known. It appears from Cotgrave, who gives: "*avantbras*, a vambrace, armour for an arm; also, the part of the arm that extends from the elbow to the wrist." Properly, a *vambrace* is the armour on the lower part of the arm. The companion word is *rere-brace*, i.e. armour for the upper part of the arm, answering to an O.F. *arere-bras*, which I do not find; and I suspect that *rere-brace* is Anglo-French only. I find a good example of these words in the Testamenta Eboracensia, i. 171—"unam loricam, unum bonum par cerotecarum [*gloves*] de plate, cum *vambrace* et *rerebrace*." The will is dated 1392. A similar word is *vamplate*, which see in Nares.

Watchet, light blue. It seems to be generally agreed that *watchet* means a kind of light blue. Nares gives examples of it from Browne, Lily, Drayton, and Taylor; Richardson,

from Beaumont and Fletcher, Hackluyt, Spenser, Ben Jonson, and Chaucer. Levins has *wachet*, which Mr. Wheatley explains by dapple-gray. Phillips says *watchet* is 'a kind of blew colour.' Todd's Johnson cites from Milton's Hist. of Muscovia, c. 5, the phrase "*watchet* or sky-coloured cloth"; also the line: "Who stares, in Germany, at *watchet* eyes"; tr. of Juvenal, Sat. xiii., which he attributes to Dryden, though that satire was not really translated by Dryden himself. The most important quotation is that from Chaucer, which is probably the oldest. It occurs in the Milleres Tale, Group A., l. 3321, where the Lansdowne MS. has—'Al in a kertell of a liht *wachett*.' The Cambridge MS. has *vachet*; the Harl. MS. has *wachet*; the rest have the weakened form *waget* or *wagett*. Tyrwhitt derives it from the town of *Watchet*, in Somersetshire, for which there is no evidence nor discoverable reason. The only other etymologies yet offered are those which originated with Skinner; the first is, from A.S. *wád*, woad, with a suffix *-chet*; the other is, from the A.S. *wéced*, make weak (or pale), which would have turned into *weaked*. All three suggestions are so bad that I venture to make a fourth. My belief is, that the accent was variable; it is evidently *wachét* in Chaucer, because it rimes with *set*. I further think that the word was French, because we have the variant *waget*; because *-et* is a French suffix; and because the spelling in the Cambridge MS. is *vachet*, with *v*. It is, I think, to be identified with the curious O.F. word *vaciet*, a bilberry or whortleberry. Littré gives this word, with two examples, both of the 16th century. In the latter of these it is applied to a colour. "Couleur d'hyacinthe ou de *vaciet*," i.e. colour of the hyacinth or bilberry. Roquefort defines *vaciet* as a shrub which bears a dark fruit fit for dyeing violet; it is applied, he says, both to the fruit and the dye; and he calls it *Vaccinium hysginum*. Cotgrave has: "*Vaciet*, the purple or blue Jacinth, or Hiacinth, tearmed by some Crow-toes." Plant-names are very vaguely used, but the evidence is sufficient to show that *vaciet* could mean a kind of bilberry, used for dyeing a kind of violet or blue. The form *vachet* in Chaucer is older than *vaciet*, and answers to a Low

Lat. **vaccetum*, i.e. a cow-berry, from *vacca*, a cow. The ordinary Lat. *vaccinium* also means 'cow-berry,' from *vacca*. It is interesting to find that the word *cow-berry* is still in use in England for a red whortle-berry; see Halliwell. Britten's Plant-names gives nearly 50 names of plants in which 'cow' forms the first element. My proposal is, accordingly, to explain *watchet* as a blue colour obtained from a kind of bilberry, and to derive it from an O.F. **vachet*, Low-Lat. **vaccetum*, a cow-berry; from F. *vache*, Lat. *uacca*, a cow. This word *vachet* is neuter; closely allied to it is the F. *vachette*, feminine, a little cow; for which see Cotgrave.

Whinyard, a sword. (Scand. ?) Nares, following Minsheu, explains *whinyard* as a hanger, i.e. a kind of sword. It is not an old word, so far as I can trace it. Minsheu, in 1627, spells it *whinneard;* but it is usually *whinyard*, as in the play of Edward III. i. 2. 33 (pr. in the Leopold Shakespeare); and in Ram Alley, 1611, pr. in Hazlitt's Dodsley, x. 363. The etymologies hitherto proposed are futile, excepting that in Wedgwood, with which I practically agree. He takes it to be a corruption of *whinger*, from the verb *whinge*, allied to *whine*. The difficulty mostly resides in the suffix. If we may take *yard* to be the usual E. sb. *yard*, then it is best to derive it rather from the primary *whine* than from the secondary *whinge*. The word *yard* is so often used in the sense of rod, that I do not see why it may not, in composition, have been used for a weapon also; the only variation is Minsheu's *whinneard*, which gives precisely the same sound, and may be a phonetic spelling. Cotgrave explains F. *braquemar* as "a woodknife, hanger, *whineyard*."

Much light is thrown on the former part of the word by the Icel. *hvinr*, a crackling, whizzing, whistling, as of a whip or missile, especially used of the sound of arrows or of a blow, and (according to Rietz) of a sword. The Icel. *hvina* does not mean to *whine* (as in English), but to give a whizzing sound, as the pinions of a bird, an arrow, shaft, gust of wind, or the like. The Swed. verb *hvina* is used of the whistling of the wind, and Dan. *hvine* is to whistle. In English, we have the related word *whinny*, said of a horse.

We may therefore explain *whin-yard* as a rod or yard that whizzes or whistles through the air. It is rather Scand. than E.

The word *whinger* also means a weapon; for this, Wedgwood cites Moor's Suffolk Glossary. I can find no old example of it. Jamieson has it; and in his earliest instance, relating to the reign of James V., it is spelt *whinger*. This is from the verb *whinge*, to whine, which no doubt also meant to whiz. *Whinge* is an extension of *whine*, probably Scandinavian, as it may be traced in Swed. dial. *hvinka*, *kvinka*, to wail, Norweg. *kvinke*, to whine, wail, Icel. *kveinka*, to complain. This explains its appearance in East Anglia and Scotland particularly. Of course it is quite possible to consider *whinyard* as formed from a shorter *whinyar*; this leads back to the form *whinny-er*, substituted for or equivalent to *whinger*. Here, no doubt, the Dictionary-slips will help us out.

Nares's proposal, incautiously accepted by Ogilvie, to derive *whinyard* from A.S. *winnan*, to fight, cannot possibly be right. This verb and its derivative *winn*, battle, quite lost their primitive meaning in the Middle English period. Neither is there any reason for supposing that the initial *wh* is in this instance a mere *w*.

Whisky. This word is spelt *whisquy-beath* in Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland (1791–99), iii. 525. The passage is quoted in Brand's Antiquities, ed. Ellis, ii. 286. This is a very early instance, and gives the word in its full form; Gael. *uisge-beatha*, water of life, i.e. *aqua vitæ*, *eau de vie*.

List of Words Discussed.

The following is a list of the words discussed in the preceding notes. N.B.—The words marked (Sh.) are used by Shakespeare.

blaze, bluff, bonfire, booty, botargo, box (Christmas), braid (Sh.), build, cad, carnival, cinchona, cobra, coca, contraband, cowslip, creel, crow-bar, crowd, davit, dell, doiley, doll, doublet, duds, duffer, ease, eddy, eery, estreat, exhaust,

feese (feaze, *or* pheeze, Sh.), fester, fetish, feuter, feuterer, fly, furl, gamboge, gavial, geck (Sh.), hatchet, hay, hobbledehoy, hockday, hopscotch, inveigle, jupon, kelpie, kennel (1), kraal, lagoon, lanner, lanyard, lilt, lither (Sh.), loon (*or* lown, Sh.), marchpane, milliner, minx (Sh.), mob, moidore, moy (Sh.), mundungus, ombre, one, paddock, pall-mall, parramatta, pheeze (Sh.), pickaback, pilcrow, plot (1), porter, prise, reveille, rum, savannah, scroyles (Sh.), sennet (Sh.), shah, skellum, spree, stub, swan-hopping, tartan, ted, threshold, topsy-turvy, tucker, typhoon, vambrace, watchet, whinyard, whisky.

In a former paper, read, Nov. 7, 1884, the following words were discussed:

(1) listre (*under which heading the following words may be found, viz.* accoutre, alchemister, barrister, bridegroom, canticle, cartridge, chorister, chronicle, coffer, corporal, culprit, decretistre, divinistre, hoarse, jasper, lavender, legistre, manciple, myrtle, participle, partridge, philosopher, provender, roistering, sophister, syllable, treacle, treasure).

(2) andiron, bezique, caoutchouc, con (1), curmudgeon, saunter, sausage, scan, service-tree, set, spruce, tawdry, teetotum.

XII.—NOTES ON THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Benjamin Dawson, B.A.

(*A Paper read before the Philological Society, on Friday, March 5*, 1886.)

It is matter for sincere congratulation that the Revised Version of the Old Testament does not grate upon the ear as that of the New Testament does. The alterations which have been considered necessary have been made without injuring the general flow and rhythm, so that the ear would find it impossible to detect where they have been made, or to determine whether passages read aloud were taken from the Authorized or Revised Version. This is as it should be, precisely what was desired. Of the improvements in R.V. as a translation of the Hebrew text it is not my purpose to

speak. He must indeed be a very pessimist who should think that nearly three centuries have passed without increasing the possibilities and the probabilities of obtaining improved renderings of the sense of the books of the Old Testament. My object is to compare A.V. and R.V. from a linguistic or grammatical point of view.

Disposing first of all of the hopes and fears expressed in my former papers, I have the pleasure to report that the Revisers of the O.T. have not removed either Coverdale's "God save the King" (1 Sam. x. 24), or his "three score years and ten" (Ps. xc. 10). Neither have they interfered with such idiomatic phrases as "going to and fro," "walking up and down" (Num. xxvii. 21; Job i. 7). They have moreover in *man-child* (1 Kings xiv. 10) found a euphemistic phrase more suitable for the ears of an age which, at least in speech, is purer than the Elizabethan.

In so wide a field as O.T., subjects for comment are superabundant and passages in illustration superfluously numerous; the difficulty is that of selection. It will suffice to give one or two examples of different classes of improvements. Among useful changes are *tenth-deals* to "tenth parts," *chariot* to "palanquin," *wench* to "maidservant," *looking-glasses* to "mirrors," *printed* to "inscribed," *moist grapes* to "fresh grapes," *Absalom's place* to "Absalom's monument." Relationship is more clearly expressed in R.V. than in A.V. in 2 Sam. xxi. 8, and 1 Kings i. 6. In the natural history improvements have been made, though too sparingly; the mythic *unicorn* has become "wild-ox" Ps. xcii. 10, *den of dragons* "dwelling place of jackals" Jer. x. 22. Among grammatical improvements are "Moses used to take" for *took* Ex. xxxiii. 7, "the Egyptians were burying" for *buried* Num. xxxiii. 4, "I saw Absalom hanging in an oak" for *hanged* 2 Sam. xviii. 10. In this connection may be mentioned the correction of "seraphim" and "cherubim" for *seraphims* and *cherubims*, as the plural of *seraph* and *cherub*. This double pl. form is a noteworthy instance of the vigour and longevity of errors. According to Cruden's *Concordance*, *seraphims* occurs twice, and *cherubims* twenty-seven times in A.V., the

sing. *cherub* thirteen times. And although the Book of Common Prayer gives us "*cherubin* and *seraphin*" in the *Te Deum*, in the Psalms (lxxx. 1, xcix. 1) it also gives us *cherubims*. Shakspere has a sing. *cherubin*,—"A cherubin thou wast," *Tempest* 1, ii. 152,—its pl. *cherubins* occurs in *Merchant of Venice* 5, i. 62,—"still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins." Wyclif also gives us a pl. in *-byns*,—"on which thingis weren cherubyns of glorie" Heb. ix. 5,—and Chaucer a gen. sing. in *-bynes*,—"Thatt hadde a fyr-reed cherubynes face" *Cant. Tales*, l. 626, Prol. Nor are we English alone in the blunder, in French the sing. is *chérubin*, pl. *chérubins*, in Ital. *cherubino*, pl. *cherubini*. Once, indeed, for the sake of his metre Dante makes the pl. *cherubi* instead of *cherubini*, as pointed out by Alberti in his Italian Dictionary. I am not aware whether or not the blunder has ever been "run to earth," but according to Forcellini it would appear that Jerome and Augustine first used the plural as a sing., either from inadvertence or on the *super grammaticam* principle. The Vulgate uses *cherubim* as an indeclinable, but *cherubos* occurs in some Latin versions in Gen. iii. 24. In the same way A.V.'s *Anakims* is corrected to "Anakim" Joshua xi. 21; but, unhappily, though treating *teraphim* as pl. in Gen. xxxi. 34 and Zech. x. 2, R.V. makes it a sing. in 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16, although a sing. *teraph* is given in English Dictionaries. A.V. generally gives *teraphim*, but in Zech. x. 2 margin, *teraphims*.

It is a great gain in R.V. that verse and prose are distinguished to the eye. So it is that the division into verses has been superseded by that into paragraphs. This amalgamation of verses into paragraphs, though generally conducive to clearness, may occasionally have the contrary effect, because the division into verses sometimes, particularly when aided by the ¶, marks the beginning and end of a parenthesis, which is more readily lost sight of when the verses are run together. As an example of this I may mention Gen. xix. 26, where for no other reason R.V. is not so immediately clear as A.V. is. This disadvantage might easily be removed by some variation in the punctuation, or

by the plan, adopted occasionally by the Revisers, of repeating in italics any word likely to promote clearness. Thus in Gen. xix. 26, *Lot's* might be inserted, as *Ish-bosheth* is inserted in 2 Sam. iv. 1, *Ahijah* in 1 Kings xi. 29, to make the meaning more readily clear. Some of these old verse divisions were peculiar, *e.g.* the titles of Song of Songs and of Ecclesiastes are numbered as v. 1. By leaving a space between vv. 1 and 2 R.V. indicates the distinction without altering the numbering of the verses.

These are but samples of the very many improvements to be found in R.V. as compared with A.V. To dwell upon these and similar points at greater length would be superfluous. It will be more profitable to point out where and how R.V. might be still further improved.

By the Appendix we learn that the American Old Testament Revision Company suggested the substitution of "*a* for *an*, *my* for *mine*, and *thy* for *thine* wherever followed by *h* aspirated." It is surely matter for regret that their suggestion was not attended to. At the time of the production of the A.V. the use of *an* or *a*, *mine* or *my*, *thine* or *thy*, before sounded *h*, had not settled down to a fixed rule, although it was settling,—the *n* was disappearing, but had not disappeared; witness Spenser's *an huswife*, *an hymne*, *a homely*, etc.; Shakspere's *an hair* and *a hair* (*Tempest*, 1, ii. 30 and 217), *an hundred* (*Rich. II.* 4, i. 16), and *a hundred* (*Jul. Caes.* 1, iii. 23), *an humour* and *a humorous*. The Translators of 1611 therefore had a perfect right to retain archaic *an*, and where change was necessary, to introduce the more modern *a*. But the Revisers of 1884 were in a different position, the use of *an* at least had completely disappeared before *h* aspirated. They were bound therefore to write *an* always, or never, before *h* aspirated. In the former case, they would have retained a not-unpleasing archaism, like the *-th* for *-s* in verbs, or *ye* for *you* as a nominative, and few would have objected; whereas if they had used *a* before sounded *h*, they would merely have modernized the article as the Revisers of N.T. have done. They themselves have acted on this principle in substituting *its* for *his* where

neuter. Now it happens strangely enough that at the time of the appearance of R.V. there is similar variety as to the use of *an* or *a* before letters having the sound of *ū* (*you*). Here, if anywhere, R.V. might well have let alone, but this is one of the cases where change has been made, at least in N.T. Looking about for examples of the dropping of the *n* of *an* before the sound *ū*, Dr. Murray's contributors not unnaturally pitched upon *a eunuch*, Acts viii. 27. Oddly enough the reference is printed vii. 27, thus forming the first erratum in the New Dictionary (p. 2, col. 1). *Absit omen!* R.V. quotations can be of little use to lexicographer or grammarian. R.V. cannot prove the use of the Indef. Article in nineteenth century, because *an high, an hireling, an hundred* are found in O.T., but *a high, a hireling, a hundred* in N.T.; and worse still, *an holy* (Lev. xxiii. 35) and *a holy* (Lev. xxiv. 9), *an house* (Job xx. 19) and *a house* (Ex. xii. 30), *an husband* (Lev. xix. 20) and *a husband* (Num. xxx. 6), stand ready in O.T. to bewilder the student. The increased frequency of the use of the compound or periphrastic form of tenses to indicate imperfect action might be illustrated by such improvements as "was standing" for A.V. *stood* 1 Kings xiii. 1; but it would be a mistake to quote R.V. to prove the nineteenth century use of pl. "*hosen*" Dan. iii. 21, of "*sith*" Ezek. xxxv. 6, "*afore* the harvest" Isa. xviii. 5, "*Woe worth* the day" Ezek. xxx. 2, "*can* skill," "*could* skill" 2 Chron. ii. 7, xxxiv. 12. Nor will R.V. much help in the elucidation of the history of other words, because (the Preface explains) only words previously used have been allowed to supplant discarded A.V. words.

Another suggestion made by the American Revision Company has unhappily not been adopted, viz. the substitution of *are* or *is* for *be* when Indicative. Here, again, the action of the Translators of 1611 is intelligible. Both forms were to some extent in use; *be* had not been entirely superseded by *are* or *is*, although it was becoming antiquated. This is probably the explanation of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*,[1]

[1] The edition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* quoted from is the Stanford, edited by Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A. (George Bell and Sons); of the other plays, the Clarendon Press Series, edited by William Aldis Wright, M.A.

1, i. 319, where Slender inquires, "*Be* there bears i' the town?" and Anne Page replies, "I think there *are*, Sir." But as in 1884 *be* had become exclusively provincial, it is difficult to see the justification for,—"These *be* the words which Moses spake," Deut. i. 1; "And there the weary *be* at rest. There the prisoners *are* at ease together," Job iii. 17 and 18; "And some of the king's servants *be* dead, and thy servant Uriah the Hittite *is* dead also," 2 Sam. xi. 24. And to add to the difficulty of understanding the matter, sometimes A.V. *be* becomes R.V. *are*, as in Lev. x. 14 *they be* changed to *they are*, in Lev. xiii. 19 *there be* to *there are*. In the Song of Songs vii. 12, "Let us see if the vine *flourish*, whether the tender grape *appear*, and the pomegranates *bud forth*," becomes, "Let us see whether the vine *hath budded* and its blossom *be* open, and the pomegranates *be* in flower." In this passage, if the Revisers meant *be* for an Indic., there is not the excuse of retaining antiquated *be* to avoid needless alterations, because *be* does not occur here in A.V. If, on the other hand, the *be* is Subjunc., why is *hath budded* Indic.? It is true that this mixture of moods may be paralleled from A.V., for in Num. v. 19 and 20, "if no man *have*," "if thou *hast*,"[1] "if thou *be*," and if "some man *have*," occur in strange proximity. These are exactly reproduced in R.V. with change of *lain* to *lien*! The explanation is yet to seek.

One of the principles on which the Translators of 1611 acted was the intentional use of synonym and variety of expression. They did not wish that one word should be dignified by being introduced into the Bible, and another degraded by being left out,—one log, as they quaintly put it, being carved into an idol, the other thrown on the fire. Thus, in Gen. ii. 1 and 2, A.V. gives us, "Thus the heavens and the earth were *finished* and all the host of them. And on the seventh day God *ended* his work which he had made." Here R.V. changes "ended" to *finished*. Some would

[1] In the discussion Mr. Sweet said that the use of the indicative *thou hast* side by side with the subjunctive *he have* was probably due to the desire of distinctness; in late West-Saxon the preterite subj. of weak verbs takes the *st* of the indic. in the same way—*gif þu hæfdest* instead of the older *gif þu hæfde*.

have preferred the change, if necessary, to have been made in the other direction; these French words are unpleasantly sibilant to some ears. In Gen. xv. 5, "Look now toward heaven, and *tell* the stars if thou be able to *number* them"; "*number*" becomes *tell* in R.V. Another example of A.V. variety of expression is seen in Num. xxxiii. 3 . . ., where "removed," "departed," and "went from" are used as synonymous renderings of one verb, "encamped" and "pitched" of another. R.V. gives us "journeyed" for *removed, pitched,* and *went from,* and "pitched" for *encamped* and *pitched.* Opinions may differ as to whether variety of expression in a simple narration of daily movements is preferable to plain repetition, but there can be little doubt as to which principle is likely to produce a classic translation. The Translators of 1611 had respect for the English language, feared to diminish its vocabulary, thought synonymous words should be treated fairly, studied style, gave us variety, and produced a classic; the Revisers of 1884 want by the use of a different word to indicate a difference in the Hebrew. The one (the Translators) are thinking of the language into which the subject-matter is to be conveyed; the others (the Revisers) are for ever looking back at the language from which they have obtained their subject-matter.

The Preface of R.V. gives an explanation of the substitution of *meal* for *meat* in certain passages. Though there are still phrases in common use in which *meat* means food other than flesh, *e.g.* "green meat," "mince meat," "as full as an egg is of meat," yet it was probably wise to remove *meat* and to substitute another word. But when the Revisers retain *meat* in some places and substitute *meal* in others, they break their own rule of using the same English word uniformly as the representative of each Hebrew word. The reason they give us for the choice of *meal* as a substitute for *meat* is worthy of note,—"By the alteration to 'meal-offering' a sufficiently accurate representation of the original has been obtained *with the least possible change of form.*" Now, whatever may be thought of *meal* as a substitute for *meat,* the reason given

for the choice of the word will appear to some to border on the ridiculous — because three out of four letters are the same, forsooth !—while others will be of opinion that likeness in form between words of different meaning is a disadvantage, not an advantage,—to be avoided, not to be sought for. If it were a question of the emendation of some obscure passage in which a careless scribe by putting a cross to his *l* had made it into a *t*, and the sense of the passage was restored by changing *t* into *l* (*meat* into *meal*), one could see the force of the argument; but that *meal* is a better substitute for *meat* than (say) *food*, because three of its letters happen to be the same and none of poor *food's* are, is an original but outrageous proposition.

This explanation is one of the most important sentences in the whole Preface. It is the key which unlocks the mystery of the flaws in R.V. of O.T. The great aim of the Revisers seems to have been to minimize their alterations. This aim, however, albeit praiseworthy, ought surely not to have been their main object; or, if so, the question of alterations should have been approached in a broad, and not a niggling, spirit, concerned with classes rather than individuals. To alter *his* Neuter into *its* was to make a desirable change, and the more the instances where the change was necessary, the more important was the alteration shown to be; but no reasonable man would reproachingly count the number of instances as so many changes, they would merely form several examples of one change. Similarly, all the *a's* before aspirated *h* might have been turned into *an's*, or all the *an's* into *a's*, it matters little which. This would have been another change, but only one; nor ought the direction in which it was made to depend upon the fact that there would be eight or ten times as many instances of actual verbal change by the one plan of securing grammatical consistency as by the other. Again, in the case of substituting *are* or *is* for *be* Indic., even if there were some hundreds of verbal alterations made, there would still be but one change—the disuse of *be* as Indic. The irregular treatment of these grammatical points savours of the "*super grammaticam*"

principle. But surely the Revisers were not *super grammaticam;* they did owe some allegiance to the English language and its syntax.

The desire of minimizing the actual number of verbal alterations is perhaps responsible for the change of *overlived* into *outlived* (Joshua xxiv. 31) not being paralleled by that of *overran* (2 Sam. xviii. 23) into *outran*; remaining *overran* it does not match with *outran* in John xx. 4, A.V. and R.V. How is *you* to be explained in "It was not *you* that sent me hither" (Gen. xlv. 8)? The rule in A.V. is to use the nom. after the verb *to be:* "Thy servant is *he*" 2 Sam. ix. 2, "I am *he*" 2 Sam. xx. 17, "It is *I*" Matt. xiv. 27. If *you* was ever used as a Nom. by the Translators of 1611, the probable explanation is, that it was introduced as an acknowledgment of the existence of the new-fashioned *you* that was already fast supplanting the older *ye* Nom. The same principle appears to me the only reasonable explanation of the occasional use of *to have* with *to go* Num. v. 19, and of *a hundred* in Isa. xxxvii. 36. But when R.V. follows A.V. in all these varieties,—differences which have lost all meaning except from an historical point of view,—the disadvantage is easy to see, the advantage hard to divine.[1] This much is certain, it was not the minuteness of the change of *you* into *ye* that prevented its being made by R.V., witness "thou wast he" changed to "it was thou" 2 Sam. v. 2, "I have given" to "have I given" Num. xxxiii. 53, "him" to "it" (the ass) 1 Kings xiii. 27, "King David did dedicate" to "did King David dedicate" 2 Sam. viii. 11, "shall" to "will" Num. xxxiii. 56; all of which are manifest improvements.

On one point, however, R.V. seems to be particular not to follow A.V. With its usual eclecticism A.V. gives us examples of the use of the Partitive Article in some passages,

[1] My paper, I have been told, "refers to matters with which the Revisers did not concern themselves. They thought it no part of their duty to correct the Authorised Version as a schoolboy's exercise by the help of Lindley Murray." But surely Lindley Murrayism alone required the change of *he* into *she* when applied to the hare (Lev. ii. 6), and of *him* into *it* applied to the ass (1 Kings xiii. 27).

but in others introduces *some* or *any*: "I will take *of the* spirit which is upon thee" Num. xi. 17, "Bring *of the* fruit of the land" Num. xiii. 20; but "*any* of his seed" Lev. xx. 2, "*some* of thine honour" Num. xxvii. 20. R.V. omits *some* or *any* in such passages.

The number of ambiguous passages has been reduced, but there are still many in R.V. which will not convey any definite idea to an Englishman's mind. The mixture of different numbers in the same sentence is a source of bewilderment, *e.g. ye* and *thou* are strangely mixed in Deut. i. 20, etc. It may be questioned whether the Revisers have been very happy in their arbitrary occasional retention of A.V. orthography, creating an impression of efforts at Spelling Reform; *horse-leach, caterpiller, judgement* (it might spare an *e*, of which *jubile* would be glad, to prevent the commonalty from making it two syllables to rhyme with their "*fac si-mile.*") Some revision of R.V. should take place for the purpose of assimilating the usage of O.T. and N.T. on various grammatical and other points; by a comparison of Matt. xii. 40 with Jonah i. 17, the whale may still be proved to be a fish!

The chief characteristics of A.V. and R.V. may be traced as the result of what appears to be the distinguishing principles adopted by the various companies. The Translators of A.V. (not distinguishing the different companies engaged on different parts) aimed at giving the sense of the original in idiomatic English—they desired to make a readable book; the Revisers of O.T. wished with antiquarian fidelity to reproduce A.V.; the Revisers of N.T. aimed at making their English rendering resemble the Greek original as far as possible.

XIII.—FOURTEENTH ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, 21st MAY, 1886. By the Rev. Professor Skeat, M.A., LL.D.

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Gentlemen,

Members of the Philological Society,—

On the occasion of our Anniversary Meeting last year, it was thought desirable that I should omit the Presidential Address for that time, on account of my re-election; and I gladly acceded to the suggestion that my Address should be delivered at the end of my second year of office. The idea that the President should, from time to time, deliver an Address to the Society, recapitulating the work done, and at the same time reporting, to some extent, the progress made in philological studies, has hitherto been much approved by you, on account of its usefulness; and, in fact, thirteen excellent addresses of this character have been delivered to you on former occasions by my predecessors.

The reflection inevitably arises, that an Address delivered at the end of two years should, in the natural order of things, be expected to be nearly twice as full as one that is given annually. I regret to say that this theoretical

excellence is, in my own case, unattainable. My lack of leisure has long been chronic, and I fear that any Address of mine would still remain extremely imperfect, even if the term of two years were increased to ten. I will therefore candidly confess at once that the most valuable part of my Address is that which, by the help of the ever-ready energy of your Secretary, has been very kindly contributed by others; and, as for my own insignificant contribution, I have nothing to say beyond asking for it a similar indulgence to that which has so generously been accorded to me on other and less important occasions.

Obituary.

Before proceeding to offer any further remarks, let me say a few words on the heavy losses which have befallen our Society since Dr. Murray gave his address in 1884. On looking at the list of the Members of Council on that occasion, I find there the names of Henry Bradshaw, Walter R. Browne and Professor Cassal. The name of Henry Bradshaw is, to me, that of a dear personal friend; and it must be the same to others amongst you. I do not know that he ever actually contributed a paper to our Society, but there must be many here whom he assisted largely, and who feel that their work would have been much more imperfect without his help. It is not necessary for me to say more concerning one who was so widely known and deservedly famous, and whose loss we so sincerely deplore. Speaking for myself, and speaking with deep feeling and sincerity, I can truly say that all my work has really been his work. It was he who assisted me in reading MSS., in hunting up the places where they might be found, in tracing varieties of writing and spelling, and peculiarities as to locality and date. It was he who helped me to trace allusions, told me the names of books which would assist me in literary investigations, and often himself found both the books and the desired passages. It was he who gave me constant assistance in discussing the rimes and metrical analysis of

Chaucer's verse; and I own that I was disappointed in not finding any mention of my own name in Prof. Ten Brink's late work upon the Versification of Chaucer, because I honestly believe there is some excellence in the work which Mr. Bradshaw so generously allowed me to call my own. We all know how profusely, I might say how royally, he gave his aid. It seems but the other day, though it is really more than twenty years ago, that Mr. Bradshaw welcomed me as a student at the Cambridge University Library, and first began giving me his ready help in the matter of re-editing the Romance of Lancelot of the Laik, which had previously been edited by Mr. Stevenson with such strange carelessness. I can remember to this day the expression on his face, and the occasional remarks, which alike so plainly seemed to imply—"I help this man because he seems in earnest, but he has a great deal to learn if he ever means to come to any good." Ever since that time, for twenty years, I have always applied to him in every greater difficulty, and seldom failed to advance the question in hand. I am sure you will pardon me for taking up your time while I thus fully acknowledge my own deep obligations to one whom we so much deplore.

Of Mr. WALTER RALEIGH BROWNE, a notice will be found in the Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers (vol. lxxix. 1884–5, part 1), a copy of which was kindly sent to me by Mrs. Browne. He was born in 1842, being the third son of the late Rev. T. Murray Browne, vicar of Almondsbury, Gloucestershire. He took the degree of B.A. at Cambridge in 1865, on which occasion he gained a double first-class, being 19th Wrangler and 10th Classic; and was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1867. He became a civil engineer, and in 1871 obtained the Telford premium for a paper "On the Strength of Lock Gates." He subsequently wrote papers "On the Strength and Properties of Riveted Joints" (1872); "On Railway Rolling Stock" (1876); and "On the Relative Value of Tidal and Upland Waters in maintaining Estuaries" (1881); besides a series of articles on the theory of Mechanics, a

book entitled "The Student's Mechanics," and translations of Clausius' "Mechanical Theory of Heat," and Schwackhofer's "Fuel and Water." He also contributed numerous papers to various magazines. He died at Montreal, Sept. 4, 1884, on the occasion of his visit to Canada to attend the meeting of the British Association; a sad end to a visit that must have been anticipated with so much pleasure. He contributed several papers to our Society, especially one on "Scotch and English Place-names," and another on "The Origin of Technical Terms"; besides taking great interest in the New English Dictionary, to which he sent occasional contributions. We must all regret the loss of a fellow-worker at once so earnest and so industrious.

The name of Professor CASSAL is intimately connected with our Society, as he was a Member of the Council of the Society for many years. He passed away after an illness of only a few hours, on Wednesday, March 11, in last year. Hugues Charles Stanislas Cassal was born on the 1st of April, 1818, at Altkirch, in the Département du Haut Rhin, his father being a solicitor in that place. He studied law at Strasbourg, and took the degrees of LL.B. in 1839, and LL.D. in 1840, in the University of France. Till 1845, he practised at the bar; but at his father's death in that year, he succeeded him in his business as a solicitor. In 1848, he was elected Mayor of his native town, and also a Member of the National Assembly. After the *coup-d'état* in 1851, he escaped arrest, was exiled, and came to England in January, 1852, where he soon began giving lessons in French, whilst at the same time he studied Sanskrit under Professor Goldstücker. He was introduced by Professor Key to University College School in 1856, and continued giving instruction in French there till within a couple of days of his death. In 1860, he was elected Professor of French in University College, where he remained for a quarter of a century, till his death. He was constantly employed as an examiner in the French language, and wrote more than twelve books for the use of learners. In 1880, he was created Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur by the President of the French Republic.

He greatly endeared himself to friends and students in this his adopted country, and his almost sudden death was much regretted.[1] There is a short but important and suggestive paper by him on the subject of French Homonyms, in the Transactions of our Society for 1866.

When we look at the list of Officers of the Society for 1885–6, we are reminded that Archbishop TRENCH still remained among us as one of our Vice-Presidents. His death took place so recently as two months ago, on the 28th of March. His books on "English Past and Present," and on the "Study of Words," and his "Select Glossary," are so widely known, even to many who are not philologists, but take an intelligent interest in the study of English, that it is needless for me to speak of them at length. The student who consults them will find them remarkably suggestive and accurate. There is very little in them that will hereafter require modification, with the exception of his remarks upon our modern spelling, which were originally written many years before the appearance of Mr. Ellis's great work on Early English Pronunciation, and never revised in the light of that addition to our knowledge. It is necessary to bear this in mind, because irresponsible and careless critics are never weary of citing certain passages which seem to them a sufficient refutation of any attempt in the direction of spelling reform; the fact being that it is grossly unfair to the memory of so good and true a scholar to quote opinions which he must have seen reason to modify, if his very important duties had left him adequate leisure for re-considering them. The most important of his contributions to our Society were his two papers "On Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries," read before the Society on Nov. 5 and Nov. 19, 1857, and afterwards published as a separate work by J. W. Parker. The justice of the criticisms in that treatise are well known to you all, and have had a marked effect upon the subsequent history of the New English Dictionary. It will well repay a careful reading, and I

[1] See the account in *The Athenæum*, March 21, 1885, p. 375.

think we must all be grateful for such excellent and timely advice. He also contributed two papers to our Transactions in 1862.

We have also to mourn the sad, sudden, and unexpected loss of Dr. STOCK, late Member of our Council. Those of us who assembled here on the 2nd of April to hear him read his paper on the Heidelberg Dialect, and were sorry to hear that he was prevented by illness from attending the meeting, little thought that his death was even then already near at hand. He was a brilliant and promising scholar, from whom we hoped to receive much help. Frederick Stock was a native of Yorkshire, but educated at Devonport, where his father, a Baptist minister, lived for many years. His progress in learning was exceptionally rapid. In 1872, at the early age of 17 years, he gained the degree of B.A. with second-class honours in Mental and Moral Science, at the University of London. In 1879, having already obtained his M.A. degree, he proceeded to the degree of "D.Lit.," being then only 24 years of age. This coveted degree has only been conferred on three others, one of whom is our Member of Council, Dr. Weymouth. Dr. Stock had previously spent nearly a year at Heidelberg, and had there acquired, by the exercise of much patient care, an accurate knowledge of the modes of speech of the peasantry in the neighbourhood of that town. He has been for the past five an Assistant Master of Mill Hill School, where his ability and innate worth were much appreciated.[1] He will be greatly missed at our future meetings, as well as at Mill Hill.

THE WORK OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The papers read before the Society during the last two years have been of considerable interest, but they have been so well reported from time to time in our monthly Abstract of Proceedings, that I need not say much about them now. I must not, however, forget to remind you of our especial

[1] See *The Hendon and Finchley Times*, April 16, 1886.

debt to Dr. Whitley Stokes for the four very important papers which have thrown a lustre upon my term of office, viz. his papers on Old Irish Declension, on the Neo-Keltic Verb Substantive, and on the Old-Breton Glosses at Orleans, and his Notes upon the work by Curtius on Greek Etymology. Mr. Lecky has given us three papers, viz. on Irish Gaelic Sounds, on the Phonetic Theory of English Prosody, and on Irish-English Sounds. We are glad to welcome Mr. Lecky as an earnest worker, from whom we hope for much future aid. Prince Bonaparte has contributed four papers, viz. on Simple Tenses in Modern Basque and Old Basque, on the Neo-Latin names for *Artichoke*, One More Word about *Artichoke*, and Remarks on certain assertions by M. J. Vinson concerning Basque. The Society's work in connection with Dialectal and Dictionary work has made excellent progress. Mr. Ellis gave great satisfaction in May of last year by his Report upon his work on English Dialects, especially by his statement that he had been able to resume the work after much interruption; and his very satisfactory and thorough Report upon Dialectal Work at our last meeting is still fresh in your memory. Dr. Murray has given us two Dictionary Evenings; and it is a peculiar pleasure to me to think that my term of office has been marked by the actual transference to Oxford of our excellent editor and all his valuable material, as this gives us all the greatest encouragement, and enables us to hope that now at last the steady progress of the Dictionary is assured. Mr. Brandreth has also given us what may be called a Dictionary Paper, showing us how much may be done in the way of preparation of the material before it comes into Dr. Murray's hands. At the same time, Dr. Fennell has told us something of the progress of his Stanford Dictionary, which ought hereafter to make a suitable companion volume, supplementing, in certain directions, the great work by Dr. Murray. We have also had papers from never-failing and well-tried contributors, viz. from Mr. Sweet, a former President, on Old-English Words and Etymologies, on the Use of *shall* and *will*, on the Runes, and on Ten Brink's

"Chaucer Grammar"; from Dr. Morris, a former President, on Pâli Miscellanies, and a criticism upon the York Plays; and from our Treasurer, Mr. Dawson, two papers on the Revised Version, viz. one on the Old Testament, and one on the New. Other papers were written by the late C. B. Cayley, on the Conditions of Onomatopœia, which has been printed in "Modern Thought"; by Dr. Weymouth, on Accent in Sanskrit and Greek; by Professor Postgate, on the Ultimate Derivation of *Essay*; and by Dr. Stock, on Certain Examples of Unoriginal *l* and *r*, and on the Heidelberg Dialect. A very interesting and curious paper on the Melanesian Languages was contributed by the Rev. H. Codrington, who has since published an important work on the same subject. Dr. Latham sent some Comments relating to two languages spoken on the Niger; Dr. Sattler, a paper on the Gender of Animals in English; Dr. Stenhouse, one on Biblical Aramaic; and Mr. Standish O'Grady, one on the Cath Finntraga. I have also on three occasions ventured to call attention to some difficult English Etymologies, with respect to two of which Mr. Wedgwood has offered some criticisms.

I must not conclude this brief sketch of our two-years' work without alluding to the pleasure which we have all felt in making up to Dr. Murray the sum which he had so generously advanced, out of his own private means, towards the expenses of the Dictionary; as well as in sending a vote of congratulation to Dr. Mätzner, of Berlin, on the completion of his eightieth year.

Report upon "Ghost-words," or Words which have no real Existence; by the President.

Before proceeding to lay before you the Reports which have been so kindly contributed to this Address by my fellow-workers, I shall venture to trouble you, as in duty bound, with a few words of my own. In considering what subject would be most suitable or most useful to discuss on the present occasion, I regret to say that I at once felt

conscious that the choice was very much limited by my own inability to deal with any subject fully and adequately. I was further conscious that, even as regards the study of Middle-English, to which I have, upon the whole, given most attention, I had little to say beyond what must be already extremely familiar to most of my hearers. It thus became evident that I could do no more than select some one point, and endeavour to illustrate it with numerous examples, in the hope that some of the examples may be new to a few amongst you; or, at any rate, that the grouping together of such examples may render them more interesting than when they have been brought before you, on various occasions, from time to time.

Of all the work which the Society has at various times undertaken, none has ever had so much interest for us, collectively, as the New English Dictionary. Dr. Murray, as you will remember, wrote on one occasion a most able article,[1] in order to justify himself in omitting from the Dictionary the word *abacot*, defined by Webster as "the cap of state formerly used by English kings, wrought into the figure of two crowns." It was rightly and wisely rejected by our Editor on the ground that there is no such word, the alleged form being due to a complete mistake. There can be no doubt that words of this character ought to be excluded; and not only so, but we should jealously guard against all chances of giving any undeserved record of words which had never any real existence, being mere coinages due to the blunders of printers or scribes, or to the perfervid imaginations of ignorant or blundering editors. We may well allow that Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary is an excellent book of its class, and that the latest editor, Mr. Annandale, has very greatly improved it; but I cannot think that he was was well-advised in devoting to *Abacot* twenty-seven lines of type, merely in order to quote Dr. Murray's reasons for rejecting it. Still less can I approve of his introduction of a small picture intended to represent an "Abacot," copied

[1] In the *Athenæum*, Feb. 4, 1882.

from the great seal of Henry VII.; it would have been much better to insert the picture under the correct form *by-cocket*.

I propose, therefore, to bring under your notice a few more words of the *abacot* type; words which will come under our Editor's notice in course of time, and which I have little doubt that he will reject. As it is convenient to have a short name for words of this character, I shall take leave to call them "ghost-words." Like ghosts, we may seem to see them, or may fancy that they exist; but they have no real entity. We cannot grasp them; when we would do so, they disappear. Such forms are quite different, I would remark, from such as are produced by misuse of words that are well known. When, according to the story, a newspaper intended to say that Sir Robert Peel had been out with a party of friends shooting pheasants, and the compositor turned this harmless piece of intelligence into the alarming statement that "Sir Robert Peel had been out with a party of fiends shooting peasants," we have mere instances of misuse. The words *fiends* and *peasants*, though unintended in such a context, are real enough in themselves. I only allow the title of ghost-words to such words, or rather forms, as have *no meaning whatever*.

Instances are not common in modern times; yet I can adduce at least two that are somewhat startling. The first is *kime*, well known to all readers of Sidney Smith's Reviews. The original passage occurs in his review on "Indian Missions," not far from the end; and first appeared in the Edinburgh Review for 1808. "The Hindoos," he says, "have some very savage customs, which it would be desirable to abolish. Some swing on hooks, some run *kimes* through their hands, and widows burn themselves to death." For this statement, he was attacked by Mr. John Styles in a book entitled "Strictures on Two Critiques in the Edinburgh Review," etc. Sidney Smith replied in a review on Methodism, printed in the Edinburgh Review for 1809, where he says: "Mr. Styles is peculiarly severe upon us for not being more shocked at their piercing their limbs with *kimes* . . . it is for

us to explain the plan and nature of this terrible and unknown piece of mechanism. A *kime*, then, is neither more nor less than a false print in the Edinburgh Review for a *knife*;[1] and from this blunder of the printer has Mr. Styles manufactured this Dædalean instrument of torture, called a *kime!* We were at first nearly persuaded by his arguments against *kimes*; we grew frightened;— . . . . but we looked in the errata, and found Mr. Styles to be always Mr. Styles—always cut off from every hope of mercy, and remaining for ever himself." The article concludes with the jocose remark that, upon the transmission to India of a certain order, "Mr. Styles is said to have destroyed himself with a *kime*."

Another extraordinary instance is that of the ghost-verb *to morse*. As a substantive, the word is real, and means a walrus, for which it is the Russian name; but as a verb, the word is spectral. It occurs, I believe, in all but a few editions of Sir Walter Scott's novel of the Monastery, chap. x., where we have this sentence: "Hardened wretch (said father Eustace) art thou but this instant delivered from death, and dost thou so soon *morse* thoughts of slaughter?" The word has been lately discussed in Notes and Queries, in the Sixth Series, ix. 507, x. 34, 97, 195; and in the Seventh Series, i. 199. The question was definitely settled by Mr. Fenwick, son-in-law of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, who possesses the original MS. He says: "The word *nurse* is very legibly written, and there can be no doubt that it is *nurse*." This is a most instructive instance, as proving that a false form, if once introduced, can maintain itself through countless editions without detection, or at any rate without correction. Many readers have supposed it to be excellent Lowland Scotch, and it is not a little curious to find that, in Notes and Queries, 6 S. x. 97, the reading *morse* is explained, upheld, and etymologically accounted for by two independent correspondents, who refer it to the Lat. *mordere*, to bite. One explains it as "to prime," as when one primes

[1] Not precisely; it is the plural *kimes* that is a misprint for the plural *knives*.

a musket, from O.Fr. *amorce*, powder for the touch-hole (Cotgrave); and the other by to bite, to gnaw, hence "to indulge in biting, stinging, or gnawing thoughts of slaughter." The latter says: "That the word as a misprint should have been printed and read by millions for fifty years without being challenged and altered exceeds the bounds of probability." Yet this very thing has actually happened, and it is not so very surprising. Many admire what they cannot understand, and uphold all that is paradoxical. It must be added that, in a few editions, as e.g. in one printed in 1871, the word rightly appears as *nurse*, a reading which may have been due to a slight exercise of common sense. The correction is obvious enough to any reflecting mind. I draw the conclusion that any ghost-word, if of plausible appearance, will be greedily accepted and even defended.

I am not going to say anything now as to the many vexed, tedious, and interminable questions which arise as to the correct text of Shakespeare; but I think it has long been an accepted opinion with all editors that the famous and inexplicable *Ullorxa* in Timon of Athens, iii. 4, 112, is a mere ghost-word; it cannot be right as it stands. The same may be true of some other words, but I will not raise controversy by naming them. But the best examples are to be found in editions of Middle English poems, many of which were edited by men who had hardly a passable acquaintance with the language which they professed to explain to others. The best examples occur in cases where the editor has endeavoured to be faithful, but was unable to read the MS. where it presented difficulties. It is well known that Warton's History of English Poetry contains a considerable number of examples. In particular, there is an excellent note by Price, in the edition of 1840, vol. ii. p. 71, where the frequent confusion of *n* with *u* is dwelt upon. From this note, I extract such ghost-words as the following. In a passage from Layamon's version of the Brut, Mr. Ellis gives us the verb *drinen*, to urge, "from the Dutch *dringen*." It should be—"Ther heo gunnen *driuen*," there did they drive, or go. In the same author, Mr. Turner gives us the

adv. *nalle*, said to mean headlong. It should be—"And Walwain gon to *ualle*," and Walwain began to fall; l. 20821.

In another passage, Mr. Turner has evolved a ghost-verb *ulen*, to howl, past tense *ulode*, howled, by supposing *u* to be a vowel, when it is a consonant. The *u* is the consonant *v*, and *ulode* is the dat. case of *flood*; the later MS. has *flode*. The line is—"And the leo i than *ulode*," and the lion in the flood, l. 20874. In this case, the form is correct to the eye that understands it, but was not so to Mr. Turner. The mistake, though curious, is not a very bad one, as there really is a M.E. verb *houlen*, to howl, with initial *h*.

In Ritson's King Horn, l. 1301, we have:

"The ship bygan to *cronde*
The wynd bleu wel *londe*."

But *londe* should be *loude*, loudly; whilst *cronde* is a pure ghost-word. Read *croude*, i.e. to crowd, to push on; cf. Chaucer's use of *crouden*, and the Norfolk phrase 'to *crowd* (i.e. push) a barrow.' Ritson's Glossary gives the verb *cronde*, with the right reference; but he offers no explanation. In the same poem, l. 1485, Ritson prints:

"*Onen* o the sherte
Hue gurden huem with suerde."

Price rightly alters it to *ouen*, representing the A.S. *ufan*, above, i.e. "above, on the shirt, they girded them with swords." Stratmann takes *oueno* as being all one word, but wrongly, for the A.S. *ufenan*, to which he refers us, is an adverb, meaning 'from above'; see John iii. 31, in the A.S. Gospels. Ritson's Glossary quietly drops the word *onen*, and says nothing about it.

The confusion between *u* and *n* is doubtless familiar to you, but it is worth while to say that there are numerous other ways in which words can be obscured. There is hardly any letter in the alphabet which has not occasionally been misread as meaning something else. This I shall show presently, but I shall first adduce numerous examples from various sources.

The following are taken from Whitaker's edition of Piers

Plowman. I give the references to my own edition of the C-text, which is founded upon the same MS. as that which he printed. The examples are the more striking, because he himself emphasizes the pains which he took to be accurate (see p. xli of his Preface); so that we may be sure that his real difficulty was his want of familiarity with Middle-English. I group his misreadings according to the changes which they exhibit. Some of them may seem extraordinary, but they are quite explicable when the MS. itself is examined. When, for instance, he takes a capital *C* to be a small *s*, there is really something like a resemblance between these letters when c is written on a small scale, in the middle of a line. Some of them can be seen to be mere printer's errors. It will be understood that I only mention such mistakes as have produced 'ghost-words,' or, as we commonly say, nonsense. I say nothing of real forms used in the wrong context.

We find then, *u* for *n*, in *fouk*, i.e. *fonk*, a spark of fire, 7. 335; and in *reuk*, i.e. *renk*, a man, 8. 8; and, again, *reuke*, i.e. *renke*, 21. 2. *N* for *u*, as in "how the day *roned*," explained by "how the day was foul with rain," i.e. rained; but we must read *roued*, i.e. dawned, the word being spelt *rowide* in the Trinity MS.; 21, 128. There is no verb *to rone*, though we actually find in the same poem the strong past tense *ron*, *roen*, *roen*, with the sense of 'rained'; see my Glossary. *Ni* for *m*, as in *coniseth* for *comseth*, i.e. commences, begins, 2. 162; and, again, in *conisynges* for *comsynges*, i.e. commencings, 12. 95. There is no verb to *conise*, "to teach, to cause, to con or know," as Whitaker explains it, though this will not suit the context. *In* for *m*, as in *loine* for *lome*, i.e. frequently, 13. 121; Whitaker evidently takes *loine* to be the French *loin*, as he explains it by "long since." Yet, however real the form *loine* may be as a substantive, it is a mere spectre when it claims to be an adverb, and must be dismissed accordingly. *M* for *ui*, as in *dymnede* for *dyuinede*, divined, interpreted, explained, 10. 305; *dymnen* is explained as meaning 'to dream,' but it is a mere ghost-verb. *Mi* for *un*, as in *gramity* for *graunty*, the infinitive of our modern

verb to grant, 2. 86; *gramity* is explained by Whitaker to be a substantive, signifying 'grief' or 'anger,' but there is no such word, and the explanation will in no way suit the context. *Mu* for *um*, as in *clamupes* for *claumpes*, i.e. cramps, 23. 82; perhaps a misprint, there being no such word as *clamupe*. *Unn* for *erm*, as in *punniten*, explained by 'punish,' 3. 185; the right reading is *permuten*, permute, exchange; there is no such verb as *punnite*. *Ur* for *ne*, as in *forbusur*, explained by 'furbisher,' 18. 277; the right reading is *forbusne*, an example. I do not deny the existence of the sb. *furbisher*, but I do not allow that it can be spelt *forbusur*; I would therefore relegate *forbusur* to the abode of ghosts, and not suffer it to haunt our Dictionary. *C* for *t*, as in *culde*, 15. 150, instead of *tulde*, dwelt, as shown by the alliteration. Here, again, we may admit the reality of *culde* in the sense of 'killed'; but we cannot allow it to stand as a variant form of *could*, which Whitaker took it to be. The *l* in *could* was not inserted till long afterwards. In 7. 370 the common word *portours*, i.e. porters, appears as *porcours*, explained as 'pig-drivers.' Conversely, *t* for *c*; as in *ytoped*, said to mean 'topped,' instead of *ycoped*, a bad spelling of *ycouped*, i.e. cut, as in four good MSS.; 21. 12. *Ytoped* for 'topped' is a false form; it could only be *ytopped*, with double *p*. *S* for a small capital c, as in *soket* for *Coket*, 9. 328. *Coket* is a stamp or seal, and secondarily, a kind of fine bread marked with a peculiar stamp. *Soket* is explained by 'sucket,' which, according to Webster, means a sweetmeat. There is another instance where *sharter* is printed for *Charter*, 17. 36; but this is of small consequence. *Tt* for *it*, as in *wattede* for *waitide*, i.e. waited, looked about, 1. 16. Whitaker's Glossary explains *watte* by 'to wander,' and calls it Saxon; but there is no such verb. Again, *suteth* is put for *sitteth*, 17. 340; but the form is quite wrong. *Sitteth* meant 'he sits' in the fourteenth century, just as it does now. *Cc* for *tt*, as in *succh* (1. 62), explained by 'true,' as if it were a variant of *soth*, i.e. sooth, which it cannot possibly be. The right reading is *sutth*, a variant of *sith*, i.e. since; other MSS. have *suth*, *seth*, *seththe*, *sith*, the last

of these being common. Another strange alteration is probably intentional, viz. in 17. 191, where the MS. has '*chepe* or refuse,' i.e. buy or refuse to buy; here Whitaker prints *chesse*, though his commentary has *chese*, explained by 'chuse.' The double *s* produces an impossible form, since the preceding vowel is long. A very awkward misprint, though easily made, occurs in 16. 84, where we read that Christ '*polede* for man'; of course the *p* was put by the printer in the place of the *thorn*-letter (þ), and the verb intended is *tholien*, to suffer. The verb *polien* is a mere monstrosity. In 18. 118, we are told that priests are not to *ouerhuppe*, not to hop or skip over words in saying the service. The word is somewhat common, but Whitaker did not know it; he therefore inserted an *s*, giving us *ouershuppe*, explained as 'overskip.' Unfortunately, this is an inadmissible form of *ouerskippen*, and the resulting *ouershuppe* is nonsense.

The mistakes in Wright's edition of Piers Plowman are very few; it is one of his most successful pieces of work, giving us a very accurate text, and some good illustrative notes that must have cost him some trouble to gather together. In two places, viz. in lines 961 and 6186, he has printed *maused* for *mansed*, a clipped form of *amansed*, i.e. excommunicated, accursed; but he has corrected this in other passages and in the Glossary. There is no such word as *maused*. He has, however, produced one very decided ghost-word, viz. the verb *to bouchen*. On p. 5 of his edition, we read of the pardoner that:

"He *bouched* hem with his brevet, and blered hire eighen."

His Glossary has '*bouchen*, to stop people's mouths,' but this is followed by a query, to show that it was but a guess. I have shown, from the MSS. and other sources, that it should be *bonched*, i.e. bunched, bumped, knocked, smote.

There are some singular 'ghost-words' in Crowley's edition of the same poem; they are given in the Critical Notes subjoined to my edition of the B-text. I will just instance *sangtle* in 4. 2; this is put for *saugtle*, or rather *saughtle*, to

become reconciled; cf. A.S. *sahtlian*, to reconcile. *Reuk* (5. 399), for *renk*, a man; this shows us how Whitaker was misled as to this form. In 7. 152, Crowley has *dimned* for *diuined*; this shows us the origin of another of Whitaker's mistakes, and warns us that false forms are very tenacious of existence. In 10. 279, Crowley has *mauzed* for *mansed*; this shows us the origin of Mr. Wright's *maused*. These are instances of *n* for *u*, *m* for *ui*, and *u* for *n*; but in 6. 156, Crowley has *f* for *s*, and thus gives us *abofted* instead of *abosted*, i.e. addressed boastfully. There is no such word as *aboft* in the New English Dictionary; but the quotation for *abosted* is duly entered under the modern spelling *Aboast*.

The history of the distinct poem called Pierce the Ploughman's Crede is a little singular. It was printed both by Whitaker and Wright from the old edition of 1553. Wright pointed out the existence of two MSS., but neglected them on the ground that they were mere late copies of the printed edition. I discovered that they represented an earlier and more correct text, containing five additional lines, and I was also enabled to restore the correct reading in about forty places. Some of the misprints in the old edition furnish us with good examples of ghost-words. As usual, we have *u* for *n*, as in the extraordinary form *couuen* for *connen*, i.e. con, know, line 388; *beuen* for *benen*, i.e. beans, 762. Conversely, we have *n* for *u*; in l. 432, the word *reufull* was misread as *renfull*, and actually turned into *rentful* by a misprint. *Rentful* may possibly be a true word, but we should hardly use it to mean 'full of rents or tears'; it is quite out of place as an epithet of lean oxen, of which it is said that

"Men myghte reken ich a ryb, so *rentful* they weren."

Similarly, in l. 738, the word *reuthe*, i.e. ruth, appears as *renthe*. Further, we have *o* for *e*, a very common error; this has given us the spectral adverb *monelich*, instead of *menelich*, meanly; 108. Many MSS. confuse *t* with *c*, and especially *st* with *sc*; hence the extraordinary statement about a friar who was "arayd in red stone," instead of "rede scone," i.e. red shoes; 738. *F* and long *s* are con-

The words are the following:

1) *no mung* 'pork.'
2) *to ma* 'dog.'
3) *to wai* 'ox.'
4) *to pit* 'duck.'
5) *to mo* 'pig.'
6) *to ki* 'chicken.'
7, 8) *kan ngai* 'eat rice.'

"The words 2, 5, 6, and 7 are of Siamese parentage; the categorical prefix *to* needs no comment, and as *kan* of *kan ngai* means 'eat,' the object follows the verb.

"109. The missionary notice says that in *Tchung Kia* the adjective and the genitive follow the noun, unlike the Chinese, and like the Siamese and Annamite. It has no declensions nor conjugations, and this usual statement of persons unfamiliar with comparative philology goes on with the also usual mis-statement that the same word may be noun, adjective, verb, etc.; the position of the words in the sentence and the use of particles determinate the conditions of space and time of the action. There are tones and accents which diversify words otherwise apparently the same. In *Tchung kia* frequent use is made of categorical prefixes, such as:

Tu- for living beings: *tu wen* 'man,' *tu-kai* 'fowl.'[1]
Dant- or *Da-* for objects: *dant-tcho* 'table.'
Leg- or *lec-* for all that is born from, or produced: *leg sai* 'a boy,' *leg beng* 'a girl.'
Pu- for reasonable beings: *Pu-ha* 'the Chinese,' *Pu-yak* 'the brigands,' *Pu-y*, 'themselves.'
a- for the proper names.[2]

"110. Besides these data, there is a vocabulary of Chinese origin,[3] of 234 words, compiled in the S.W. and S.E.

[1] Which Deka writes *to ki*, as we have seen; in Siamese *tua kaï*, so says the notice; in the vocabulary of Chinese compilation, *tu kai*.
[2] Cf. E. Lasserteur, *o.c.* p. 186.
[3] It is one of the vocabularies given by J. Edkins, *Vocabulary of the Miau Dialects*, from the *Hing-y fu tchi*.

of the province of Kueitchou, which agrees with all the above statements, without however furnishing any other basis for extending our knowledge of the ideological indices of this important language beyond 2 4 6 0.

"111. The T'U-JEN 土人, whose settlements extend from the east and centre of Kueitchou to the west of Kuang-si provinces, also speak a Taïc language.[1] We have a short notice and a vocabulary of thirty-three words from the same source as the data about the Tchung-kia, whose original speech may have been strongly influenced by them. The Chinese notices say nothing of former residences, and their name means properly 'aborigines' in its Chinese garb; so far it is not an ethnic, and may have no other signification than the relative antiquity of residence of these tribes with reference to that of the others more recently arrived. Here is the vocabulary with its French spelling, and the comparisons of Siamese made by the same author:[2]

father	*tou-peu*	Siamese	*pho.*
mother	*tou-mei*	,,	*me.*
son	*tou-lak*	,,	*luk.*
daughter	*lak-sao*	,,	*luk-sao.*
man	*oug-hon*	,,	*ong-* or *khon-manut.*
woman	*lak-mei*	,,	*mia.*
male	*tou-tak*	,,	*toua-phu.*
female	*tou-mei*	,,	*toua-mia.*
house	*an-loun*		
earth	*thomh*		
water	*nam*	,,	*nam.*
fire	*foi*	,,	*faï.*
wind	*lom*	,,	*lam.*
heaven	*au-boën*		
dog	*tou-ma*	,,	*tou-ma.*
cat	*tou-meou*	,,	*tou-meou.*
tree	*keu-may*	,,	*tou-mai.*
rice	*hao*	,,	*khao.*

[1] *Miao Man hoh tchi*, bk. iii. f. 3*r*, iv. f. 9*v*.
[2] E. C. Lasserteur, *o.c.*

"94. Three writings are now used in Annam. 1) The *chu' nhu* 字儒, pure Chinese characters are used only by the literati; 2) the *chu' nom* 字喃, proper only to the Annamite, are compound characters made of two Chinese symbols, one ideological mute suggesting the class of objects, and another phonetic answering to the vernacular sound to be rendered, their total amounting to some nine hundred; 3) the *chu' quoc ngu* 字國語, the Roman characters adapted to the transcription of the language by the early European missionaries.[1] As the Annamite is spoken southwards as far as Lower Cochin-China, three dialects, chiefly distinguished by variants of pronunciation, are recognized, and cause a great deal of misunderstanding as to the phonetic value of the aforesaid quaint spelling in Roman characters. The older pronunciation is that of the north.

"95. The PALOUNGS, in Chinese *Po-lung* 勃弄, speak a language of the Mōn-Talaing family. In the seventh century (*circ.* 650 A.D.) they were settled in Yunnan N.W., and were for a short time, after a violent struggle, subdued by the Chinese. In the following century they were conquered by the Shan Kingdom of Nantchao. They are now further south, forming a part of the hill population between Bhamo and Yung-tchang, and also along the Shwaili river. We have two vocabularies of their speech; one of 200 words collected in 1858 by Bishop P. A. Bigandet,[2] which examined by John Logan,[3] permitted this great scholar to recognize the Mōn-Annam relationship of the language. Another vocabulary of 168 words was collected by Dr. John Anderson[4] at the time of his expedition in S.W. Yunnan. The latter list of words is less saturated with Shan words than the preceding. The indices of its ideology are 2 4 6 8 VI., which confirms the glossarial evidence.

[1] On the advantages and disadvantages of these writings, vid. an interesting paper by M. Landes, *Notes sur le Quoc ngu*, pp. 1–22 of *Bulletins de la Société des Etudes Indo-Chinoises de Saïgon*, 1866.

[2] *A Comparative Vocabulary of Shan, Ka-Kying and Pa-laong*, in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, N.S. vol. ii. pp. 221–229.

[3] *Notes on Pa-laong*, ibid. pp. 233–236.

[4] *A Report on the Expedition to Western Yunnan* (Calcutta, 1871), pp. 400–409. Reprinted in his book, *Mandalay to Momien*, pp. 464–473.

XII. The Pre-Chinese Taï-Shan Aboriginal Languages. Formation.

"96. The political unity and the social activity of the great native state of Ts'u in former Central China, previous to the foundation of the Empire, and south of the various Chinese states, have exercised a great influence on the several uncouth languages spoken there. They have produced forcibly a tendency to uniformity, which has left traces on all the languages and dialects which have survived or have developed from the same nucleus until to-day. Seven centuries, between the ninth and the third century B.C., were the length of time during which this tendency was at work, and we cannot disregard its import, which cannot fail to have been a most serious one, should we not have found proof of the fact, nearly at every step in the present fourth part of this memoir.

"97. We have seen in our foregoing §§ 31–33 that the language spoken in Ts'u was not a Chinese dialect. And the statement of Hiung k'iü, ruler in Ts'u from 887 to 867 B.C., saying: 'We are Man-y (*i.e.* aliens from the Chinese), and we do not bear Chinese names,'[1] is an unnecessary confirmation. The words quoted from Ts'u in the *Fang yen*[2] are easily identified with the Mōn and Taïc-shan vocabularies in equal shares, when they are not simply altered Chinese. And the most frequent phonetic equivalent is that of *k* or *h* for a Chinese *l*, still existing in the modern languages.[3]

"98. The linguistic formation which has been the most enhanced there towards its future achievement in the state of Nan-tchao (§ 103) is that of the Taï-Shan family, which had begun before the time of the establishment of the aforesaid state, wherever the linguistic elements which have entered into its composition had been led to intermingling. The Kareng elements were not unimportant in Ts'u, and there are reasons for believing that the first nucleus of this state

[1] *She-ki, Ts'u she kia*, bk. 40, f. 3*v*.
[2] Cf. §§ 42–52, above.
[3] Cf. § 55, above.

belonged to their group;[1] but it was soon left aside by the successive encroachments of that kingdom, where the Chinese and other Kuenlunic populations soon vied along with the Mōn tribes, and became pre-eminent, producing the result we have stated.

"99. NGAI LAO 哀牢, some of whose descendants bearing the same name are still found in the S.W. of Annam, were ancient tribes of China. They owe their origin to an intermingling of races told in a legend which contains the two words, and two words only, that we know of their language.

"100. In former times the *Ti*, *Mou* and *Tsiü* (tribes)[2] had their settlements in the mountains and forests of Szetchuen province. A woman of their race named *Sha-yh* 'Grain of sand,' who dwelt on the Lao mountain, came once to a fishing stream and was touched by a floating log. She became enceinte and gave birth to a child after ten months. Having borne ten sons, she plunged the piece of wood into the water, where it became transformed into a dragon which rose above the water, when Sha-yh heard the dragon speak thus in his dragon language: 'Where are the ten sons that were begotten by me?' Nine of the sons seeing the dragon became alarmed and fled. Only the youngest child, who was unable to leave, sat with his back to the dragon. The dragon therefore licked him. In the mother's *niao* (or Bird's) language 'back' is *kiu* and 'to sit' is *lung*; for which reason the boy was called *Kiu-lung*.[3] Sha-yh took Kiu-lung with her and went below the Lung-shan or 'Dragon mountain' where she settled. And later on, the other brothers elected Kiu-lung as their

[1] Cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, p. 27.

[2] Yang shen, in his *Tien tsai ki*, i.e. Varieties about Tien (Yunnan), f. 6, makes one single name of man of these three names of tribes mentioned in the ancient *Shan hai King* and other works. *Tsiü* was an equivalent of the name of *Pa* for North Szetchuen. *Ti* and *Mou* are well-known ethnic names in the west of the same province and they are probably the antecedents of *Tai Mou* name given to the Shans of Yünnan.

[3] This account, beginning with the history of Sha-yh, is given in the *Hou-han shu*, bk. 116, *Si Nan Man tchuen*. A translation was made by Mr. A. Wylie, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, vol. i. 1882; cf. pp. 230–231, but this great scholar, blind as he was already when he made his translation, could not read the Chinese text.

king because of his craftiness.[1] Subsequently at the foot of the Lao mountain[2] lived a man and his wife who gave birth to ten daughters. Kiu-lung and his brothers respectively took them for wives, and their posterity was numerous. Their descendants used to tattoo and paint their bodies with figures of dragons and wore coats with tails.[3] They multiplied extensively and branched off into numerous tribes and communities under the rule of smaller kings.

"101. In A.D. 47 their King *Hien-lih*, who had with him six smaller kings, sent troops on bamboo rafts which floated southwards down the Kiang and Han rivers[4] on the Chinese frontier against the *Luh-to*[5] barbarians, who were easily subdued. But affairs changed for the worse, and in A.D. 51 Hien-lih and others led 2770 families of his tribe, comprising 17,659 individuals, to acknowledge the Chinese suzerainty and pay a yearly tribute. It was in the South West, however, that the Ngai Lao tribes had attained to the largest development, and that they had settled in the West of Yunnan, where their political existence was acknowledged as that of a feudatory state in A.D. 69.[6] In 76–78 A.D. they rebelled and advanced eastwards against the advanced posts of the Chinese in S. Szetchuen, but they were attacked by the Kuen-ming tribes allied to the Chinese and compelled to keep quiet, their king being slain in the struggle. We hear no more of them in Chinese records and they entered largely into the formation of the Nan-tchao state of Yunnan. At a certain period of the disintegration of this kingdom,[7] some

[1] This statement occurs in the extract from the *Hou Han Shu*, quoted in the *Tai ping yü lan* (a cyclopedia of 983 A.D.) bk. 786, f. 1–2. The Lung mountains here are most probably the Kiu lung range, which form the northern frontier of Szetchuen, and whose name is as usual connected with that of the people.

[2] The Lao mountain is identified with Kiueh ngan tang, Teh-ngan fu, in Hupeh, at the eastern extremity of the Kiu lung range mentioned in the previous note.

[3] Like the Pan-hu race, who, however, did not tattoo; this practice was in use in the maritime provinces of Kiangsu, Tchehkiang, Fuhkien, and still among the Laocians and Burmese. The Annamites have given it up since A.D. 1293.

[4] This statement shows that their or at least some of their central quarters were then in the Kiu lung mountains, as stated above.

[5] Cf. *Leu-tai*, self name of the Pa-y shans. The Lok-taï of the Siamese, § 113.

[6] Their general chief was Liu Mao, with 77 chieftains; they formed 51,890 families, comprising 553,711 persons.

[7] Probably about 899 A.D.

of them moved southwards, and during more than four centuries (A.D. 1048—1427) they proved most obnoxious neighbours to the Annamites.[1] Their name and probably a portion of this population are still in existence west of the Annamese province of Thanh hoa.[2]

"102. The foregoing information, lengthy as it is, was necessary to explain the actual standing of the Ngai-Lao in history, and as an instance of the fate of many other populations who have migrated in full or in part to the south, into the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The two words quoted in the legend which has grown out of them are the sole remnants we possess of their language. They are an attempt by themselves to explain in their own tongue a name of their mythical ruler which he had derived from the region where he was settled. This name was *Kiu-lung*, which, as I have shown elsewhere,[3] is a variant of that of Kuenlun, and was applied by earlier populations to anything lofty. It has travelled far and wide, from Formosa to the Malay peninsula, with the migration of populations. The parentage of the Ngai-Lao is pretty well shown by all their particulars to be Taïc, and the evidence of their language, so far as exhibited by the two words above quoted, confirms this plainly. *Kiu* 'back' is still existing in the Tsing Miao *kiau kie*, where *kiau* is the class-article; *lung* 'to sit' is the Tchung Miao *lang*, the Siamese *nang*, the Shan *nang*, with the same meaning. Besides this scanty data, we find some more in their later history, as we shall see directly.

"103. Under the heading of NAN TCHAO 南 詔,[4] we have a few words casually quoted in the Chinese historical notices of this state of former Yunnan.

yuen, self royal pronoun (cf. Siamese *ku-eng*, I myself).
tchang, the servants as called by the king (cf. Siam. *tam*, humble).

[1] Cf. P. J. B. Trüöng-Vinh-ky, *Cours d'histoire Annamite* (Saïgon, 1875–1879, 12mo.), vol. i. pp. 58, 93, 96-98, 102, 105, 178, etc.
[2] *Hoang Viet dia du chi* (Official Geography of Annam, 1829), vol. ii. p. 19.
[3] In *The Science of Language, chiefly with reference to S.E. Asia* (in the press).
[4] Or 'Southern Prince.'

tsing ping, mandarins of the first rank (cf. Siam. *hsong*, to conduct; *p'ou*, army).
shwang, a territorial division.[1]
shwang, land measure=5 *meu*, Chinese.
to shwang, governor of three provinces (cf. Siam. *tahan*, officer).
tsong-so, chief of 100 families (cf. Siam. *tang-chu*, an honorary title).
tchi jen kuan, chief of 1000 families.
tu to, chief of 10,000 families.
tsia-tu, one of the forty-six governors.
kien, circumscription (cf. Siam. *kwen*).
tchao, prince (cf. Siam. *tchao*).
shan p'o to, great peace (cf. Siam. *sangat*, quiet).
piao-sin, title assumed by the king in 800 A.D. (cf. Siam. *p'aya*, governor; *tan*, just; *san*, court of justice).
ta-yong, elder brother.
Ta-li, name of a large lake (cf. Siamese *t'a le*, sea) in Western Yunnan.

"With due allowance for the ten or twelve centuries which have elapsed since these words have been written, and the limitation of the Chinese transcription, the glossarial affinities show the language to be thoroughly Taïc. The two ideological indices visible, 2 4, point to the same conclusion.

"104. The social and political concentration and activity of the state of Nantchao, lasting several centuries, have been after the similar phenomena of the state of Ts'u in Central China, the most important factors of the remarkable unity of the Taïc family of languages. The *Nan tchao* was one of the six states, or *Luh tchao*, which existed in the west of Yunnan after the Christian era; five of them consisted of Lao or Laocian tribes, the sixth being Moso. They were successively subdued by one of them, Muong she tchao, which grew into a powerful state from the sixth to the end of the ninth century: though reduced in importance,

[1] Cf. however Siamese *sen*, a measure of 20 fathoms or 120 feet; while the *shwang* would be a measure of 735 yards.

and disturbed by the intermingling of tribes of other stocks, it lasted under the name of the Kingdom of Tali until its submission by the Mongols at the end of the thirteenth century.

XIII. The Pre-Chinese Taï-shan Aboriginal Dialects.

a) Unmixed and Mixed.

"105. The dialect of the Tsing Miao 青苗 or 'Blue Miao,' who inhabit the centre and W. of Kueitchou,[1] is only known through a vocabulary of 195 words formerly compiled by Chinese in the south-west of the province.[2] From European sources we learn that their language in the prefecture of Kuei-yang has eight tones.[3]

"The numerals, the pronouns, and a large proportion of the words show that this dialect belongs to the Mōn group. Determinative prefixes are largely used, such as *le-* for anything flat, *ti-* for anything pointed, *lun-* for round things, *te-* for animals. The ideological indices exemplified in the list of words are 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ 6 0.

"106. A list of 90 words compiled by the Chinese is all that we possess of the dialect of the An-shun Miao 安順苗,[4] namely, the Miao who inhabit the prefecture of An-shun in the centre west of the province of Kueitchou.

"The affinities are Mōn-Taï, with a decided leaning towards the Taï, as shown by the numerals and the pronouns, which evidently belong to this family. As in all the other Miao vocabularies, there has been a not-unimportant absorption of Chinese and Lolo words. The use of determinative prefixes is revealed by the known *tu-* before the names of animals. Ideological indices, 2 4 6 0.

"107. The Tchung-kia tze 狆家子, also Tchung Miao,

[1] *Miao Man hoh tchi*, iv. 4.
[2] Extracted by Dr. J. Edkins, in his *Vocabulary of the Miau Dialects*, from the *Hing-y fu tchi*.
[3] Rev. Brounton, in *China's Million*, 1883, p. 62.
[4] In the *Hing-y fu tchi*, and translated by J. Edkins in his *Vocabulary of the Miau Dialects*.

or Y-JEN, whose own name is *Pu-y*,[1] speak a Taï language so closely connected with the Siamese that Mr. Abrand, a missionary who had resided in Siam, was soon enabled without great difficulty to understand them in Kueitchou. The Chinese notices about them state that they migrated northwards from the region of *Yung*, S. Hunan, in the eleventh century.[2] On the other hand, their traditions say that their ancestors were *originally* from the Kiangsi province (E. China), and they have kept in great respect the memory of Ma Wang.[3] The latter apparently refers to the same migration as that reported by the Chinese, but taken from a more eastern point of departure, where the two provinces are conterminous. They are now in scattered settlements over four prefectures of Kueitchou province, and also in the north of Kuangsi.

"108. We are indebted to the missionaries who have furnished the notes with which Mr. E. Lasserteur has written the article of the *Missions Catholiques*, quoted in the footnotes, for some grammatical information on the language of those of Kueitchou, and to Deka in *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*[4] for eight words of those settled in Kuangsi, whom he calls *Tchung tze*.

[1] E. Lasserteur, *De quelques tribus sauvages de la Chine et de l'Indo-Chine*, in *Les Missions Catholiques* (Lyon, 4to.), 1878, t. x. p. 308.

[2] At the time of the five dynasties (A.D. 907–959), when *Ma yn* was king of Tsu, they migrated from the government of *Yung* (Yung kuan). Cf. *Miao Man hoh tchi*, bk. iv. f. 1. The localization of Yung kuan is not identified, but the connection of Ma yn as the cause of the migration may aid in the solution of this little geographical problem. Ma yn ruled over Hu-nan as king of Tsu from A.D. 908 till 951; and in A.D. 928 he successfully attacked King Nan or south of King (S. Hupeh), and in A.D. 941 the Mān of Ki tchou (N.W. Hunan) were pacified. His rule had nothing to do south of the Mei-ling and Nan ling, where the southern Han dynasty was established (A.D. 917–971). Therefore, as the migration of the Tchung kia tze happened during and under Ma yn's rule, they must have crossed westwards along N. of the mountain ranges, S. of Hunan; and *Yung kuan*, sometimes written also *Yung yng*, must not be mistaken for *Yung tchou*, now Nan ning fu, in S. Kuangsi. On the wars made by Ma yn, and the dates, cf. *Li Tai Tí Wang nien piao*, Wu tai. Luh tze-yun, writing circa 1650, says in his *T'ung k'i sien tchi*, f. 2 (*Shwoh ling* collect. bk. 29), that Ma yn drove away these people until Tching-tu in Sze-tchuen.

[3] "La famille du martyr Jerome Lou de Mao Keou prétend posséder la table généalogique de ses aïeux depuis l'époque de leur emigration du Kiangsi au Kongtcheou." E. Lasserteur, *De quelques tribus sauvages de la Chine et de l'Indo-Chine*, in *o.c.* 1877, t. ix. p. 149.

[4] *Spoken Language of the Miau tsz and other Aborigines*, in N. and Q., Hongkong, 1867, vol. i. p. 131.

11, *la pun wu*; 12, *la puk lau*; 13, *la pun pih*; 14, *la pu k'o*; 15, *la pu ch'i*; 16, *lu pu ch'it*; 17, *la pu tu*; 18, *la pu tau*; 100, *lau van*; 1000, *longeen*. How old are you? *meu pu tala hoe pone?*

"123. The glossarial affinities exhibit a Taï-Shan parentage, which cannot be denied, though the language is certainly not pure, and shows traces of other influences. In the numerals, for instance, which are given in two or three series, similarities exist with those of some tribes of Formosa. But they are remote, and do not come from a direct relationship; they are apparently survivals of a former state of things, previous to their respective migrations, when their various ancestors had relations between themselves on the continent.

"From the above list of words, three of the ideological indices may be inferred. They are 1 4 6 0. Unfortunately the fourth indice, that which refers to the relative position of the subject and verb, is not exemplified.

"124. The Li are reputed to have known the art of writing, which they seem to have forgotten. Capt. J. Calder[1] has found near Yu-lin kan some characters scrawled on the walls of a temple, which I think may have belonged to the writing of Tsiampa.[2] We know that several migrations from the latter country to the island of Haïnan took place in the tenth century.[3] In some parts of the island, 'the *Li* women carry a piece of lacquered wood, on which are written several lines of a ballad; the writing however is like the wriggling of worms, and cannot be deciphered.'[4]

"125. Another list of words of a possibly different dialect, that of the Loi, has been written down in Annam by M. J. Moura,[5] from the mouth of a Chinaman, who had

[1] *Notes on Haïnan and its Aborigines*, where a facsimile is given. *China Review*, 1882, vol. xi. pp. 41–50.

[2] Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, i. 45, ii. 235. 236.

[3] D'Hervey St.-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers de Matouanlin*, vol. ii. p. 547.

[4] B. A. Henry, *Lingnam, or Interior Views of Southern China, including Travels in the hitherto Untraversed Island of Haïnan*, London, 1885, 8vo.

[5] J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, i. 513.

spoken the language some forty years before, and whose memory was not quite safe:

"Man, *nam*; woman, *sabo*; wife, *moa*; body, *nga*; hand, *chhean*; finger, *sean*; mouth, *mok*; leg, *kong*. Bull, *ngeak*; buffalo, *ngak*; horse, *hi*; duck, *hek*. Sky, *thoang*; water, *tui*; fire, *fai*; cold, *koa*; hot, *nguon*. Formerly, *kou*; to-morrow, *maso*; now, *hau*; far, *hong*; much, *toi*. Tree, *chheong*; bamboo, *thoa*; flower, *ho*; house, *su*; wax, *mac*. Beautiful, *phéa*; white, *mac*; blue, *suum*; great, *tang*. Buy, *peang*; love, *tong*; go, *péan*; be afraid, *kéa*; drink, *chéa*; break, *thoac*; understand, *khéan*; ask, *tho*; give, *io*; sleep, *ma*; go in, *seang*; eat, *chea*.

"There are many Taï-shan affinities in this list, but there are also numerous words which differ from the Li dialect. There are no instances illustrating the ideology.

"126. But the distinction between the *Li* and the *Loi* is by no means established, and may be simply a local difference of pronunciation for the same name; in the same way, the differences of vocabulary may be simply regional peculiarities of one and the same language, unsettled and not fixed, as becomes to languages without literature or writing.

XV. The Pre-Chinese Aboriginal Negritos.

"127. The languages spoken by the tribes of this dwarfish race, which formerly were settled in China proper, have not left any modern representative that we know of. Such tribes fell in proximity to the Chinese Bak tribes, about 2116 B.C., when the latter already immigrated into the Flowery Land, and advanced eastwards of the great southern bend of the Yellow River. Some tribes of the same race are spoken of in the fabulous geography of the *Shan haï king*, a few centuries previous to the Christian era, and in later writers, *circa* 235 A.D., the Chinese advanced in the region that is now the S.E. of their An-hui province, and met there again some of these dwarfish tribes.[1] We hear no more of them in the Chinese annals;

[1] I have collected all the available information on the matter in Chinese sources in a special paper: *The Pygmies of the Chinese; A Contribution to the Study of the Negrito Race.*

but Friar de Odoric de Pordenone, about 1330, mentions them in the relation of his journey.

"128. Nothing is said of their language, and no landmarks exist as yet, which may permit us to discover any survival of its former influence, if any. Their race has shown frequently a great propensity to give up their own language and learn that of their neighbours, as they did apparently in the Philippine Islands;[1] also in the Shan and Cambodian regions. Elsewhere, in the Malayan peninsula, the Mergui Archipelago, and the Andaman Islands, their dialects are, perhaps, more like one another than could be expected from their respective surroundings; but this is not sufficient to permit any inference as to the original characteristics of the pristine language of their race. As a matter of fact, the dialects spoken by the Negrito tribes still in existence form two like groups widely distinct,[2] and nothing beyond what we recall below shows exactly which of the two groups was formerly represented in the Flowery Land. The historical probabilities are in favour of the group to which the Kamuks, Canchos, and Tjraos[3] belong; the latter name, *Tjrao*, is but slightly different from the old appellative *Tiao-yao*, or 'Dark Pygmies,' of the Negritos of China. But in that case they must have had their language strongly modified by their Mōn-Khmer and Tcham surrounding neighbours.

[1] "The Negrito languages of the Philippines appear, judging from the scanty specimens in my possession (says the eminent Prof. Georg von der Gabelentz, of Leipzig), to enjoy grammatical systems very similar in fullness, richness, and in the phonetic means employed, to those of their light-coloured neighbours."—*The Languages of Melanesia*, in *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1886, vol. xviii. pp. 489–490. Dr. H. Kern, of Leide, in the *Bijdragen tot de taal- land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 4th ser. vol. vi. pp. 243–264, claims for their language a character thoroughly Malayo-Polynesian, and largely connected with the Philippine dialects, with certain admixture from more remote members of the family.

[2] This is shown by their ideological indices. *a*) Andamanese, 1 4 5 8 I. III.; Silungs, Samangs, 1 4 5 8 III., and so far like the Papuas of New Guinea. *b*) The Kamuks, Kameits, and Tjrao have the indices 2 4 6 8 VI. of the Mōn-Taï. Should the Negritos of the Philippines have the same indices as the Tagala, these would be 2 4 6 7 IV., therefore belonging to the second group.

[3] A vocabulary collected from the *Kamuck* has been collected by Mr. Holt Hallet and will soon be published. One from the *Cancho* has appeared in J. Moura, *Le Cambodge*, vol. i. pp. 439–447; and one of the *Tjrou* by E. Aymonier, in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 24 (Saigon, 1885), pp. 315–316.

XVI. The Pre-Chinese Aboriginal Indonesians.

"129. In the second part of the present work,[1] we have called attention to the striking influence exercised by a special stock of languages on certain ancient texts in Chinese character, written at a time and in a region where the Chinese, in their advance towards the west of China proper, had fallen into contact with some native tribes, Indonesian in their customs, and therefore, judging from this influence, Indonesian also in language. The former population of the country has been so completely swept away by the Chinese, that no distinct remains have been hitherto pointed out. However, we do not despair of hearing of some surviving tribe of Indonesians still taking refuge in an out-of-the-way corner of the mountains, such as in the Peiling range, west of the province of Fuhkien, and having preserved something of their older language.[2] Anyhow, in the present state of

[1] § 23, above.

[2] On the surviving rude tribes of this part, cf. Geo. Minchin, *A Race of Men and Women Living at Pei-ling*, in *Notes and Queries for China and Japan*, 1870, vol. iv. pp. 121–122. From their reported tradition these seem to belong to the Pong race. Rev. R. N. Lion, *Notes of a Tour in South Chekiang*, in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 1875, p. 261. Martini in the seventeenth and Marco Polo in the thirteenth century had mentioned such tribes. But nothing has hitherto been said of their language. The Rev. F. Ohlinger has published *A Visit to the 'Dog-eared Barbarians' or Hill-People* 山 宅 *near Foo chow*, in 1886 (*ibid.* vol. xvii. pp. 265–268), who call themselves *Sia-bo*, and are apparently the same as those described by Mr. Geo. Minchin. They claim to have come from the Canton province. The following triple list of words, to which I subjoin the so-called Chinese, and the Hakka numerals, come from the above-quoted article:

English.	Sia-bo.	Fuhtchou.	Hakka.	Chinese.
tea	*tch'ó*	*da*	*ts'a*	*tcha*
water	*ssü*	*jui*	*shui*	*shui*
house	*lau*	*tch'io*	*wuk*	*wu(k*
tree	*shü*	*tcheu*	*shu*	*shu*
earth	*t'i*	*de*	*t'i*	*ti*
heaven	*t'ang*	*t'ieng*	*t'en*	*tien*
man	*nging*	*nöng*	*ngin*	*jen (njen)*
sit	*tch'ó*	*soi*	*ts'ó*	*tso*
sedan	*k'iun*	*gieu*	*yi*	*kiao*
pen	*bik*	*bek*	*yut*	*pi(t*
paper	*ji*	*jai*	*tshi*	*tche*
word	*tch'i*	*je*	*s*	*tze*
wheat	*ma*	*mah*	*mak*	*mai(k*
cow, ox	*ngaou*	*ngu*	*ngu*	*niu*
hat	*mo*	*mó*	*man*	*mao*
hand	*ssiu*	*tch'iu*	*shu*	*shou*
foot	*giok*	*k'a*	*kyok*	*kio(k*

our knowledge, we must be content with the indirect linguistic proof here mentioned, besides a knowledge of several *disjecta membra*, now representatives scattered west, south, and east of the former Indonesian dialects on the soil of the present China.

"139. The geographical position of the GYARUNG, common on the north borders of Tibet and China, so far apart from their cognates in language, and also their smaller stature compared with that of their neighbours, shows them to be a displaced population. Let us remember that at the time of the leadership of Shun, when the Chinese made their first advance into Honan, some tribes hostile to them had to be removed to the west,[1] and we may accept the Chinese statement that they are the descendants of these removed tribes, now, much altered by the surrounding influences. The removed people were a northern portion of the San Miao, whose central quarters lay around the Po-yang lake, and also to the north of the Yang-tze kiang. The descendants of these Miao now in the S.W. prove in their languages to have common features with that of the Gyarung, a name which,

ENGLISH.	SIA-BO.	FUHTCHOU.	HAKKA.	CHINESE.
mouth	*joi*	*tch'oi*	*tsoi*	*tsui*
field	*t'ang*	*tch'eng*	*t'en*	*tien*
rice	*mei*	*mi*	*mi*	*mi*
bridge	*k'iu*	*gio*	*k'yau*	*kiao*
stone	*sshiah*	*sioh*	*shak*	*sho(k*
vegetable	*tch'oi*	*tch'ai*	*ts'oi*	*tsai*
boat	*sshiong*	*sung*	*t'yang*	*tchuen*
Girl	S. *jü niong giang* F. *bung ngük jói* H. *a-tsyau-moi* C. *ku-niang*		Boy	S. *diang buo giang* F. *tch'iong bu joi* H. *a tsyau* (*tsai*) C. *tung tze*
one	*ek*	*sioh*	*yit*	*yi(t*
two	*yong*	*lang*	*nye*	*erh*, (*ni*) *liang*
three	*sang*	*sang*	*sahm*	*san* (*sam*)
four	*si*	*se*	*see*	*sze*
five	*ng*	*ngo*	*ng*	*wu* (*ngu*)
six	*lük*	*lek*	*luk*	*lu(k*
seven	*tch'ik*	*tch'ek*	*ts'ut*	*tsi(t*
eight	*bah*	*biak*	*paht*	*pa(t*
nine	*giu*	*gau*	*kiu*	*kiu*
ten	*hsik*	*sek*	*ship*	*shi(p*

Nothing is said of the ideology. The words show that this people had given up their own language and adopted dialectal Chinese.

[1] *Shu-king*, II. i. 11.

by the way, is said to be nothing else than a Tibetan surname.[1]

"131. The chief, and so far as I know the only, data on their language are those given by Mr. Brian Hodgson in 1853.[2] These consist of a vocabulary of 176 words and a few remarks, given at the same time as six other vocabularies of Northern Tibet, and also in another paper. The venerable scholar, to whom we are indebted for so much material about the little-known languages of that region, was struck by the complicated system of prefixes and infixes affixed to the verb in Gyarung similar to that of the Tagala, and in order to show their relationship, in speaking of the Gyarung verb, he made use purposely of the statements of Leyden[3] about the said language spoken in the Philippines.

"132. Owing to its long continuance under Tataric influences, the Gyarung has adopted the ideological indices of the Altaic class, namely 1 3 5 8 III., as well as something of the phenomenon known as vowel-harmony by the harmonization of the prefixed vowel with that of the significative vocable. And through the paramount influence of Tibetan, it has adopted the Kuenlunic numerals; though preserving its older ones, as is often the case, for special uses of one and two. But it has preserved eastern features other than the complicated prefixed system. The numeral auxiliaries, or segregatives, and the class-prefixes inherent to the former state of the language, have not disappeared.

"133. They have been strongly assailed by decay from wear and tear in unfavourable surroundings, but something of them remains, and cannot be mistaken. There is no list

[1] Though perhaps a compound of *Gya* 'foreign,' in Tibetan, and a native name *Lung* or *Rung*.

[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxii. p. 121, reprinted in *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, No. xxvii. p. 173 (Calcutta, 1857); and in his book on *The Languages and Literature of Nepal and Tibet* (London, 1874, 8vo.), part ii. pp. 65-82. And also instances given in his essay on the *Mongolian Affinities of the Caucasians*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxii. pp. 26-76. They display the ideological indices 1 3 5 8 III.

[3] In his paper still valuable, *On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations*, in *Asiatic Researches*, 1808, vol. x. p. 209. Reprinted with bibliographical notes by Dr. R. Rost in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China* (London, 1886, 2 vols.), I., pp. 84-171.

given of the segregatives, and only one instance is set forth by Mr. Brian Hodgson with the statement that they exist in the language. But the class-prefixes are largely exemplified in the vocabulary, yet the compiler has not considered them with the attention they deserve. He has not seen that the present state is one of disorder arising from a decay not balanced by the usual regeneration resulting from linguistic surroundings of an identical stock. He has also only seen some of them. As a matter of fact we recognize four prefixes to nouns *k-*, *t-*, *b-*, and *r-*, corresponding in a rough way, yet not in all the individual cases, to the *k-*, *t-*, *p-*, and *l-* of the Miao languages of China. In some cases the vowel of the prefix has been changed, and even nasalized, to match with that of the vocable of signification. In cases of an *s* initial to the latter, the *t* prefix has fused into it. Another alteration is the preponderance taken by the dental prefix over the others; not only superseding the less frequent *r-+* and *b-+* by superaddition and the *k-+* altogether, but also showing a remarkable tendency to become mere signs of parts of speech; the *t-+* absorbing all the nouns and the *k-+* remaining with a more extensive field the prefix for adjectives and verbs.[1]

"134. In glossary the affinities of the Gyarung are with the Miao (Blue) of Kueitchou, the Tayal of Formosa, and especially the non-Kareng substratum of the Toungthus of Burma, all apparently branching off a long time ago from a former common stock. The resemblances are extensive with the Toungthus, amounting to 25 per cent. of the vocabulary, except this important difference, that the latter under the Sgau-Kareng influence has apparently given up the use of class-prefixes.

"135. Another remark may be added in winding-up that concerns the Gyarung; the monosyllables seem to be strongly objectionable to its linguistic sense, and almost in every case where a vocable is diminished to an open syllable by contraction or wear and tear, analogy or otherwise, a prefix

[1] Nearly all the adjectives exhibit the prefix *k-*, while 75 per cent. of the verbs have the prefix *ta-*.

is sure to be added. A single syllable in this language, as in so many others, does not present a sufficient basis for the mind to stand upon and admit from its single sound, the concrete meaning generally required by a low standard of mental force. These remarks apply to the so-called monosyllabic languages of S.E. Asia, at large and in particular.[1]

"136. The TOUNGTHUS of Burma are generally looked upon as Karengs for all purposes; but this handy explanation of a difficult problem of ethnology has become insufficient.[2] Proofs may be adduced to show that their Kareng character is not more than a varnish which disappears under the pressure of criticism. The Sgau-Kareng affinities are apparently loan-words of recent date, and the other Kareng affinities are words borrowed in common by the Karengs and the Toungthus from the Mōn stock.[3]

"137. They call themselves *Pan-yau* (also Pa-o), a name which recalls to mind the *Pan-yao*[4] tribes, and also *Pan-yu*, the old name of Canton territory. And they claim *Thatun*[5] as their ancient capital, wrested from them by the Mōn-Peguans; they declare that its name is derived from *Tha-too*, the word for 'laterite' in their language, and of which mineral the hills in the vicinity of this old city chiefly consist. They must have come down at an early period, about the Christian era, into the peninsula.[6]

[1] On the illusions about monosyllabism, cf. below, § 204.

[2] On the Toungthus, cf. Dr. Ad. Bastian, *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1868. *British Burma Gazetteer*, i. 186–188.

[3] Dr. Forchhammer, in *Notes on the Languages and Dialects Spoken in British Burma*, p. 11. The Rev. C. Bennett, to Rangoon, p. 15, and Mr. P. H Martyr, of Myaungmya, p. 16, testify in the same place to the mixed nature of the Toungthu dialect in comparison with the Kareng dialects.

[4] Cf. above, § 69.

[5] Situated on a tidal creek opening into the Gulf of Martaban, and formerly an important sea-port. Cf. Sir Arthur Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 27–28. Dr. Em. Forchhammer, in his *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma*, Rangoon, 1883, vol. i. p. 3, claims the Pâli name *Saddhamanagara* as the original appellative of Thatôn, but this is merely, as in many other instances, the grafting of a Pâli etymology upon a foreign and previous name. We hear of this port from Chinese sources about the Christian era as *Ta-tan*, afterwards corrupted in Chinese phonology into *Ta-tsin*, and one of the several appearances of this geographical denomination. About *Ta-tan* = *Ta-tsin*, cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Sinim of Isaiah not the Chinese*, p. 46 of *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, January, 1887.

[6] Albert Fytche, *Burma Past and Present*, vol. i. p. 341.

"138. Their glossarial affinities with the non-Chinese tribes of China are similar to those of Gyarung, with whom the large proportion of similar words indicates a close relationship, though remote in time, as we have seen in a previous page (§ 134).

"139. The TAYAL of Formosa,[1] and probably some other dialects of the same great island opposite the Chinese coast of Fuhkien, are entitled to a place in this survey, not because these dialects, *ipsis verbis*, were formerly spoken on the mainland of Pre-China, but simply for the reason that they are made up greatly of linguistic elements which have been carried thence to the island. The uninterrupted introduction of linguistic and ethnical elements from the Philippines, the Celebes, the Liu-kiu islands, etc., have blended, often beyond recognition, all the original characteristics. Add to these the important Chinese influence always proceeding, also the temporary and casual Dutch, Spanish, Malay influences and others which, though left undescribed, must never be neglected when dealing with uncultured tribes; and we may easily imagine that in some cases the relationship of the broken dialects of broken tribes must be given up in despair. The problems are further complicated like those in question here, when the superimposition and intermingling of languages take place, for the most part, between dialects and tongues, variously derived and diverged from branches of one common stock.[2]

"140. In addition to the aforesaid difficulties, we have still to mention the defective character of the documents which we have to work upon. A dictionary of the Favorlang dialect, compiled in the seventeenth century; grammatical notices of the same; a vocabulary with sentences in the

[1] On the Tayal and its group of dialects, cf. M. Guérin, *Vocabulaire du dialecte Tayal ou Aborigène de l'île de Formose*, in *Bullet. Soc. Geogr.*, Paris, 1868, xvi. pp. 466-495; L'Abbé Favre, *Note sur la langue des Aborigènes de l'île Formose et remarques sur la précédent vocabulaire*, ibid. pp. 495-507. Mr. E. C. Taintor, in his valuable paper on *The Aborigines of Northern Formosa* (*Journ. North China Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1875, vol. ix. pp. 53-88) has given a vocabulary of the Kabaran Pepohwan, and also one of the Yukan-Tayal.

[2] All these remarks apply as well to the greater part of the languages spoken of in this work.

Tayal dialect; texts in Favorlang, Sideïc and Old Pepohwan, with short lists of words from the twenty and odd other dialects, form the whole of the material at the disposition of scholars for study.[1]

"141. In the search after the relationship of languages, historical information and geographical convenience must not be neglected. The great island of Formosa, in proximity to the mainland, could not have received its populations exclusively from the outside islands. Whatever facilities the currents and winds may have given to the numerous migrations which, willingly or unwillingly, have reached its shores south, east, and north, the nearness of its coasts, in full view of the mainland, was a sufficient temptation for the inhabitants of the Chinese coast to venture on the journey. The pre-Chinese tribes of the maritime provinces of China were addicted to seafaring,[2] and their roving habits were for long an obstacle to the Chinese advance. When compelled to interfere because of internecine wars between the local princes of native states in 110 B.C., the Chinese troops withdrew as soon as they could,[3] leaving the country 'vacant,' as they say, or 'to itself,' as we understand it. The soldiers of the Son of Heaven remained several centuries before penetrating there again, as it was not before the fifth and sixth centuries that the country of Fuhkien was seriously colonized and incorporated into the empire. It was during this intermediary period that some native tribes, driven gradually by the Chinese private colonists, were induced to pass over the channel and establish themselves on the great island opposite their coasts.

"142. Shortly after their definitive settlement in the region of Fuhkien, at the beginning of the Sui dynasty (circa 593 A.D.), the Chinese were struck by the sight of the great island and the reports which reached them concerning it. They undertook two successive expeditions; the first of

[1] For the detailed bibliography, cf. my *Formosa Notes*.

[2] "They are practised in aquatic warfare, and skilful in the management of boats," says a report to the Chinese Emperor in 135 B.C.

[3] Cf. the foregoing § 48.

these, an unsuccessful one, enabled them to learn that the language of the natives could be understood by the Küen-lun men, and consequently led them to take such men as interpreters for their second expedition. But there were already several languages spoken in the island, and the interpreters could not make themselves everywhere understood. This is the first intimation that a connection existed between some of the dialects of Formosa and of the continent, as I have shown elsewhere[1] that the aforesaid Küen-lun men were none other than the non-Chinese tribes of the mountain range north of Kuang-si and Kuang-tung provinces.

"143. Glossarial affinities and similarities in grammar and morphology have long permitted the recognition of a relationship between the Favorlang and the Malayan languages. The Tayal was subsequently admitted into the same group, and the Philippine languages were those with which the connection was admittedly the nearest. I shall not inscribe myself against this opinion, which is well supported, and with which I agree, though with some restrictions. The ideological indices of the Philippine dialects, such as Tagala 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ 6 7 IV., Bisaya 2 4 6 7 IV., Pampanga 2 4 $\frac{5}{6}$ 7 II. IV., are peculiar, and the latter finds its nearest approximate in the Formosan Sideïc 2 4 $\frac{5}{6}$ 7 II. IV. But the Formosan Tayal and Favorlang, each belonging glossarially to a separate group, exhibit symptoms of another kind. Their common indices are 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ 6 7 V. which, as may be seen, are somewhat different from those of the Philippines, and their similarities in words are not restricted to the Tagala-Malayan languages. They go further than that, and they prove rather extensive, along with the Pre-Chinese dialects of the great Mōn-Taï family, as well as with several Pre-Chinese dialects of the Küenlunic stock of languages. Taking them in the order of their greater number of affinities, we find the T'u-man, the Kih-lao, the Ngan-Shun Miao, the Blue Miao, the Miao-tze, the Tchung-kia Miao, the Li of Haïnan, and the Gyarung dialects. The use of prefixes of various sorts, so

[1] Cf. my *Formosa Notes*, Linguistic Division.

conspicuous in the Philippine languages, and visible also in Tayal and Favorlang of Formosa to a lesser extent, are met with in the aforesaid non-Chinese dialects of China, though perhaps to a smaller extent than they are in reality, because of the deficiency of documents. They exist on a large scale in Gyarung, as we have seen in the section devoted to this interesting language.

"144. The remarkable ideological indices 6 7, common to the Formosan Tayal, Tsoo, and Favorlang, and to the Tagala, Bisaya, and Pampanga of the Philippines, which refer to the postposition of the noun-subject and noun-object to the verb, are illustrated in the Pre-Chinese soil by the influence it has left in ancient texts, as reported in § 23 of the present work. They are not evidenced in the aforesaid native dialects of China, because the linguistic data at our disposal stop short at the third indice, and show only the postposition of the noun-object, without any indication as to the position of the subject. The ideological indices of these dialects,[1] 1 4 6, or 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ 6, agree thus far with those of the Tayal and Favorlang of Formosa.

Part V. The Pre-Chinese Intrusive Languages. Extinct and Surviving Küenlunic Dialects, §§ 145–179.

XVII. The Karengs of Burma and their Pre-Chinese Cognate Dialects.

"145. The Karengs of Burma are entitled to a special entry in these pages. They have preserved some curious traditions, presenting several characteristics of a peculiar nature, in which they claim a northern origin and a connection with China, and a relationship with the Chinese as well. They call them their younger brothers. However worthless such traditions may be in Indo-China, amongst nations deeply impressed with the greatness of the Chinese power, and rather open to the adoption of traditions from one another, as I have shown elsewhere, it is nevertheless a fact that a real connection has existed at a certain time between

[1] For the Gyarung, cf. §§ 130-135.

the Karengs and several of the non-Chinese populations of pre-China. The evidence, interesting for us here, is that of the languages which point to a relationship now distant with some Küenlunic tongues of the non-Chinese.

"146. The glossarial affinities and the ideological indices indicate a formation by itself, on the same principles and with ethnic and linguistic elements partly similar to those of the Chinese, though distinct from its infancy and developed separately. Their individuality and separateness do not, however, exclude frequent intercourse and intermingling with the Chinese during the necessarily long period of their infancy, as they were living in proximity to the Middle Kingdom. Their formation, according to all probabilities, took place within the dominion of the non-Chinese state of Ts'u[1] (1050–223 B.C., in Hupeh, Hunan, etc.), and they were driven into the south-west at the time of the kingdom of Nan-yueh[2] (218–206 B.C.).

"147. Though it is difficult to know precisely how their original dialects were different from their present state,[3] we may assume with great probability that they were Tibeto-Burman, and that their distinct and modern characteristics, such as their five tones and their ideology (indices 1 4 6 8 VI.) have been acquired in the course of their evolution, or, better, of their formation. Their nucleus belonged to the same group of inchoate dialects which, descended from the north, have evolved into the Nagas and the Burmese groups of languages. Kareng ancestral tribes, though arriving in China after

[1] Cf. above, §§ 31, 96, and also *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, p. xxxviii.

[2] Cf. below, § 194. On their subsequent history cf., with caution, Mr. Holt S. Hallett, *Historical Sketch*, l.c. And on the history and languages, cf. Major Spearman, *British Burma Gazetteer*, i. 162-173.

[3] On the Kareng languages, cf. J. Wade, *Karen Vernacular Grammar*, with English interspersed, for the benefit of foreign students, in four parts, embracing terminology, etymology, syntax, and style. Maulmain, 1861; J. Wade, *Karen Dictionary*, Tavoy, 1842 (unfinished); F. Mason, *Synopsis of a Grammar of the Karen Language, embracing both Dialects, Sgau and Pgho*, or Sho, Tavoy, 1846, 4to.; F. Mason, *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, 1858, 1868; Brown, *On the Sgau and Pwo Karens*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol iv., etc. Cf. also E. L. Brandreth, *On the Non-Aryan Languages of India*, in *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1878. And J. R. Logan, *On the Ethnographic Position of the Karens*, pp. 364–390 of *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, N.S. 1858, vol. ii.

the Chinese, have slipped through the border states on the west of their dominion, then exclusively restricted to the north, and established themselves to the south on pre-Chinese soil. They came into slight contact with Indonesian tribes, and intermingled to a large extent with Mōn tribes, whence the ancient absorption into their vocabulary of many words belonging to the Indonesian and Mōn formations. They received also many words from the Chinese, and also from the same northern sources as the latter, a circumstance which has contributed to multiply the Chinese-Kareng glossarial affinities. Their primitive ideology, of which the indices were most probably 1 3 5 8 III., was much modified by the entrance into their formation of numerous elements of uncouth Mōn-Taï tribes, which, according to the usual case formulated into a law of comparative ideology, have imposed upon them their ideology of the verb, and their indices were finally 1 4 6 8 VI. The development of tones arose from a similar necessity, as in the case of the Chinese and other languages. As we have several times explained their formation, we need not again insist here on the point.

"148. The linguistic affinities of the Kareng dialects with the pre-Chinese languages are various. Their glossarial similarities are numerous with the Yao, Kih-lao, Ngan-shun Miao, Blue Miao, and Miao-tze, and the relationship is also established by an identity of ideological indices 1 4 6. But these affinities, which display a social intercourse and intermingling for a certain length of time, are not however sufficiently extensive to justify any other connection than that which is described in the previous section. The only remnant of the Kareng linguistic formation, distinctly recognizable among all the other broken dialects, is that of the following T'u Mān. Some others may exist, but they are not represented in any of the scanty documents at our disposal.

"149. The language of the T'U MAN 土 蠻 is only known through a list of 102 words collected by the Chinese at Tan-kiang in Tu-yun fu, south-east Kueit-

chou.[1] The affinities of words are chiefly Kareng, with a strong mixture of words belonging to the Tibetan, Burmese, Chyin, and Kachari-Koch groups, and a few proper to the Lolo group. The ideological indices which the aforesaid glossary discloses are 1 4 6 only, and these agree also with those of the Kareng group (1 4 6 8 VI.).

XVIII. The Jungs, Nagas, and Lolos.

"150. The non-Chinese nature of the language spoken by the Jungs, nomads and invaders, has been mentioned in a former part of this work (III. § 28), to which we may refer. No actual specimen of their speech, *ipsis verbis*, has been preserved, to our knowledge, in ancient Chinese documents. But the names of several of their tribes have been kept, and some important surviving populations are their descendants, more or less mixed and unmixed.

The Jungs penetrated into the Flowery Land from the north-east and east of Tibet, before and after the arrival of the Chinese civilized Bak tribes. They were therefore intruders like the latter, but having gone over to some regions of the country west and south previous to the Chinese advance, they are entitled to a place among the pre-Chinese.[2]

"151. Their tribal denominations are singularly suggestive of the same relationship, Burmo-Naga,[3] possessed by the languages of their descendants. They agree rather interestingly with the names of the tribes forming the Western Naga division, as arranged by the late G. H. Damant a few years ago, in a valuable paper published after

[1] Extracted from the *Miao fang pei lan*, by Dr. J. Edkins, *A Vocabulary of the Miau Dialects*.

[2] The late Dr. J. H. Pleyte, of Munich, had collected all the historical statements concerning the Jungs in his memoir, *Die fremden barbarischen stämme in Alten China* (München, 1874, 450–522), pp. 477–495. And Dr. James Legge had done the same, for the Tchun tsiu period only, in his introduction to his *Chinese Classics*, vol. v. pp. 122–135; cf. pp. 123–126.

[3] On the Burmo-Naga connection, cf. Capt. C. J. Forbes, *On Tibeto-Burman Languages*, in *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1878, vol. x. pp. 210–227; and also his posthumous *Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India*, a fragment, London, 1881, pp. 52–76.

his death.[1] For instance, these Naga names are *Mao, Jemi* or *Yemi, Yang, Li-yang, Reng, Quoi-reng*, and others, while the tribal names of the Jungs were *Mao, Yam, Yun, Jung* (for *Rung*?), *Li, Lo-kuei*, etc. And as the complete lists would include only a few more names on each side, it cannot be denied that there are some strong similarities between them. Combined with the linguistic affinities, these show a real relationship in former times, whatever may be the divergences occurring in the course of time.

"152. The LAKA, or LOLO,[2] language of south Szetchuen, spoken over a large area by a race numbering some three millions of souls, is that of which we have the most precise vocabulary. It was compiled with a visible great care for accuracy in 1877, by my learned friend, E. Colborne Baber, of H.B.M.'s Consular Service in China. It numbers 200 words, besides the numerals and a few short sentences; and it refers to the region on the left bank of the T'ung river, an affluent of the Min river in C. Szetchuen.[3] Mr. Alex. Hosie in March, 1883, at Hai-t'ang, also in C. Szetchuen, but more on the west, compiled a short vocabulary of 75 Lolo words, besides the numerals[4] of a regional variation of the same language. A list of 80 words, including numerals, was compiled by the Chinese in the district of Wei-ning in W. Kueitchou[5] in proximity to Szetchuen, and these again prove to be a regional variation of the same language. At Yuen-kiang, in the south centre of Yünnan, a vocabulary of 140 words, including numerals, was collected by the late Doudart de Lagrée, commanding the French exploration in Indo-China,[6] which is another instance of the relative unity of this important language, which extends in S.W. China between 30° and 23° of latitude.

[1] *Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers*, by the late G. H. Damant, Political Officer, Nága Hills, in *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* N.S. vol. xii. 1880, pp. 228–258.

[2] Also called *Lo-kuei* as one of the Jung tribes.

[3] *Travels and Researches in Western China*, pp. 73–78, in *Supplementary Papers, Royal Geographical Society*, vol. i. part i. 1882.

[4] *Report of a Journey through the Provinces of Ssŭ-ch'uan, Yünnan, and Kuei chou*, pp. 62, 73 (*Parliamentary Papers*, China, 1884, No. 2).

[5] *Hing y fu tchi*; transcribed in J. Edkins, *Vocabulary of the Miau Dialects*.

[6] *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine*, Paris, 1873, vol. ii. pp. 509–517.

"153. In Chinese descriptions of this people from former travellers and officials, a few words have been casually given, and as they do not appear in any of the above vocabularies, we give them here together: *Nai-teh*, 'chief woman'; *toiü-ko*, 'bachelor'; *tchai-tchu*, 'man'; *sabohwa*, 'chief.' *Peh*, *Peh-ma*, or *Pai-ma*, 'sorcerers'; also *Teu-muh*, *Keng-tsui*, *Moh-kuei*, *Tchoh-kuei*, and *Heh-tcha*, all titles of officials.

"The vocabularies, which show a large relationship with the Burmese and the Mo-so, exhibit the ideological indices 1 4 5 8 III. of the Tibeto-Burman group of languages. There are class-particles and tones; these have been noticed by Mr. E. C. Baber, who has identified them with the 1 3 4 of modern Pekinese, besides the abrupt tone.

"154. The Laka-Lolos occupy an important position in the ethnology and history of S.W. China, but space forbids here more than a few words on the matter.[1] Their name, formerly *Lo-kuei* in Chinese, altered into *Lu-luh*, and now *Lo-lo* and *Ko-lo*, has become a by-name for many of the mixed tribes which in the S.W. provinces owe their origin to the intermingling with tribes of the Taïc and Mōn and other stocks. The variants in their name have come from the influence of the Taïc-Shan phonology, which makes *h* or *k* equivalent of *l* in its adaptation of foreign words beginning with the latter consonant.[2] The Laka-Lolos were a south-eastern extension of the populations of north-eastern Tibet, which used to recognize the sovereignty of the woman and, accordingly, were ruled by queens.[3] The Laka-Lolos, like their brethren the Mosos, have preserved some survivals of this old custom. They were known to the Chinese S.W. of the present Shensi in the twelfth century B.C., but we have no information on their movements towards the south. Some of their tribes were still in the N.W. of Szetchuen until the eighth century of our era. But some of them had reached the present N.E. of Yunnan and the west of

[1] Their numerals are Küenlunic. E. C. Baber (l.c., p. 71) learned that the first three numerals were formerly *tu*, *fan*, *yi*, but have been changed.

[2] Cf. above, §§ 55–56.

[3] Their gynecocratic habits gave rise to the numerous stories of Amazons in Central Asia. Cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, p. 20.

Kuangsi, and in the third century they formed part of the Tsuan state (divided in two, *circâ* 575 A.D.), which was conquered by Kolofung, King of Nantchao, in 778 A.D., who drove a great many of them back to S. Szetchuen.[1]

"155. They have swarmed from time to time and mixed with the neighbouring tribes, and they cover now a large area as indicated above. They have preserved the knowledge of the *Tsuan* writing, which, on the examination of several specimens and texts, bilingual and others, I have been able to recognize as alphabetic, and related to the oldest writing of India.[2]

"156. The Y-KIA, a mixed race of Lolos and Chinese, on the borders of Szetchuen and Yunnan, have a language which belongs to the same group, so far as we can judge from the twelve words, including the numerals, which Fr. Garnier has collected and published from their speech at Ma-shang,[3] as follows: *cato* 'take some fire'; *tcho tcho* 'to eat'; 1, *amo*; 2, *mi mo*; 3, *so le*; 4, *lilen*; 5, *ngou mo*; 6, *tchou mo*; 7, *seu mo*; 8, *ha mo*; 9, *kou mo*; 10, *tseu mo*. With their postfixed class-articles, these numerals belong to the Lolo-Kato-Ho-nhi forms. In 2, 3, and 9 the class-article *leu* is the same as that added to the Lolo numerals, while *-ma* of the others is similar to the *-mo* of the Ho-nhi, and of the Man-tse (Lolos) in Garnier's lists.

"*Tcho-tcho* is the Lolo *tzei tsö* or *sozo le* (*le* is final, frequently used for verbs), though ultimately of Chinese derivation. And the fact that such a word should be found there, far away from any European influence and Pigeon-English practice, shows that the speculations put forward concerning its origin, as caused by European alteration of a Chinese word, are not adequate to the fact.

"157. The LISO, whose name is variously written,[4] and

[1] Cf. *Tang shu*; Tu she, *T'ung tien*; *Taï-ping yü-lan*, bk. 701, f. 12. *Yuen kien lei han*, bk. 232, ff. 34–35. *Miao Man hoh tchi*, bk. ii. ff. 1–4.

[2] Cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *On a Lolo MS. written on Satin*, *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* vol. xiv. 1882; *Beginnings of Writing*, §§ 38, 226–232; also 156–158.

[3] *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine*, vol. ii. pp. 509, 513, 517.

[4] *Lih-so* 力些, *Li-su* 栗粟 or 猓玀, *Li-tcheh* 玀猤 in the Chinese sources; *Leesaw* in Dr. John Anderson's report; *Lei-su* in T. T. Cooper's *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, p. 337.

who call a man *Letcho*, whence probably their denomination, speak a language cognate to the Burmese, and sister-dialect to the Laka-Lolo in the north-west of Yunnan.[1] They are not homogeneous as a race, but specimens of their speech taken from two tribes of various aspect are similar. A list of 107 words has been collected by Père Desgodins,[2] and another one of 166, with a few sentences, by Dr. John Anderson,[3] both lists comprising numerals. The ideological indices illustrated are 1 4 5 8 III., the standard ones of the Tibeto-Burman group. The proportion of similar words in Moso, Laka-Lolo, Liso, etc., and Burmese is very large. Many adjectives in Liso have *-aw* as a final. Class-prefixes seem to be known; for instance, parts of the body begin with *pah-*, *baw-*, or *bay*. In the words for 'woman, wife, young, hand, man,' etc., *la-* is the common prefix. *Latchoe* 'man,' or better *Letcho*, would therefore leave *-tcho* as the proper name for 'man,' cognate to Lolo *tou*, which has the same meaning.

"158. The Mo-so 麽些, who call themselves *Na-shi*, and to whom the Tibetans give the name of *Djia*, belong to the current of migrating tribes from the north, which on the western borders of China proper have successively, since the prehistoric period, made their way towards the sunny region of the south. They are known in the Chinese records since the eighth century.[4] We have now a few data on three branches of them.

"159. The northernmost and the older branch, in the N.W. of Yunnan and S.W. Szetchuen, on the borders of Tibet, has been made known by Father Desgodins. Their medicine-men have a hieroglyphic writing, of which I have

[1] *Miao Man hoh tchi*, iii. 3.

[2] *Mots principaux de certaines tribus qui habitent les bords du Lan-tsang kiang, du Lou-tze-kiang et Irrawaddy* (Yerkalo, 26 Mai, 1872); *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, vi. ser. t. iv.

[3] *Report on the Expedition to Western Yunnan viâ Bhamô* (Calcutta, 1871, 8vo.), pp. 136, 401 sq.

[4] I have collected all that the Chinese sources say about them, and the information of modern travellers, in *Beginnings of Writing*, part i. §§ 56–82, where the history, description, writing, linguistic and ethnology, of their northern division are successively studied.

published two MSS.[1] The above missionary has printed a vocabulary of some 200 words of their language, from notes taken by his colleagues, Fathers G. Biet, F. Biot, and J. Dubernard.[2] The late Francis Garnier, in the records of the French Exploration in Indo-China, was not enabled to give more than one word and one sentence from the same people.[3]

"160. Of the second branch, or MU-TSE, originally from Wei-Yuen in Southern Yunnan, and now settled in the Muong Lim territory in N. Indo-China,[4] we have a vocabulary of 151 words, collected by the late Doudart de Lagrée, and published also by Fr. Garnier.[5]

"161. The MUSURS, who call themselves *Lahu*, likewise originally from China (N.W. Yunnan), and form the third division, were not known before the last expedition to the Shan states by Mr. Holt Hallett.[6] This traveller has collected 148 of their words, and a score of their sentences, which I am preparing for publication. They are settled between Kiang-hai and Kiang-hoen, consequently eastwards of the *Mu-tze*.

"162. The three vocabularies prove to be dialects of one language, and from the one sentence of the Na-shi and those of the Lahu, their ideological indices are 1 4 5 8 III., namely, Tibeto-Burman. Their glossarial affinities, which concur to the same position, show moreover that they belong to the Laka division of that family, with the Lolos, Liso, etc.

"163. The HO-NI 和尔, which the Chinese write variously *Ngo-ni*, *Ho-ni*, *O-nhi*, and more often *Wo-ni* 窩泥,[7] is the name of a group of tribes and also of a language spoken

[1] *Ibid.* plates i. ii. iii.

[2] *Mots principaux de certaines tribus qui habitent les bords du Lan-tsang kiang, du Lan-tze kiang et Irrawaddy*, by l'Abbé Desgodins, Missionnaire au Thibet (Yerkalo, 26 Mai, 1872), in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, vi. ser. t. iv.

[3] *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine*, vol. i. p. 520n.

[4] *McLeod's and Richardson's Journeys*, pp. 58, 60 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 420 Return, *East India*, 1869).

[5] *Voyage d'Exploration*, vol. ii. pp. 508–516.

[6] *Exploration Survey for a Railway Connection between India, Siam, and China*, p. 8, in *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* Jan. 1886.

[7] *Miao Man hoh tchi*, iii. 2.

in S. Yunnan, which is a dialect of the same family as that of the Laka-Lolos, Mosso, Khos of Paleo, etc. They have come from the north,[1] at an unknown date, and now extend in the Shan states. A list of 125 words, including numerals, of their language has been compiled by the late Doudart de Lagrée, in the Yunnan district of Yuen-kiang.[2]

"164. The K'ATO 卡 隋 of the Yuen-kiang department, in S. Yunnan[3] (and probably the same as the Kado of Burma), speak a language of the Lolo family, closely connected with that of the Ho-ni, whose name is casually given to them. A vocabulary of 139 words, including numerals, has also been collected at Yuen-kiang by the late Doudart de Lagrée.[4] The similarity of words shows the parentage, but there are no instances of their grammar and ideology.

"165. The KHO tribes, generally called *Khas Kho*, now in Indo-China, were formerly in China and claim to be a colony migrated from the Tien tsang mountain, W. of the lake of Tali fu in W. Yunnan. Their language, which belongs to the Lolo group, is only known through a small vocabulary of 138 words, numerals included, from which no indication may be easily drawn of the ideology. It is due to the devotion of the same chief of the Exploration of 1867, who collected it at Paleo, near the Mékong (lat. 21°).[5]

"166. All these languages and dialects constitute a sub-group by themselves, as they resemble each other more than any of their cognate languages and groups. And they take place as a connecting link between the Burmese and Naga sub-groups.[6]

"167. The LU-TZE 撸 子, on the two banks of the Lu-tze kiang, western frontier of China conterminous to Tibet,

[1] Some *Ho-ni kan tze* tribes are still met with north of Ta-tsien lu on the Tibeto-Chinese frontier. Cf. the great Chinese map *Ta tsing i tung yü t'u, nan* iv. *si* 5.

[2] *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine*, ii. 509 sq.

[3] *Miao Man hoh tchi*, iii. 2. The *No-pi* and *Heh Po*, in the same department, belong to the same race and speak the same language.

[4] *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine*, ii. 509 sq.

[5] *Voyage d'Exploration*, ibid. Cf. also i. 373, 392.

[6] For the scheme of classification, cf. below, §§ 229, 231.

call themselves *Anungs*, or *Kanungs*.[1] The Tibetan name them *Gnia*. The name of *Lu*, similarly written, is known of old in Chinese history. A tribe of that name was still settled in Shan-si in 593 B.C., at Lu-ngan, when the state of Tsin destroyed them as an independent power, and compelled them either to be absorbed or to migrate southwards, two courses which they partially followed as usual in the case of other tribes. The Lu-she were not indigenous in China; they belonged to the Red Tek,[2] who, with the White Tek, formed the two branches of a people who had appeared on the N.W., near the seat of the Tchou in S.W. Shen-si, *circâ* 1300 B.C., and spread afterwards through the Chinese states, among which some of their tribes kept their independence until the period of the civil wars, while some others penetrated to the still pre-Chinese regions of Central and Western China.

"168. The Lu-tze may or may not be the altered descendants of the Lu-she,[3] but the general relationship which their language discloses seems to indicate that they are. We have a list of 111 of their words, published by Père Desgodins,[4] which shows a strong connection with, or influence of, Tibetan, as thirty-nine words are similar. The remaining words are Chinese, Lolo, Moso, Khanti, and also Kakhyen, with some Khyeng and Burmese connection.

[1] They figure as *Kununga* on the upper courses of the Nam Tisan and Nam Dumai or Phungmai, northern affluents of the Irawadi, and the Norkan of Nognum range, on the map of the country between the Brahmaputra and Upper Irawadi, in the *Journey of an Expedition under Colonel Woodthorpe, from Upper Assam to the Irawadi, and return over the Pakkoi Range*, by Major C. Reginald Macgregor, *Proc. Royal Geograph. Soc.* January, 1887, pp. 19–41.

[2] The Tek 狄, modern *Ti*, Sin.-Ann. *dich*. In Ku-wen, or oldest system of Chinese writing, this foreign name was transcribed 犬 亦, to be read from right to left. *Dek Kuen* is *De-k*. This peculiar spelling from right to left with a repetition of final, shows that this peculiar word belongs to the later period of the Ku-wen style, when the use of ideographic determinatives was growing and had not yet reached its mute stage. For the Ku-wen forms of this name, and the graphical recast (which substituted 火 for 亦 in order to obtain a contemptuous meaning 'fiery dogs,' and an allusion to this 'Red' division), vid. Min tsi k'ih, *Luh shu t'ung*, bk. x. f. 18*v*.

[3] Dr. J. H. Plath, *Die fremden barbarischen Stämme in Alten China*, in *Sitzungsber. d. philos. philol. Cl. der Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, pp. 457-471.

Mots principaux des langues de certaines tribus qui habitent les bords du Lantsang kiang, du Lou-tze kiang et Irrawaddy, loc. cit.

The numerals 3 to 9 present the peculiarities of the Kakhyens. No phrase nor text is given, and we are left with the short vocabulary for the supply of the ideological indices. The genitive follows the noun; for instance, in the word for 'door' (which, by the way, shows that T. T. Cooper is right in stating that they do not build houses[1]) *nam küm*, the first word is 'sun' or 'light,' and *küm* is 'house,' lit. 'the light of the house,' which, apparently, has no windows, and is simply a hut. The adjective follows the noun: *Re-me* 'River' is 'water,' as in Burmese, and *me* 'great' as in Taïc; *grame* lit. 'sword great'; *chiam kien* is 'iron hard' for 'knife.'

"169. The nearest language to that of the Lu tze is that of the MELAM, who formerly belonged to their tribe, but now are a part of the Tibetan district of Tsa-rong. A small vocabulary of 58 words, and a set of nine short sentences, have been published by the aforesaid missionary, who states that the languages of the Lu-tze, of the PA-GNY or *Ghien*,[2] of the TELUS, and of the REMEPANS, are nearly the same as that of the Melams, and form a linguistic family by themselves. We are indebted also to the same zealous missionary for a few remarks on these tongues, which we here record.[3] In sentences, the subject comes first, then the direct object, the indirect object, and at last the verb, which is always at the end. Many words are borrowed from the Tibetan, but they pronounce all the letters of the written Tibetan which have disappeared from the usual vernacular of Tibet. For instance, the Tibetan *slop-* 'to learn,' is so pronounced by them, while it is only *lob-* in the common vernacular of Tibet. These languages make use of suffixed particles and various finals for the cases of nouns and modes of verbs, but the missionary has not classified them. The verbal tenses are not well marked; however the past is

[1] *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, p. 310. They used knives for money, as did the ancient Chinese. Cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Old Numerals, the Counting-rods, and the Swan-pan in China*, p. 14.

[2] Inhabiting Pa-yul or Kiang-yul on the Tibetan borders of Assam.

[3] C. H. Desgodins, *Le Tibet d'après la correspondance des Missionnaires* (Paris, 1885), pp. 372-377.

characterized by *tône* (Tibet. *thun*) or by *bê*; the future by *pon-ona*; the imperative by *pon* prefixed. When the verb indicates a movement towards an object, *ngal* is postposed to the imperative; if a movement towards the subject, *jâ* is used. The Melam language is not monosyllabic; its pronunciation is not smooth and uniform as in Tibetan; though not rough, it comes by jerks; each syllable has a stress upon it, so that when they talk with animation and quickly, it seems that they are stammering.[1]

"170. The ideological indices are therefore complete, 2 4 5 8 III. They show an interesting displacement of the genitive from the usual Tibeto-Burman standard 1 4 5 8 III., which was most likely that of the language at a former period, as suggested by its glossarial affinities. The post-position of the genitive is not probably due to a Khamti influence, because of the late arrival of this branch of the Shan race in contact with them. Such an effect of interference with the ideology of a language requires a protracted and powerful impression. Therefore it was probably effected within China proper when Lu-tze and Mōn-Taïc tribes remained in contact for many centuries.

"171. The Lu-tze, as a part of the Teks, have hardly any claim to be classified among the pre-Chinese. Like the Jungs they were invaders, and not aborigines of the Flowery Land, whose title to that appellative consists in the fact that the date of settlement goes back to prehistoric times. Unlike the Jungs, they had not begun to enter into China previously to the Chinese civilized Bak tribes. But as some of them after their entrance into China spread over parts of the country before the Chinese themselves, they may be, for the sake of convenience, placed among the pre-Chinese.

XIX. The Si-Fan and Tibetans.

"172. The Si-fan and Tibetan, dialects mentioned in the following §§ 173–179, belong to the Kiang or Tibetan tribes, and to those of the Jung tribes, who, during the whole

[1] *La Mission du Tibet*, p. 374. Cf. the remarks of Capt. W. Gill, below.

of the Chinese history, were like thorns on the western side of the Chinese dominion. The history of their early and incessant raids against the Chinese is somewhat mixed with that of the Jungs;[1] a confusion which the relationship of all these tribes easily explains.

"173. The MENIAK, or *Menia* tribes, south and west of Darchiendo, on the Tibeto-Chinese frontier, speak a language which is known to us through two vocabularies; one of 185 words collected by Mr. Brian Hodgson[2] in 1853, and another of 232 words and a few short sentences collected by Mr. E. Colborne Baber[3] in 1878, both lists of words comprising the numerals. There are class-articles, and three tones, namely, the first and second of the modern Pekinese and the abrupt tone.[4] The ideological indices as disclosed by the instances are 1 4 5 8 III., in other words the standard type of the Tibeto-Burmese group,[5] in which it occupies a special position, as it has been strongly influenced by the Chinese in its vocabulary.

"174. The SUNG PAN SI FAN 松潘西番, or 'Western aliens of Sung-pan ting,' in the N.W. of Szetchuen, on the Tibetan borders, speak a language known to us only through a short list of words[6] collected on the spot by the late Capt. W. Gill, who has left me his MS. notes on the subject.

man, *īārū, yāru.*[7]
woman, *mārū.*
water, *che.* Cf. Tibet. *tchu, tchab.*
mountain, *heureux* (French). Cf. Tibet. *hbrog,* 'mountain pasture.'
cold, *chāque* (French *que*). Cf. Tibet. *k'yags-.*
hot, *drōgue.* Cf. Tibet. *dropo.*

[1] Cf. *Si kiang tchuen*, in *Hou Han shu*, bk. cxvii.
[2] *On the Tribes of Northern Tibet and of Sifan*, in *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1853, vol. xxii. p. 121. Probably the *Mi-nok* 彌諾 of the *Nan y tchi*, in the *Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 789, f. 5.
[3] *Travels and Researches in Western China*, pp. 73–78.
[4] If there are others, they are not noticed in the vocabularies. Mr. E. C. Baber has noticed the 1 and 2, and Mr. B. Hodgson the abrupt tone.
[5] As in Tibetan, the negation is placed in the middle of compound verbs, or before simple verbs.
[6] The numerals 1–12 and 20 only have been published by Col. H. Yule in his *Essay Introductory to Capt. Gill's Journey*, o.c.
[7] Cf. Mongol *era, ere.*

eat, *sāmāzō*. Cf. Tibet. *bza-ba*.

human beings, *ngue*.

name of a Lama, *nāwā*.

yes, *dări*. no, *dămări*.

one, *ki*. two, *nye*.

three, *song* (very nasal, *o* like *o* in soft).

four, *hgherh*.[1] five, *hnā*. six, *drú*.

seven, *tenit* (French exactly).

eight, *gye* (*e* very short). nine, *kur*.

ten, *chithămbā*.

eleven, *kitze*. twelve, *chunye*. thirteen, *chusong*. fourteen, *chuugurh*. sixteen, *chudru(k*. seventeen, *chutenit*. eighteen, *chukye*.

nineteen, *chuque* (French *que*).

twenty, *nyiketămbā*.

thirty, *songitămbā*.

forty, *hghtyitămbā*.

fifty, *knachitămbā*.

sixty, *drukhitămbā*.

hundred, *chiā* or *jiatămbā*.

"175. There are no instances which permit any inference as to the ideology of the language, but the numerals and

[1] "The letter *r* is rolled in a very pronounced manner, a striking contrast to the way in which this letter is slurred over by the Chinese, who in many cases cannot pronounce it, as, for instance, at the beginning of a word before *a* or *i*, when the *r* is changed into *l*. Yet in other cases they are capable of producing the sound, as, for instance, in the word *i-ran*." The lamented traveller has remarked also about this list of words: "This orthography can convey but a feeble idea of the astounding noises the people make in their throats to produce these words."—Capt. William Gill, *The River of Golden Sand* (London, 1880, 2 vols.), vol. i. p. 378.—Similar remarks were made by Mr. E. C. Baber about the Lolos (§§ 152–154).—"The speech of the independent Lolos is harsh, abounding in gutturals and strange vibrating consonants. The Welsh aspirated *l* frequently occurs, as in *hlopo* 'moon,' but it is not so easy to aspirate an *n*, as in *hnabé* 'nose.' There is a labial sound which might be written *bwrbwru*, pronounced as if the speaker were shivering with cold, and which is not difficult to imitate; but when the same process of shuddering has to be applied to a lingual, as in the word 'iron,' which I have despairingly written *shu-thdhru*, an English tongue is dumb-foundered. Happily for strangers, these old vocables are freely modified into much simpler sounds without danger of misapprehension." *Travels and Researches in Western China*, p. 72.—Compare with the Lolo *hlobo* 'moon'; written Tibetan *zlava*, Limbu *lava*, Lepcha *lavo*, Chepang *lame*, Pahri *nhiba*, Kiranti dial. *ladipa*, *ladiba*, *ladima*, etc.; and with the Lolo *shu-thdhru* 'iron,' Bodo *chúrr*, *shúrr*, Dhimal *chirr*, Garo *shurr*, Kachari *sorr*, Kiranti *syal*, *syel*, *sel*, Thochu *sor-mo*, Mandshu *sele*, etc.

the majority of the words are Tibetan,[1] with differences. The Lama named Nawa, who gave these data, wrote the numerals and a few words on the note-book of the traveller, in the *Umin* or cursive Tibetan characters.

"176. The language of the OUTSIDE MAN-TZE, in other words the Man-tze of the outside west of Lifan fu, in W. Szetchuen, is only known through a few words still unpublished and the numerals, some of which have been published,[2] which have been collected by the late Capt. W. Gill when travelling there. I reproduce them from the stray leaves of his note-book, which he has left to me:

yes, *ngus* (like the final *ng* in 'thing,' joined to English *us*).
no, *miāk*.
man, *lātzye* (the *ye* very short).
woman, *těměk* (*k* scarcely perceptible).
water, *těchě*.
mountain, *kangrě* (roll the *r*; the *ng* scarcely perceptible).
cold, *kō-ād-rě*.
hot, *kŏ-as-ti*.
eat, *kāz-ye*[3] (the *e* like *e* in 'yet').
one, *ārgu*[4] (all the *r* rolled).
two, *nergu* (*e*=*ai*).
three, *ksirgu*.
four, *gsairgu*.
five, *wargu*.
six, *shturgu*.
seven, *shnergu*.
eight, *kshargu*.
nine, *rbergu*.
ten, *khadrgu*.
eleven, *khātyi*.
twelve, *khāner* (without the final *r*).
thirteen, *khasi*.

[1] As rightly recognized by my learned friend Col. H. Yule, C.B., LL.D., in the above-quoted memoir.
[2] The numerals 1–12 and 20 have been published by Col. H. Yule in his Essay, where he has pointed out their identity with those of the Thochu.
[3] Probably *kā-zye*.
[4] In the MS. the final *gu* is *goo*.

fourteen, *khasia* (*-sia* like *Asia*).
fifteen, *khonga.*
sixteen, *khāchou.*
seventeen, *khashner* (without the final *r*).
eighteen, *khākshā.*
nineteen, *khārgüe.*
twenty, *nesā* or *nersā* (without the *r*).

"177. A few words, like *Shui tang tzai*, and a full line written in the note-book of the traveller, show their writing to be the cursive Tibetan *umin*. The short vocabulary is not uninstructive. The numerals exhibit a superimposition of finals: *-gu*, which reminds us of the Chinese *-ko*, and is a class-particle, for which some others may be substituted according to the range of objects enumerated. They are not used—and such is the case with many other languages where similar co-efficients are employed—beyond the first ten numerals; and their utility is to make up for the difficulty frequent in little developed minds to find a sufficient rest in a single word which is often a monosyllable. The question is a very important one, and cannot be more than alluded to in the present pages. The first nine numerals of the language under consideration have a final *r*, which may be simply an adjective final or a former class-particle of a general application, now simply enclitic, should not these numerals be a foreign acquisition. Their similarity is so great with those of the Thochu on the Tibeto-Chinese frontier,[1] which have every one of them the suffix *-ri* or *-re* in full, that the probability that they are loan-words is very great. The few other words we know of the language show it to be altogether distinct from Thochu, and not without some relation with the Gyarung. It seems that two sorts of class-prefixes are used, *ta-* or *te-* for objects, *ko-* or *ka-* for adjectives and verbs.

"This language is mixed, and the ideology is not apparent.

[1] A Thochu vocabulary has been compiled by Mr. Brian H. Hodgson, in *On the Tribes of Northern Tibet and Sifan*, in *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1853, vol. xxii. p. 121.

"178. The LI-FAN MAN-TZE 理番蠻子, *i.e.* the Man-tze of the town of Li-fan, in N.W. Szetchuen, have a dialect which is known only through the exertions of the late Capt. W. Gill. I extract from the stray leaves of his pocket-book, which he has left with me, the following list of words still unpublished:[1]

yes,[2] *pai.*
no, *nipa.*
man,[3] *choize, me* (the vowel short).
woman, *chime.*
boy, *chibye.*
water,[4] *tse.*
mountain,[5] *pse.*
cold, *pa* (like *hat* without the *t*).
hot,[6] *khsĭ.*
eat,[7] *gnădze.*
one,[8] *chek* (like *shirt* without *-rt*, but *ch* not *sh*; *-k* scarcely perceptible).
two, *nyĕ* (*ye* not as in *die*, but like English *ye*).
three, *sĕ* (very short, like English *sir*, cut short).
four, *zshe* (same termination).
five, *knă.*
six, *true* (like English *true*, cut very short).
seven, *dăn*, or *den*, or *dun.*
eight, *gyot* (*g* and *y* joined together, very short, almost like the English *yacht*).
nine, *gŭch* (a very slight guttural sound at the end).
ten,[9] *pchĕ.*
eleven, *pchĕchek.*
twelve, *pchĕnyĕ.*

[1] Excepting the numerals 1–12 and 20, which have been published by Col. Yule.
[2] Cf. Sokpa *bi.*
[3] Cf. Manyak *chhoh*, Tibet. *mi.*
[4] Cf. Tibet. *chhú*, Gyarung *tichi.*
[5] Cf. Thochu *spyah.*
[6] Cf. Gyarung *kassi*, Manyak *chechc.*
[7] Cf. Manyak *gnajen.*
[8] All the numerals are Tibetan, with slight variants.
[9] Cf. written Tibetan *Bchu.*

thirteen, *pchĕsĕ.*
fourteen, *pchĕsshe.*
fifteen, *pchĕknā.*
sixteen, *pchĕtrue.*
seventeen, *pchĕdan.*
eighteen, *pchĕgyot.*
nineteen, *pchĕguch.*
twenty, *nyeshe.*

"179. There is no evidence concerning the ideology in the above list, with the exception perhaps of the postposition of the adjective (indice 4). The class-particles or co-efficients so conspicuous in other lists are altogether absent. A few comparisons of words which I have been able to point out in the foot-notes show a relationship with the other dialects of the region, and not exclusively with Tibetan, as the numerals would have suggested. It is a Si-fan dialect Tibetanized.

Part VI. Aborigines and Intruders.

XX. Pre-Chinese Proper Names.

"180. Researches in Onomastics, as a help to modern ethnology, are generally dangerous, and, as far as names of tribes are concerned, have better to be left aside; similarities of surnames may be mere coincidences of a temporary character, which the respective antecedents of the assimilated names may prove to have been originally dissimilar, while names may survive and be transmitted through a superimposition or a succession of various populations. A race may have disappeared, leaving only some of its names and appellatives. Therefore such researches limited to an investigation of the former ethnology of a country cannot be entertained otherwise than if it is without reference to the modern population. Among geographical names, those of rivers are well known as resisting more than others to disappearance, and as being often interesting survivals. In the case of China they do not fail to satisfy our expectations under this respect.

"181. A glance at the map with reference to the names of rivers is at once suggestive of a plurality of ethnic

elements in the former population of the country. In the whole basin of the Yellow River, or *Huang ho*, the latter term *ho* 河 is applied to all or nearly all the rivers, as Lo-ho, Huei-ho, Shu-ho, Wen-ho, Hu-to-ho, Ma-liao-ho, etc., etc. Coming down to the basin of the Yang-tze kiang and the South, we find another term *kiang* 江 spread everywhere: Tcheh kiang, Mei kiang, Heng kiang, Kia kiang, Si kiang, Peh kiang, Yu kiang, etc., etc. North-westwards we meet with a third word *shui* 水, properly 'water,' as Tchih shui, Heh shui, Sin shui, Hung shui, etc., etc., which apparently are simply the Chinese transcriptions of the Tibetan *tchu*. The first two, *Ho* and *Kiang*, have now the accepted meaning of 'river' in Chinese, but they do not belong to the ground-stock of the Chinese language, which possessed but one word and symbol for 'a stream,' *tchuen* 川, and none for 'river.' The same fact finds a confirmation in the formation of the characters 河 *ho*, and 江 *kiang*, which is a late one, and made of the mute ideogram determinative for 'water,' and a phonetic to suggest the sound. *Ho* is the representative of a word cognate to Mongol *ghol* 'river,'[1] and *kiang*, formerly KANG, KUNG, KONG, is a survival of the same linguistic formation to which belongs the name of the GANGES. This distribution agrees in its broad lines with the general arrangement of the populations which have preceded the Chinese in China, as illustrated all through the present work.

"182. With regard to the names of Pre-Chinese tribes, there are several difficulties to overcome, which are by no means unimportant. The excessive multiplication of small communities, and the apparent minute division based on local appellative names of extensive tribes, are only one of them. I have found about *four hundred* of such names. Another difficulty consists in the looseness of the names indicated in Chinese sources, or by European travellers. Such names as *Lolo*, *Man-tze*, *Miao-tze*, *Si-fan*, *Tu-y*, *Tu-jen*, *Y-gen*, *Pên-ti-jen*, etc., are vaguely used in different places, and may be looked upon with the greatest probability, as

[1] To be distinguished from the Turki *kul* 'lake.'

loose names, indefinite Chinese expressions, mostly contemptuous, and altogether devoid of any ethnological significance. They were not so loose at the beginning, and real distinctions of ethnic stocks were meant by them, but the subsequent interminglings of race, and the ignorance of the Chinese compilers and travellers, have caused the present confusion.

"183. Many names are not genuine names of tribes, and consist only in qualificatives of a prominent characteristic in customs, costume, etc., singled out by the original author of the report, or simply of their geographical location. The same tribe described by another traveller has often received another soubriquet, and afterwards has been inscribed in the later works as a different tribe. So that tribes of one and the same stock have received different names in different places from different people, while different tribes of various stocks have received identical surnames. Such an onomastic exemplification is not calculated to facilitate the elucidation of the intricate problems of ethnology involved in the history of the population of the Middle Kingdom.

"184. Those of the native names which are genuine are not, however, always recognisable. They appear in a Chinese dress, generally distorted to suit the limited capacities of Chinese orthoepy, and most often have a Sinicised signification imparted contemptuously to them by the composition of the Chinese symbols employed for their transcription.

"185. A few names at the beginning of history have escaped the scornful stigma. They are mostly those of the tribes whose power and proximity or interlocation of settlements with those of the haughty Chinese, still weak and unimportant, had compelled them to respect, such, for instance, as those of the

Jung 戎, whose meanings of 'weapon,' 'war-chariot,' were soon extended to that of 'warrior.'[1]

[1] In the quaint Ku-wen spelling it is written 牛 NGU 'a club,' placed under 戊, *Mou* 'an axe'? (cf. Min Tsi kih, *Luh shu hung*, bk. i. f. 11). The same word was written later on with other symbols, somewhat similar in shape to the former ones, but not expressive of sound, and purely ideographical, i.e. 甲 *kia* 'a

Y 夷, the 'Great-Bow man,' so translated from the composition of the symbol, said to be made of 大 *ta* 'great,' and 弓 *kung* 'a bow'; but this composition is not old, and originally the symbol was written differently.[1]

"These names, like those of the *Lai*, *Lu*, *Lo*, etc., probably one of the native terms for 'man,' written with indifferent characters which have no contemptuous meaning, are only a few of a longer list.

"186. But still longer is the list of the written names of a contemptuous meaning, generally resulting from the notation of the native appellatives, written with a selected Chinese symbol having a meaning of 'animal,' a system objectionable for the Chinese themselves, as exemplified in the following:

馬 *Ma* 'horse.'

蠻 *Mân* 'ungovernable vermin,' a general name for the southern non-Chinese tribes.

閩 *Min* 'a sort of serpent,' in Fuhkien, etc.

苗 *Miao*[2] 'cat,' the central aborigines.

shield,' under 戈 *kwo* 'a spear,' as explained in the *Shwohwen*, which refers only to the Siao tchuen or Small Seal characters. Cf. Dr. J. Chalmers, *The Structure of Chinese Characters after the Shwohwan*, p. 51, and above, § 60, n. 1.

[1] In Kuwen it is written 上 *Tŭong* or *Shang* 'high,' under 尸 *T'i* or *Shi* 'a lying body,' suggesting a word like Tit, Tish, Shit, Shish. Something has remained in the Sinico-Annamite sound *dsi*. Another Ku-wen form of the same modern character, and corresponding probably to its actual meaning of 'pacific,' was written 尸 *shi*, placed over 二 *ni*, or *shi-ni*, which perhaps was connected as a collateral antecedent with the modern colloquial expression *Sih-nu* (息怒)

[2] As in *Tsing Miao*, *Heh Miao*, etc., *i.e.* 'Blue Miao,' 'Black Miao,' etc., and also in '*Miao-tze*' 苗子, the famous 'sons of the soil' of the ancient Sinologists, whose error still lingers in all the books concerning China. This wrongful interpretation is an interesting instance of graphical mythology not unfrequent in Chinese proper names and historical legends. The ancient interpreters have been misled by the analysis (always dangerous in modern style) of the modern character 苗, which they have supposed to have been originally composed of ⺾ 'grass' and 田 'field,' while they, at the same time, have taken 子 with its meaning of 'son,' 'child.' Both of these handy hypotheses are worthless. *Miao* 苗, so written in the Small Seal or *Siao tchuen* style of writing, was an imitation of an old pictorial character figuring the head of a cat, and meaning 'cat,' now written 猫. *Tze* 子 is only an enclitic of appellatives. As to the reason which caused the selection of *Miao* 苗 for the rendering of the name of these tribes, we may assume that it was twofold: their strongly vocalic language, which the Chinese could not understand, was to them like the mewing of cats, and they called them-

巴 *Pa* 'huge serpent,' in Szetchuen.
蜀 *Shu(k* 'silk worm,' also in Szetchuen.
玀 玀 *Lo-lo* 'squirrel.'
烏 *Wu* 'crow.'
龍 *Lung* 'dragon.'
狄 *Ti(k*[1] 'fiery dog,' the northern barbarians.
氐 *Ti* 'sort of fish,' west of Szetchuen.
獒 *Ngao* 'large dog,' the Tibetan mastiff.

And many others.

"Some of these appellatives can still be deprived of their contumelious garb, such as *ngao* 'tall,' 'proud,' without the 'dog' determinative; *ti* 'deep root,' without the 'fish' determinative. Other curious instances of distortion, at least in writing, are those of the tribes self-named *Yao*, written 徭 'serf;' *Pu(k*, written 僕 'slave;' *Shuk* 'man,' written 'silk-worm,' as above, and others.

XXI. Gradual Retreat of the Pre-Chinese.

187. The aboriginal tribes, of the Flowery Land, with whom the Chinese Bak tribes, advancing through the modern Kansuh to South Shensi, fell into contact, did not receive them all in the same way. Some were friendly from the beginning, others objected to their advance, and the same thing occurred over and over again in the course of their history. Small and unimportant at first, the Chinese had no other superiority than that of their civilization. In their advance they had to make their way through the native settlements, either by amicable arrangements and interminglings, or, in case of need, by war and conquest, with the help of the friendly tribes. They used to establish advanced posts and military settlements, around which their colonists could take shelter when required by the hostile dispositions of the native populations among which they were interspersed. As a rule, in the history of their growth and development,

selves *Mro* 'the people,' or 'the tribe,' a term still used in Indo-China, and which the limited orthoepy of the Chinese did not permit them to render otherwise.

[1] *Ti(k* was not at first a contemptuous appellative. Cf. suprà, § 167, n. 2.

the advance of their dominion was preceded by the settlements, always increasing, of colonists in the coveted region. It was their constant practice to drive away their lawless people, outcasts and criminals, who with the malcontents and the travelling merchants paved the way to the future official extension. The non-Chinese communities and states were in this way always gradually saturated with Chinese blood. This policy was never long departed from, even when in later times their power was sufficiently effective to permit a more effective way of bringing matters to a short conclusion.

"188. Under the pressure of the Chinese growth by slow infiltration or open advance, the Pre-Chinese populations gradually retreated southwards; some of them were absorbed by intermingling; others, satisfied with the Chinese yoke, lost slowly their individuality, and formed part of the Chinese nation. Others were entrapped to the same end by the insidious process of the Chinese government, which, bestowing on their chiefs titles of nobility and badges of office, thus made them, sometimes against their secret will, Chinese officials. Light taxes and a nominal recognition of the Chinese suzerainty were only required from them as long as the government of the Middle Kingdom did not feel itself strong enough to ask more and overcome any possible resistance. But those of the Pre-Chinese who objected altogether to the Chinese dominion were thus gradually compelled to migrate away, either of their own will and where they chose and could, or, as was the case in later times, in such provinces or regions left unoccupied by the Chinese for that very purpose. Numerous were the tribes who were gradually led to migrate out of China altogether, as we have had many occasions to show in the course of this work.[1]

"189. The gradual submission of the Pre-Chinese was a very long affair, which began with the arrival of the

[1] Cf. above, §§ 19, 66, 90, 91, 101, 102, 116, 117, 127, 129–144, 146, 154, 160, 161, 164, 167, 172. Also my Introduction to *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, and my *Formosa Notes* (in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July, 1887).

Chinese Bak tribes, and has not yet come to an end, though the finish is not far at hand. For long the Chinese dominion was very small, and later on, when very large on the maps and in appearance, it was, as a matter of fact, effective only on a much smaller area. The advanced posts on the borders of the real Chinese domain used to give their names to regions sometimes entirely unsubdued, though the reverse has long seemed to be the case, because all the necessary intercourse between the independent populations and the Chinese government passed through the Chinese officials of these posts, specially appointed with great titles of office, for that purpose.

"190. We cannot here enter into the history of the resistance made by the Pre-Chinese against the successive encroachments and gradual advance of the Chinese. We must be satisfied with a mere glance at the names of the most important of their states and political agglomerations, or temporary confederations of chieftains and centres of resistance, with which the Chinese had to contest by astuteness, or sheer force of arms, for conquest or self-defence.

"191. Advancing eastwards the Early Chinese had met among others:

"The *Tsao* and *Wei*, two states of Jungs, around the great southern bend of the Hoang-ho, which offered a strong resistance, and were subdued in 2070 B.C.

"The *Yu-kwei*, on the north bank of the same river, in the north-west of modern Kai-fung fu, who had yielded earlier.

"The *Lai*, in the Shantung peninsula, who remained independent, or at least non-Chinese, until the time of She Hwang-ti (third century B.C.); this people deserves some attention, as they were great traders, and their sea-port Tsih-moh was for long the channel through which much has been introduced into the Chinese states, from the sea-trade with the south, during the Tchou dynasty, and perhaps before that time.[1]

"The *Yao*, *T'ao*, *T'ang*, *Yü*, etc., were all names of native

[1] On the early knife money of Tsih-moh, cf. T. de Lacouperie, *The Coins and Medals of China in the British Museum*, etc., vol. i. pp. 213–225.

states or regions which were assumed as princely titles by the early Chinese leaders Yao and Shun during their gradual advance.

"192. In the south-east:

"The states of *Fang Fung* and *Hwei-ki*, north of the mouth of the Yang-tze kiang, against which the great Yü undertook his memorable expedition, from which he never came back (§ 23).

"The *Ngu* or *Wu*, already mentioned § 34 above; 1200–472 B.C., conquered by Yueh (§§ 28, 34–36).

"*Yueh* (Tchehkiang and Kiangnan); —?— 601 B.C.–334 B.C., conquered by Ts'u.

"*Min-yueh* (E. Fuhkien), —?— 402 B.C., conquered by the Chinese 126 B.C. and given up by them in 105 B.C.

"*Tung Ngou*, in W. Tchehkiang and W. Fuhkien, absorbed by Nan-yueh after 204 B.C.

"193. In the centre and the west:

"The *San Miao*, in E. Honan, and southwards to the Tung ting and Po-yang lakes. At first defeated by the Chinese under Shun, who banished some of their leaders in the N.W. (§ 130), they afterwards took their revenge, and routed the army which, under the command of the Great Yü, had been sent against them. Eventually they became friendly for a time, and their bulk retreated gradually in the course of centuries.

"West of these were the *Pong*, also Pan-hu (§§ 66 sq.), whose state north of Szetchuen and of Hupeh was an ally and a strong help to the newly-arrived Chinese (since the twenty-second century B.C.) until the thirteenth century, when Wu-ting fought against them (circ. 1231 B.C.), and the overthrow of the Shang-Yin dynasty by Wu Wang, the founder of the Tchou dynasty, whose party they had followed in the struggle, circa 1050 B.C. They were the ancestors of the *Ngu* and *Y* of the East (§§ 34–36). After the dissolution of the great non-Chinese state of *Ts'u* (circ. 1200–223 B.C.), mentioned above (§§ 31–33, 96–98), by which they had been swallowed up, and their nominal submission by She Hwang-ti, the founder of the Chinese Empire, they rebelled in 48 A.D., 221 A.D., etc., and were so strong

that, in 475 A.D., their ruler was recognized as king of Siang-yang, by the Chinese Emperor, over a large territory extending northwards unto the Yellow River in Honan. This state was finally overthrown by the T'ang dynasty; its population being partly absorbed, partly expelled in the S.W.

"West of the Pongs were the *Pa*, known to the Chinese since the twentieth century, and which with other tribes, ancestors of the Taï-Shan, were occupying the greater part of E. Szetchuen and W. Hupeh, until they recognized the suzerainty of the Ts'in state, then growing to the Empire (third century B.C.). They transferred their allegiance to the Han dynasty, and subsequently rose into rebellion in 47 and 101 A.D., which led to their submission. But the E. Szetchuen was not made part of the Empire before 1070 A.D.

"West of the preceding were the *Ti* and *Kiang*, the latter being Tibetan, or better Si-fan, tribes (§§ 173–179), with whom the Chinese were acquainted in 1240 B.C.

"The *Liao* in N. Szetchuen (§§ 81–83) recognized in the fifth and sixth centuries the supremacy of the Wei and Liang dynasties, but they fought against the great T'ang dynasty, and their submission was only nominal. Similar to this was the position of the

"*Nan ping Man*, in Kueitchou and Szetchuen, who paid tribute to the T'ang after 629 A.D., and of the

"*Ngo* of Tchungtchou, N. Kueitchou, a people of high stature, large eyes, white teeth, and swarthy (*i.e.* not yellow) complexion. Some tribes of the same race, called *Pan-tun Man*,[1] and others occupying Yelang, spread over the central region, connecting Szetchuen, Yünnan, Kueitchou, and Hukwang, had paid tribute to the Sung small dynasty in the fifth century.

[1] They had been so called for forty generations (*i.e.* 1200 years?) before the Han period, which would imply 1400 B.C. In Eastern Szetchuen "the bulk of their tribes, according to the *Hou Han shu*, bk. 116, were vigorous and brave. At first they were several times subjected by the precursors of the Han, when they practised their national customs, delighting in singing and dancing. When Kao-tsu (the first Emperor of the Han dynasty, 206-195 B.C.) saw them, he said, 'This is the song of Wu-wang's defeat of the tyrant Tchou-sin (B.C. 1050).' The latter was the last ruler of the Shang-yu dynasty, and Wu-wang was the founder of the Tchou dynasty. Tu-yu (A.D. 222–284), in his *T'ung tien*, did not reproduce this interesting passage, which does not appear either in Ma Tuan-lin's *Wen hien t'ung k'ao*, which was compiled with the *T'ung tien* as basis.

[illegible] and a [illegible]

[illegible] was [illegible]

[illegible] family [illegible]

[illegible] when nominally [illegible]

[illegible] independent [illegible]

[illegible] and the S.V., [illegible]

[illegible] followed by [illegible]

[illegible] from the North [illegible]

[illegible] alities which became [illegible]

[illegible] afterwards the smaller [illegible]

[illegible] was subdued by the [illegible]

[illegible] Kuei-chou, from A.D. [illegible] the Nantchao for some [illegible] A.D. § 154).

[illegible] Sechuen,

[illegible] Yunnan, and

[illegible] acknowledged the Chinese

and through a conciliatory policy as much as circumstances permitted, the efforts of the Chinese governments tended to drive away from their seats all the native tribes towards the region of Kueitchou province, where these tribes were left comparatively unmolested. The last important revolt, which took place in the N.W. of Kuangtung province, was that of the Miao-tze of Lien-tchou, in 1830–1832, but it was soon quelled by the Chinese troops. Numerous men from these tribes have swollen the ranks of the Taï-ping rebellion, which was finally crushed with frightful slaughter in 1863, in Szetchuen. But no general rising of the surviving remains of the former population of China happened, and their absorption and gradual disparition are now going fast.

"196. The Aboriginal Pre-Chinese, though in a low state of culture, were not however savages, and several features of their civilization are worth reckoning, inasmuch as there existed some differences between their various races, under several respects. They had only embryo writings, such as knotted cords, cup-marks on cliffs, and rude figures or paintings;[1] but as soon as they were made acquainted by the Chinese with a regular writing, especially in the S.W., they soon adapted its benefits to their own purposes, as shown by the cases of the Tsuan-Lolo and Shuikia writings;[2] and under the incitement from the surrounding knowledge of writing, some of them could produce an independent system, like the Mosos did.[3]

"In the N.W., the gynecocratic habits of the Pre-Chinese tribes, whose Laka-Lolo, Mo-so, and Burmese descendants have preserved some survivals, have had some influence for a time over the immigrating Chinese Bak tribes, and several of their leaders in that region were reputed to be born fatherless.[4]

"In the west, cave-dwellings were the custom, while pile-dwellings were in use in the East. In the East, also, tattooing,

[1] Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, §§ 10, 17, 33, 183, 212, etc.
[2] *Ibid.* §§ 31, 176, 217–212, etc.; and above, §§ 68, 70n., 155, etc.
[3] *Ibid.* §§ 64–73, and plates i.–iii.; and above, § 159.
[4] We have developed this interesting point in another place.

pottery, and metallic implements are conspicuous, as well as burials in egg-shaped coffins of earthenware, several of which were put together in a larger vase of great size.

"We remark, particularly in the centre, weaving, embroidering, a taste for variegated colours, tail-shaped coats, and dog-eared headdress; songs of a special rhythm; the five-toned music[1] still preserved in Cochin-china (as in Scotland); marriages by purchase; and stone implements: the peculiar shape of the latter, which has caused them to be called 'shouldered celts,' and was the antecedent of that of the early Chinese spade-money,[2] has been met with only in India (Chutia Nagpore), Pegu, and Cambodia.

XXII. The Chinese Intruders.

"197. It is not one of the least interesting results of modern researches in oriental history and philology that the Chinese should now be known as intruders instead of aborigines in their own country.[3] This blunt statement must, however, be qualified, as the modern Chinese are a hybrid race, and their speech is a hybrid language, both of which are the outcome of interminglings between the immigrants from the north-west and north and the previous occupiers of the soil belonging to different races, and especially to the Indo-Pacific ones.

"This better knowledge, for the benefit of the philosophy of history, was brought about by a closer examination of their early traditions, a rigorous identification of the geographical names mentioned, therein and in the course of their

[1] Which the *Kwei* taught to the Chinese in the reign of Shun.

[2] Cf. my work, *The Coins and Medals of China*, vol. i. p. 4.

[3] Cf. the references above quoted, § 15, n. 1. Also cf. Prof. R. K. Douglas, *The Progress of Chinese Linguistic Discovery*, *The Times*, April 20, 1880; *Further Progress in Chinese Studies*, *ibid.* Aug. 26, 1884; cf. also *Sacred Books of the Chinese*, *Saturday Review*, June 30, 1883; *Chinese and Babylonian Literature*, *Quarterly Review*, July, 1882; T. G. Pinches, *The Progress of Assyriology*, *Report to the Philological Society*, 1882; Clement F. R. Allen, *The Chinese Book of the Odes for English Readers*, *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1884, vol. xvi. p. 460; L. Rioult de Neuville, *Les origines de la civilisation chinoise*, pp. 240-241 of *Revue des questions historiques*, Juillet, 1884; Prof. R. K. Douglas, *China*, 1882, 2nd edit. 1887, etc.

history, and the study of many historical statements and disclosures about the non-Chinese races actually settled within the borders of China proper, clumsily arranged under the heading of foreign nations,[1] in the Chinese Dynastic Annals.

"198. The early Chinese intruders and civilizers were the *Bak* tribes, about sixteen in number, who arrived on the N.W. borders of China not long after the great rising which had taken place in S.W. Asia at the beginning of the twenty-third century B.C. in Susiana. Their former seat was within the dominating influence of the latter country, as they were acquainted with its civilization, a reflex of the Babylo-Assyrian focus.

"The following list is that of the points of civilization which they imported into their new country from S.W. Asia, including a few secondary points of later introduction:—(1) The art of writing, (2) from top to bottom and from right to left as was the practice in S.W. Asia, and (3) not in relief but engraved, (4) characters derived from those of Babylonia and still semi-hieroglyphical, with (5) their meanings, (6) their phonetic and polyphonic values, and (7) their imperfect system of acrology and phonetism; (8) probably some written texts; (9) the use of lists of written characters arranged (10) phonetically, and (11) ideographically; (12) some souvenirs of the cuneiform or monumental form of writing; (13) the extensive use of seals, etc.; (14) the shifted cardinal points of Assyro-Babylonia; and (15) the symbols to write them, which they further embroiled during their journey eastwards; (16) astronomical instruments; (17) many names of stars and constellations; (18) of twenty-four stellar points; (19) the twelve Babylonian months, (20) with an intercalary one, (21) and a certain use of the week; (22) the erection of

[1] The Marquis D'Hervey de St. Denys, Professor of Chinese, Collège de France, has first called attention to this latter fact, apropos of his translation of the chapters of Matuanlin dealing with the foreign nations, in his communication to the First Congress of Orientalists, on the *Ethnographie des Miao-tse*, pp. 354-363 of the *Mémoires du Congrès*, vol. i. Paris, 1873. Reprinted with additions in Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnographie, xii. 1873, pp. 109-133: *Mémoire sur l'ethnographie de la chine centrale et méridionale d'après un ensemble de documents inédits, tirés des anciens écrivains chinois.*

lofty terraces for astronomical purposes, etc.; (23) the machinery of Imperial Government; (24) titles of dignities, and (25) the names of several offices with which they had been made familiar near Susiana; (26) the system of twelve pastors; (27) the concept of four regions, (28) and a special officer bearing that title; (29) the political idea of a Middle Kingdom; (30) many proper names which, appearing in their beginnings and once restored to an approximation of their old form, are easily recognized as similar to some names used in the aforesaid S.W. Asiatic countries, etc.; (31) the cycle of ten, and (32) that of twelve; (33) several standard measures; (34) the twelve scales of music; (35) the decimal notation; (36) the ten periods, etc.; (37) the wheat, which is aboriginal in Mesopotamia only; (38) the arts of clay-brick building, (39) of embanking rivers, and (40) of making canals; (41) many words of Akkado-Sumerian and Babylonian civilization; (42) the use of metals; and (43) many minor notions of arts and science, such as (44) the fire drill, (45) the use of war-chariots with horses harnessed abreast, etc.; (46) the practice of divination and (47) the use of eight wands of fate; (48) known terms of good or bad fortune; (49) numerical categories; (50) the symbolic tree of life or calenderic plant; (51) special emblems on their rulers' dress; (52) the worship or at least the name of Utuku (=Tik), otherwise Shamash, as supreme god; (53) the six honoured ones, or the six gods of Susiana; (54) the ruling idea that events repeat themselves; (55) the lucky and unlucky days; (56) the mythical colours of planets; (57) the concept of Yn and Yang (not Persian); (58) large square altars, etc.; (59) the royal canon of Babylonia; (60) many peculiar legends therein, etc., etc.[1]

[1] All these points of identification between the borrowed civilization of the ancient Chinese and its antecedents of Susiana-Babylonia-Assyria are established more or less completely, pending a comprehensive work, in my various publications quoted above, § 15, n. 1, and in some papers I have read before the Royal Asiatic Society since 1880. In 1868 the Rev. J. Chalmers had published a pamphlet on *The Origin of the Chinese; an Attempt to Trace the Connection of the Chinese with Western Nations in their Religion, Superstitions, Arts, Languages, and Literature* (London, 1868, pp. 78), where desultory comparisons all through Asia and Europe, made without criticism and proper sources of information, were too extensive and too loose to have any scientific standing. In 1871 the Rev. J. Edkins published his

"199. Several items of this enormous list, including the Royal Canon of Babylonia,[1] are met with in ancient, but not in the scanty earliest Chinese texts which have survived the injury of centuries, simply because earlier works where they could be found have not been preserved until our time, while the subject-matters of those which have survived did not justify their quotation or insertion therein. On the other hand, the chief characteristic of these affinities between the early civilization of the Chinese 4000 years ago and the much older focus of culture of South-West Asia is that they are obvious imitations and borrowings. They have nothing original in themselves, and bear in the face that they do not come from common descent. They present the usual imperfectness unequally combined with a complete identity on some points and others which are always the accompaniment of acquisitions obtained through a social intercourse of protracted length, and not from a casual teaching and learning from books and scholars.

"200. The name *Bak* (now *Peh*), of the original Chinese immigrants, meant 'flourishing, many, all,' and also 'hundred.' But it has not the last meaning in such expressions as *Peh sing* 'all the surnames,' *Peh kuan* 'all the officials,' *Peh Liao*, same meaning, *Peh Yueh* 'all the outside-borders,' etc., where no possible reference can be made to any precise number, since these various items comprise several hundreds, as in the case of the first three, or only a few, as in the

China's Place in Philology: An Attempt to show that the Languages of Europe and Asia have a Common Origin (London, pp. 403), a work containing some ideas and suggestions, but like the preceding, written without the slightest regard for scientific method. The author started the (impossible) hypothesis that the population of Babylonia and the early Chinese did both belong to *one and the same Hamitic Race*, having the same sort of mind, and the same instinctive impulses, which have produced identical features of civilization. Points of similarity such as 1, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 50, 51, and others not on our list, were adduced to support this view, while at the same time the author expressed as his opinion that the early Chinese in their migration eastwards 3000 B.C. carried away with them from Mesopotamia, and as a heirloom in common with the Babylonians, the rudiments of their arts and sciences. Since my discoveries published in 1880 and afterwards, the same scholar has written several interesting articles on the introduction into China, towards the eighth century B.C., of mythology, imagery, astrology, etc., also derived directly or indirectly from Assyro-Babylonia.

[1] Mr. T. G. Pinches and myself intend publishing in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* the Cuneiform text and the Chinese version of this Canon.

last case. All through the *Shu-King* or Canon Book of History, it is employed as a whole though indetermined number. And as a matter of fact, the well-known expression *Peh sing*, above quoted, which appears from the beginning of Chinese history, and about which so many baseless speculations have been set forth, has never meant the hundred surnames, as was wrongly presumed, and this for several reasons. The supposition that *Peh sing* meant 'the hundred surnames' (or families) was based on the fact that the *Peh kia sing* or 'the hundred (?) family names,' which includes some 460 names, was only compiled under the Sung dynasty, *i.e.* after A.D. 960, when the number had increased largely and much beyond its original figure. But this admitted, the regular use of the family names does not go back much beyond the time of Confucius (B.C. 551-479), and when this list of surnames is carefully sifted, we do not find more than about sixteen surnames dating as far back as the beginnings of the Chinese in China; this small number, however, being only reached if we include a few family names quoted in the early traditions, and disappearing afterwards. Therefore, as the term *Peh sing*,[1] i.e. the 'Bak Surnames,' existed among the Chinese from the outset as an appellative for themselves, the word *Peh*, old BAK, could have, not the meaning of 'hundred,' but perhaps that of 'all, numerous, flourishing,' as stated above, should it have been still understood. And the meaning 'hundred,' which originally was apparently said *bar*, was only a homonymous sound in the limited phonetic orthoepy of the Chinese, expressed by the same symbol because of the similarity of sound, real only for them.

"201. *Bak* was an ethnic and nothing else. We may refer as a proof to the similar name, rendered however by different symbols, which they gave to several of their

[1] *Pak* was written in Ku-wen with the old forms of 貝 *Pei* with 下 *Ke* (mod. *hia*) placed over, or 弓 *Kao* placed below and read *P-k*. In Ta-tchuen style *Pak sing* was written sometimes as a single word 生 *sing* over and 目 *Buk* (for *Muk*), or an old form of 百 *Pak*, under. In modern writing 百 姓.

early capitals, PUK, POK, PAK, all names known to us after ages, and of which the similarity with *Pak*, *Bak*, cannot be denied. In the region from where they had come, *Bak* was a well-known ethnic, for instance, *Bakh* in Bakhdhî (Bactra), Bagistan, Bagdada, etc. etc., and is explained as meaning 'fortunate, flourishing.'

"202. Another ethnical name no less important is that which is now read 夏 *Hia*, also *sha*, in several ideo-phonetic compounds, and which was the proper appellative of one of the leading tribes of the immigrants when settled in 'a little bit of territory in the N.W.' It became the name of the Chinese people. The Ku-wen spellings tell us that its original full form was something like *Ketchi*, *Ketsü*, *Ketsi*, *Kütche*, *Kotchi*, etc., which are all graphical attempts at rendering the exact name with the clumsy acrologic and syllabic system of the time being. We may take KÜTCHE as an average of all these variants. Now this name is so much like that of the KASHSHI on the north-east of Mesopotamia that, without suggesting in any way a relationship of some kind between the two peoples, there may have been an affinity of names from a common meaning suitable to both.

"203. An analysis of the aforesaid book of the family surnames, the *Peh kia sing*, shows their number to be made up, besides the original names, of native appellatives brought in sometimes by the entrance of native tribes into the Chinese community, but principally from the native names of regions bestowed upon Chinese subjects as fiefs and territorial grants. Even the princely names taken by the early Chinese leaders in the Flowery Land were borrowed from those of native regions, as they conquered them. But an examination of all these proper names, tribal and geographical, would carry us much beyond the limits of the present work.

"204. We have little to say here of the early language of the Chinese Bak tribes, and its subsequent evolution and development into several important dialects, as the matter is somewhat precluded by the object of the present work.

We allude elsewhere to some of its characteristics and to the formation of its ideology (§§ 20-26) and tones (§§ 117, 230). The explanation of the gap now existing between the book-language [1] and the vernaculars requires some long explanations and demonstration much beyond our scope here.[2] The following scheme, however, gives the list of the most important languages, dialects, and subdialects, with an indication of the probable dates of their branching off. It is the first attempt which has hitherto been made at classifying them, and thus far must be looked upon with regard to the relative position of several dialects and subdialects as provisional. A great deal of work and investigation remains to be done before such a classification can be completed. The total number of dialects and subdialects, *hiang t'an* or local patois, etc., has been roughly estimated to be somewhat similar to that of the days of the year (360), and though they are not likely to affect the general lines of the classification below, it may be useful not to forget that the total figure of the names entered therein is only one-ninth of the general number.

"205. The following table gives the General Historical Scheme of the Chinese Family of Languages, as referred to in the foregoing section.

[1] A misconception as to the real character of the Chinese language, at first known in its fictitious book form written with ideographic symbols, now syllabic, and supposed to be genuine and spoken; combined with another misconception as to the non-historical and mnemonic value of the 1720 pseudo-roots of the Hindu Brahmans analysing their Sanskrit; both misconceptions—understood as justifying a theory of an early period of monosyllabic roots, while, as a matter of fact, these are generally late in the history of language,—have misguided the greater number of philologists until the present time, and have for long hindered the progress of the science of language. Our predecessors have erroneously built a logical monosyllabism from the monosyllabisms of writing, of decay, and of elocution, the only ones which have ever existed.

[2] The premature death of A. Bazin has prevented him solving this problem, in which he was greatly interested, as shown by his *Mémoire sur les Principes généraux du Chinois vulgaire*, Paris, 1845, and his important Introduction to his *Grammaire Mandarine*, Paris, 1856. I think I am the first to have attempted the explanation of the phenomenon, in my *Beginnings of Writing*, i. §§ 49-55.

early capitals, PUK, POK, PAK, all names known to us after ages, and of which the similarity with *Pak*, *Bak*, cannot be denied. In the region from where they had come, *Bak* was a well-known ethnic, for instance, *Bakh* in Bakhdhî (Bactra), Bagistan, Bagdada, etc. etc., and is explained as meaning 'fortunate, flourishing.'

"202. Another ethnical name no less important is that which is now read 夏 *Hia*, also *sha*, in several ideo-phonetic compounds, and which was the proper appellative of one of the leading tribes of the immigrants when settled in 'a little bit of territory in the N.W.' It became the name of the Chinese people. The Ku-wen spellings tell us that its original full form was something like *Ketchi*, *Ketsü*, *Ketsi*, *Kütche*, *Kotchi*, etc., which are all graphical attempts at rendering the exact name with the clumsy acrologic and syllabic system of the time being. We may take KÜTCHE as an average of all these variants. Now this name is so much like that of the KASHSHI on the north-east of Mesopotamia that, without suggesting in any way a relationship of some kind between the two peoples, there may have been an affinity of names from a common meaning suitable to both.

"203. An analysis of the aforesaid book of the family surnames, the *Peh kia sing*, shows their number to be made up, besides the original names, of native appellatives brought in sometimes by the entrance of native tribes into the Chinese community, but principally from the native names of regions bestowed upon Chinese subjects as fiefs and territorial grants. Even the princely names taken by the early Chinese leaders in the Flowery Land were borrowed from those of native regions, as they conquered them. But an examination of all these proper names, tribal and geographical, would carry us much beyond the limits of the present work.

"204. We have little to say here of the early language of the Chinese Bak tribes, and its subsequent evolution and development into several important dialects, as the matter is somewhat precluded by the object of the present work.

"206. The greatness of the early Chinese rulers, so-called emperors, and the great extension of their dominion, are purely mythical, as we have had occasion to show in several instances. They were simply civilized chieftains struggling for the good of their followers. Even at the later time of the Tchou dynasty, during the short period of its splendour (1050-770 B.C.) which followed its establishment, the power of the Chinese was still very small indeed. It is true that the founders of the dynasty had acknowledged some eight hundred barons within and without their dominion, but many of these were simply native kings and local chieftains. At the latter date, the Jungs, whom we have mentioned repeatedly, were powerful enough to kill the Chinese ruler and cause the removal of the Chinese capital from Tchang-ngan (mod. Si-ngan fu in Shensi) to Loh (near Ho-nan fu, Honan). The Chinese agglomerations, which formed numerous states under the rule, at first absolute, afterwards nominal, of the kings of Tchou, were much smaller than is generally supposed. Fourteen of them, mentioned over and over again in the *Tchun tsiu* of Confucius, and in the invaluable chronicle of his disciple Tso Kiu-ming, were the most important. And this small importance may be appreciated from the fact that one of them, the state of Wei, which may be depended upon as representing an average of their strength, and whose territory covered about the thirty-sixth part of the whole Chinese dominion, had not a population much over 5000 souls, all told, in 660 B.C. Confucius, whose bravery was not his chief virtue, could not speak without awe in 500 B.C. on the N.W. borders of modern Shantung of the *distant* barbarians, who were simply the Lai tribes of the Shantung peninsula![1]

"207. The list of native and pre-Chinese states or political agglomerations would alone[2] be sufficient to show that the building of the present Chinese greatness has been the result of forty centuries of up-hill work seldom discontinued. She Hwang-ti, of the Ts'in state, N.W. China, the founder of the

[1] Cf. above, § 191–195.
[2] *Tso tchuen*, Ting kung, tenth year, 2.

Chinese Empire, was really the first who began the task 221 B.C., and the results of his efforts and conquests, jeopardized through the weakness of his unworthy successor, were upheld again by the following Han dynasties (B.C. 206-220 A.D.). The splits which occurred severally in the course of history in the succession of the Chinese government, and resulted in the fragmentation of the dominion between several contemporaneous dynasties, have greatly helped, as did the internecine wars and Tartar conquests, the maintenance and independence of power of the pre-Chinese tribes. For instance, such times happened in 220-280 A.D. between the E. Han and the W. Tsin dynasties, in 420-580 A.D. between the E. Tsin and the Sui dynasties, in 907-960 A.D. between the T'ang and the Sung dynasties, in 1127-1280 A.D. between the Sung and Mongol Yuen dynasties, etc. Provinces once occupied were given up, and could be recovered only a long time afterwards, and others were only conquered, either for the first time or finally, in recent times.

"208. The Chinese Empire of She Hwang-ti had ill-defined limits, and did not cover more than two-thirds of the present China proper. Fuhkien, partly occupied for a few years, was given up in 105 B.C., recovered in the fifth and sixth centuries, again the seat of an independent dynasty in the ninth century, and conquered at last only in 939 A.D. During the same ninth century the south of modern Tchihli was abandoned to anarchy by successive emperors, and it was even a question whether modern Shansi was worth recovering. Kuangtung, which had been made a Chinese dependency about the end of the third century B.C., and soon after returned to freedom for some time, was sinicised much later. 'Canton,' said the late Wells Williams, 'still in the ninth century, and even long after, was comparatively a small place, and the people of that part of the country but little removed from gross barbarism.' Returning northwards, we see that Kiangsi was only conquered in the tenth century. Kueitchou, Hunan, W. Szetchuen, S.E. Szetchuen, Kuangsi, and Yünnan were not yet subdued in the thirteenth century. The great T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.) has done

much for the unification of the Empire, which, however, required stronger hands than theirs. It was the work of the energetic Mongol or Yuen dynasty, 1260–1367 A.D., continued by the Mings (1368–1640 A.D.), and on its way to achievement since the conquest of the present Mandshu dynasty, in power since 1644 A.D.

XXIII. Other Intruders.

"209. Numerous were the tribes and races who, for the same reasons as the Chinese Bak tribes, or attracted by the wealth and civilization of the latter, forced their way into China, imperilling the existence of its government, often superseding it altogether over a part or over the whole of the country, and afterwards disappearing, not however without leaving traces of their sway in the civilization, the language, and the population.

"The Jungs, who had partly preceded the Chinese, the Teks, the Kiangs, etc., have been already mentioned in this work as having contributed to swell the ranks of the malcontents and banished Chinese families,[1] as well as those of the aboriginal tribes, in pre-Chinese lands. Now we must refer more particularly to those of the intruders who have exercised an influence of some importance either politically or in civilization.

"210. The oldest intruders of this class were the *Shang* 商, whose name suggests that they were traders, while their traditions indicate a western origin near the Küen-lun range, and perhaps a parentship with the Jungs.[2] They

[1] Some tribes, interspersed with the aborigines and pre-Chinese, claiming to be descendants of Chinese, migrated by their own will as malcontents, or by compulsion as prisoners of war or exile. Such, for instance, as the *Ts'ai kia*, the *Li min tze*, the *Peh-erh tze*, the *Tch'e tch'ai Miao*, the *Ta Lang*, and the *Sung kia*, all generally in Kueitchou.

[2] Their oldest female ancestor, *Kien-tik*, who begot a fatherless child *Sieh*, belonged to the great state of Sung 娀, which according to the *Shan haï King*, bk. xvi., was situated in the wide unknown west. The written character for *Sung* is the same as that for *Jung* 戎, with the addition of the determinative for 'woman.' Its Kuwen spelling, however, was different. It was written with two signs *TCHung* and *Man*, thus 戉 *Tcho-m* or *Tchom*, read from bottom to top. Cf. the various Ku-wen forms in Min tsi kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, bk. i. f. 11, where the variants bear only on the inferior character 虫, which is exchanged with 屮, 中,

appear on the N.W. of the Chinese settlements since the beginning of and in the sixteenth century; they upset the Hia dynasty, took possession of the parts of Shensi, Shansi, and Honan then occupied by the Chinese, driving the Hia towards the coast.

"The *Tchou* 周, formerly Tok, who drove away the Shang-Yn dynasty, established their brilliant rule over the Middle Kingdom in 1050 B.C.; some of them had lingered on the Chinese borders in Shensi for several centuries. They were most probably Red-haired Kirghizes, and were not apparently without Aryan blood among them. It seems so, from the fact that they were acquainted with some notions derived from the Aryan focus of culture in Kwarism, which they introduced into China, and that several of the explanations added to the Olden texts of the Yh-King by their leader Wen-wang were certainly suggested by the homophony of Aryan words.[2]

"The *Ts'in* 秦, or better Tan, as formerly pronounced, formed an important state on the west of the Chinese agglomeration. It grew from the tenth century to the third B.C., when, having subdued the six other principal states of the confederation, its prince founding the Chinese Empire, declared himself Emperor in 221 B.C.[3] Their nucleus was

and 十, all pointing to a hushing or hissing initial. The name *Kien-tik* has a great similarity with that of the ancestors of the Turks Hiung-nu, variously written *Küen-tuk*, *Kuntik*, etc. *Sieh* or *Sie(t* 契, the written name of the ancestor of the Shang, means 'great or important writing,' and though this character has probably replaced an older one, which represented a sort of bird, it has given rise to the unwarranted conclusion of the Rev. J. Chalmers, that the art of writing had been only introduced into China by the Shang people. The man so called was according to tradition an officer of Shun.

[1] Cf. above, § 193 n.

[2] Such is one, and the most important it is, of the explanations which can be put forward scientifically concerning the finding of Aryan names in Chinese. We must, however, declare that affinities of this sort, which have been eagerly pointed out by several writers in China with more zeal than discretion, are for the greater part spurious or accidental. The narrow range of the Chinese phonesis, and the disregard of scientific method, explain the number of apparent similarities, which have been unwarrantably indicated by numerous writers. Another source of introduction of Aryan words into Chinese is that of the native dialects, which, after having received many Indian words (cf. below, §§ 212, 213), have furnished numerous terms to the Chinese vocabulary.

[3] Some fugitives from Ts'in had fled to Corea in the Han country, where they were called *Shin-Han*. Their language, according to the *Hou Han shu*, bk. 115, bore a resemblance to that of the Ts'in dynasty; they called a kingdom, *pang* 邦; a bow, *hu* 弧; robbery, *kou* 寇; to pass wine, *heng shang* 行觴; calling each other, they said *tu* 徒; all words obsolete in the Han period.

not Chinese, and made of Jung tribes who absorbed gradually many Chinese families from inside, and also Turko-Tatar tribes from its outside borders, the limits of which are not well known. This state was a channel through which passed, or a buffer preventing the passage of, any intercourse of the west with the Middle Kingdom.

"211. After the foundation of the Empire, there was no longer any barrier to stop foreign intercourse, at least in the North-West, and the central government could itself open relations with the outside. The result was the Mission of Tchang Kien in Central Asia, and by B.C. 115 a regular intercourse with thirty-six states of Turkestan had been established. This signifies the entrance into China of many new items of civilization, new ideas and new words.

"The Jews as a colony entered into China in the second century of our era; the Nestorians, the Persians, the Mahommedans followed in the seventh. The Persians had a considerable intercourse with China, from 723 to 747, when ten envoys reached the Middle Kingdom. Every one of these races brought something of its own civilization, and was also the channel through which a certain amount of western culture was introduced into the Flowery Land.

"212. We know hardly anything of the immigrations which have taken place in the western and south-western regions non-Chinese, in former times. In the fourth century B.C. a native dynasty arose in the country of Shuh, *i.e.* Szetchuen, and the fourth ruler, who was the first to assume the title of King, is stated to have come from India. This important event was undoubtedly the outcome of the commercial relations which had existed for eight centuries or more between the traders of Shuh and those of India.[1] Many Hindu ideas have penetrated into non-Chinese China through this channel, and from thence partly into Chinese China. To the same time and means may be assigned a curious series of mythological resemblances. The many notions of fabulous ethnology and natural history, which we know,

[1] On this trade, cf. *Beginnings of Writing*, § 156*b*.

from Ctesias, Megasthênes and others, as Indian, and the existence of similar, sometimes identical, notions in ancient Chinese literature of the same period, especially in the *Shan haï King*, were due, I think, to the marvellous reports made in both countries by these travelling merchants about the intermediary, unknown, and therefore awful regions through which they had to pass during their journey to and fro.[1]

"213. The imperfect and embellished tradition of the arrival of a Buddhist missionary Li-fang with seventeen companions, under the reign of the First Emperor, circa 227 B.C., which subsequently served as a pattern[2] for the expeditions sent to India by Han Ming-ti (65 A.D.), and by the Tibetan Srong btsan sgam po (632 A.D.), refers most probably to an introduction of Buddhism from India in Szetchuen.

"Archæological remains of great interest in the shape of statues and carved caves with Indian emblems, which are to be met with in Szetchuen, Hunan, Kiangsi and Tchehkiang, extending like a wedge turned eastwards, show another current of influence, if not of immigration, from the South-West.[3] Taoism, at least in its leading features, was introduced into China from the same quarters, but nothing remains to show if the two belong to the same current, and the matter has not as yet been investigated.

"Buddhism was introduced in an effectual manner through Imperial patronage in 67 A.D. Its great development and evolution as a religion in the country does not concern us here; on the writing its influence was not unimportant, but its effect on the spoken language has been very small.

"214. On the eastern side, otherwise the sea-coast, it was difficult for any immigration to be important enough to have any lasting influence under any respect.

[1] *Ibid.* § 156*c* n.
[2] *Ibid.* § 91.
[3] Mr. E. Colborne Baber has carefully described several of such caves he visited in Szetchuen (*Travels and Researches in Western China*, pp. 129–141). All that I know of the others I have learned from the Chinese topographies. The curious horse-shoe shape of the Chinese tombs reminds us of the *yoni* of India, and must, most probably, be attributed to the same Brahmanic influence.

"In the south-east of Shantung, the city of Lang-nga, founded about 500 B.C., which recalls so much to mind the Lanka, Lankapura of the old Ceylon, the Lang-nga of the north coast of Java, and seems to have been a settlement of colonist traders from Asianesia, in a region which was not yet Chinese, was the channel through which so many foreign notions have entered into China, that it deserves the special attention of future inquirers.

"The Japanese in the Middle Ages made several raids on the coast, leaving behind them nothing else than destruction. The same must be said of the Bisayas of the Philippines, who made a raid on the coasts of Tsiuan-tchou in Fuhkien during the period 1174–1189 A.D. under the Sung dynasty.

"The Arab traders who frequented the old port of Kanfu, now embedded near Hangtchou, in the ninth century, have introduced many items of civilization. But numerous as they were, they have had no influence on the language, as in the personal statement of the relation of Wahab and Abu Zaïd, no Chinaman could speak Arabic in their time. The same phenomenon, which is worthy of the attention of comparative philologists, is still experienced in the present day, as Chinese do not speak Arabic.

"The latest and most important influence for the future which has ever entered into China by the eastern coasts is that of the Europeans, which promises to be the greatest incitement and help to development which the Middle Kingdom has ever received.

"215. The influence of the Turko-Tatar races has been considerable. Several of them, spoken of in the previous pages, belong to olden times. For several centuries after the Han period, ignorant Tatar dynasties have ruled over parts of Northern China. The Sien-pi, cognate to the Coreans, have produced the dynasties of the Former Yen, 303–352 A.D.; the After Yen, 383–408 A.D.; the Western Yen, 385–394 A.D.; the Southern Yen, 398–410 A.D.; the Southern Liang, 397–414 A.D.; the Western Tsin, 385–412 A.D.

"The Hiung-nu Turks have produced the dynasties of

Northern Liang, 397–439 A.D., of the Hia, 407–431 A.D. in W. Shensi (to be distinguished from the later Si-Hia), and afterwards the Northern Han, in 951–799 A.D.

"The Tchao Turks produced the dynasties of the Former Tchao, 304–329 A.D., and After Tchao, 319–352 A.D.

"The Si-fan have produced the dynasties of Tcheng in Szetchuen, 301–346 A.D.; of the Former Tsin, 390–395 A.D., After Tsin, 384–417 A.D., both in Shensi. The Tobat Tatars, who produced the great dynasty of the Northern Wei, 386–532 A.D., belonged to the same group. They were apparently acquainted with the Syriac writing, at least about 476–500 A.D., and they had a court language of their own, in which their ruler Wan-ti at that time (in 486 A.D.) ordered that a translation of the *Hiao king* or 'Book of filial piety' should be made.[1] Its use was not abolished before 517 A.D.

"216. The rule of the Northern Wei extended over the whole of Northern China, with a few regional exceptions in the proximity of the Yang-tze Kiang. Later on, that of the Mongol dynasty of the *K'itan* or *Liao*, 907–1202 A.D., was restricted in the north-east. In the north-west, the *Si-Hia* or *Tangut* dynasty ruled from 982 to 1227, until it was swept away by the Mongols. The Meniak (§ 173) are their descendants. The *Kin* or *Jutchih*, the ancestors of the present Mandshu dynasty, ruled over a larger area than the N. Wei, from 1115 to 1234 A.D. The Mongol *Yuen* dynasty established by Kubilaï-Khan in 1271, and which lasted until 1367, was the first to rule over the whole of China; its great power did more for the homogeneity of the Middle Kingdom than any previous effort. And at last, in 1644, the Mandshu *Ta Tsing* dynasty established its sway all over the Empire, and is still reigning brilliantly, with all prospect of not coming to an untimely end.[2]

"217. These various dynasties brought each of them their own language, as their names suggest, and restricted as it was in its use to the court and soldiery, its influence was in

[1] Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, § 164 and n.

[2] All these dynasties had special writings made for them, as recorded at length in my *Beginnings of Writing*, §§ 101–110, 127–129.

every case limited, though by no means unreal, as shown by the alteration of pronunciation and the introduction of words in the official dialect. With regard to the present Mandshus, their presence has hurried on the phonetic decay of the Peking Mandarin dialect, now the official language, on the path of hissing and hushing the sounds, where it had entered since the days of the Yuen Mongols. Their small number, and their habit of living somewhat apart from the population, restrict the influence of the soldiery, which is felt only in the proximity of the post-towns over the empire, by the introduction of a few terms in the vernaculars.

Part VII. Results and Conclusions.

XXIV. General and Historical.

"218. The results of our survey, however concise it is in many of its parts, are serious and complex, for the science of language and for history. The importance on Chinese soil in former and recent times of the native and intruding languages, spoken of in the previous pages, is clearly understood when considering how numerous and large were the various Pre-Chinese states or political agglomerations of tribes, which existed contemporaneously or superseded one another, over the whole at first, and more or less extensive parts afterwards of China proper. The slow growth of the Chinese from very small beginnings to their present standing, and the corresponding gradual diminution of the non-Chinese states and territories, throw still more light on the whole affair.

"219. We shall examine the various results we have come to, with reference to the science of language, under several respects, such as an increase in the number of classified languages, and an alteration of previous arrangements, with the formation of an altogether new linguistic group, that of the Taï-Shan languages; and also serious warnings and teachings about the hybridology of languages, the non-mechanical character of the pronunciation and the formation of tones.

"But we must also indicate here some important results,

for the history of civilization, of our linguistic and other researches. They show that the Chinese greatness from antiquity was simply a fabulous legend, and far from being permanent, is, on the contrary, a modern fact and an important contingent of the future of mankind; that there is no such a thing as a great antiquity and purity of type of the Chinese language, which, on the contrary, is a result of intermingling; that the Chinese civilization is not the result of their self-development, but an importation; and, therefore, that the theories of monosyllabic languages, primitiveness of the tonic linguistic formation, and also the theory of the self-progress of a secluded population, must be deprived of the supposed conclusive supports which have always been sought for them in China.

XXV. Additions to Classified Languages.

"220. As to the general classification of the languages of the Indo-Pacific and Turano-Scythic stocks, the results obtained in the preceding pages produce several new subdivisions and groups, and the enlargement of others: the whole may be resumed in the following lists. We subjoin to the names the Ideological Indices available, and one or more of the *italicised* initials of their general characteristic, such as *Unm*ixed, *M*ixed, *H*ybridized, *H*ybrid, *D*eveloped, *E*volved, i.e. transformed without progress, and *R*egressed.

"221. Beginning with the Indo-Pacific stock of languages, INDO-CHINESE division or family (I), we have found a new section *a*) Mon-Taïc including—

1) *Pre-Chinese dialects* (Unm. and M.):
   - *a.* Pang or Pan-hu dial. ✣ . . . . 2 4 6 8 VI.
   - *b.* Yao-jen dial. ✣
   - *c.* Pan-yao dial. . . . . 2 4 6 8 VI.
   - *d.* Mo-yao dial. . . . . 2 4 6 8 VI.
   - *e.* Ling Kia Miao dial.

2) *Pre-Chinese dialects* (Hd. and H.):
   - *a.* Tung jen dial. 1 4 6 0
   - *b.* Ta-shui Miao-tze dial. . . . . ½ 4 6 0
   - *c.* Peh Miao dial. 2 3 6 0

d. Hua Miao dial. . . . . 2 ¾ 6 0
e. Yao-pu Miao dial. . . . . 2 ¾ 6 0
f. Leng-ky Miao dial. 0 0 6 0
g. Min Kia-tze dial. (M. Hd.) . . . 2 4 0 0
h. Liao dial. ✢ . . . . . ½ ¾ 6 0
i. Kih-lao dial. 1 4 6 0
j. Heh Miao dial. . . . . ½ ¾ 6 0
k. Yao Min dial. 1 4 6 0

"222. Of the MŌN-KHMER family, or section *b*), we have met with two of its languages, the

1) Cochin-chinese or Annamite (M.) . . 2 4 6 8 VI.
2) Palaong (M.) . . . . . 2 4 6 8 VI.

"223. Of the TAÏC-SHAN family, we have been enabled to recognize several members of great importance, inasmuch as they have shown to us in the most unmistakable manner its formation, rise and growth. The first section is composed of the *Pre-Chinese*, subdivided in three subsections of dialects:

A. Undeveloped:
a. ✢ Chief dial. of Ts'u.
b. ✢ Ngai-Lao dial.
c. ✢ Nan-tchao dial.

B. Unmixed and Mixed:
a. Tsing Miao dial. 2 4 6 0
b. Ngan Shun Miao dial. 2 4 6 0
c. Tchung Kia tze or Pu-y dial. . . 2 4 6 0
d. Tu-jen dial. . . . . 2 4 6 8 VI.
e. Pai-y dial. 2 4 6 0
f. Pah-peh-sih-fu 2 4 6 0

C. Hybridized and Hybrid:
a. Lien-Miao dial.
b. Li of Haïnan dial. 1 4 6 0
c. Loi of Haïnan dial.
d. Hotha Shan dial. 1 4 6 0
e. Khamti dial. . . . . 2 4 5 8 III.

"224. The traces of Negritos which were disclosed by us in the course of our investigation were not sufficient to form

any positive idea as to their language, and we do not know if they belonged to the Himalaïc Negrito-Andaman, to the Indonesian Negrito-Aetas, or to the Mōn-Khmer Negrito Kamucks divisions, though the first of these three is the less, and the third the most, probable.

"225. One of the most curious results is the finding of traces on the pre-Chinese soil of an Indonesian occupation which has left *in situ* no living languages representative of its former standing. These, however, in several *disjecta membra*, now hybridized, were driven out of the Chinese soil, West, South, and East. Therefore the Interoceanic division of the Indo-Pacific stock, INDONESIAN Section, pre-Chinese hybrid group, includes:—

a. ✝ Pre-Chinese Indonesian . . . 1 3 6 7 IV.?
b. Gyarung or Tchentui (E. Tibet) H. 1 3 5 8 III.
c. Toungthu (S. Burma) H. . . . 1 4 6 8 VI.?
d. Tayal (N. Formosa) H. . . . . 1 ¾ 6 7 V.

"226. The relative position of these various additions to our present knowledge of the INDO-PACIFIC STOCK OF LANGUAGES may be seen from the following general scheme of the whole stock in its two divisions:

I. INDO-CHINESE.

a.) MŌN-TAÏC.
1) Pre-Chinese dialects (Unm. and M.).
2) „ „ (Hd. and H.).

b.) MŌN-KHMER.
1) Cochin-Chinese or Annamite (M.).
2) Palaong (M.).
3) Talaing or Peguan.
4) Khasi (M.).
5) Khmer and its numerous group (M.).
6) Negrito Kamucks, etc.

c. TAÏC-SHAN.
1) Pre-Chinese (Und., Unm., M., Hd., H.).
2) Ahom group (M., Hd.).
3) Shan group (D.).
4) Laocian-Siamese (D.).

II. INTER-OCEANIC.

a.) INDONESIAN.
1) Pre-Chinese ✝.
2) Formosan (M., Hd.).
3) Tagalo-Malayan (D., E.).
4) Negrito-Aetas (M.).

b.) MICRONESIAN (M.).

c.) POLYNESIAN (E.).

d.) MELANESIAN (M., H.).

"227. The great Küenlunic family of the Turano-Scythian stock of languages was represented among the populations who occupied some parts of China before the Chinese by several groups of tribes speaking languages of the Tibeto-Burmese type, and of the Kareng group.

"228. The latter *Kareng* group is divided into a northern branch in ancient pre-Chinese country, and a southern branch including the present dialects spoken in Burma. It is the existence of the Northern and older branch which has been disclosed in the present work, as follows:—

KÜENLUNIC, 3) Kareng family, *a* Northern branch.

a) Pre-Chinese Kareng ✝ . . . (1 4 6 8 VI ?)
b) T'u Man dial. M. 1 4 6 0

"229. The 4) Tibeto-Burmese family was, and is still, represented by a large number of languages and dialects, thus, the

f.) Naga-Kakhyen group includes:—

b.) Western Naga group
1. Pre-Chinese Jung ✝.

c.) Eastern Naga subgroup.
1. Pre-Chinese Lu-tze, Hd. . . 2 4 5 8 III.
2. Melam, Hd. . . . . 2 4 5 8 III.
3. Pagny or Ghien.
4. Telu.
5. Remapan.

"The *j*) Laka-Lolo group, which is altogether newly recognized,[1] is composed as follows:—

a. Laka-Lolo (Szetchuen-Yunnan) E. . . 1 4 5 8 III.

[1] Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, i. § 76.

b. Y-kia (Yunnan) H. 0 0 6 0
c. Liso or Leisu (N.W. Yunnan) M. . . 1 4 5 8 III.
d. Moso { Moso-Nashi (N.W. Yunnan) M. 1 4 5 8 III.
Mu-tze (Muang-lim, N. Indo-China) 1 4 5 8 III.
Musur-Lahu (Shan country) . 1 4 5 8 III.
e. Kouy (Siemlap, N. Indo-China) M.
f. Ka-to, Nopi and Heh Po (S. Yunnan) M.
g. Honhi (S. Yunnan) M.
h. Ka-kho (Paleo, N. Indo-China) M.

"230. The *k*) Sifan group has also received several additions which we note in the following scheme with an asterisk:—

1. Pre-Chinese Kiang ✢.*
2. Meniak . . . . . 1 4 5 8 III.
3. Sung-pan Sifan.*
4. Outside Mantze.*
5. Lifan Mantze.*
6. Thotchu.
7. Horpa.
8. Takpa.

"This arrangement is provisional, as we know very little about these languages, and new information is much required.

"231. All these additions and the relative position of the groups to which they belong, are better understood when examining the following general scheme of the TURANO-SCYTHIAN STOCK OF LANGUAGES.

I. S.W. ASIATIC.
✢ Sumero-Akkadian, etc. + Hd.

II. URALIC.
1. Ugro-Finnish, D.
2. Samoyed, E.
3. Yamato-Corean, E.

III. ALTAÏC.
Turko-Tartaric, E.

IV. KÜENLUNIC.

1) Yenissei Kotte, E.
2) Chinese family, H.
   a. Ancient 十.
   b. Sinico-Annamite dialect.
   c. Canton dialects.
   d. Fokien. „
   e. Shanghaï „
   f. Mandarin „
3) Kareng family, H.
   a. Northern or Pre-Chinese branch.
   b. Southern or Burma branch.
4) Tibeto-Burmese family.
   a. Bhot group.
   b. Nepal. „
   c. Sikkim „
   d. Assam „
   e. Kachari-Koch group
   f. Naga-Kakhyen „
   g. Kuki „
   h. Arrakan-Chin „
   i. Burma „
   j. Laka-Lolo. „
   k. Sifan „

V. HIMALAÏC.

1) Dravidian, D.
2) Gangetic, M. E.
3) Kolarian, M. E.
4) Negrito-Andaman, &c., M. E.
5) Australian, R.

VI. KUSH-CAUCASIC.

1) N. Caucasian, M. E.
2) Alarodian, M. E.
3) Kushite, &c., M. E.

VII. EUSKARIAN, M. E. And other divisions.

XXVI. Other results as to Ideology and Phonetics.

"232. Most important results for the history of languages have come out from the contacts historical and variously intense, chiefly in Chinese regions, of languages belonging to the Turano-Scythian and to the Indo-Pacific stocks of languages. Both were opposed in ideology, as shown by their respective indices when undisturbed, *viz.* 1 3 5 8 III. for the former, and 2 4 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ IV. VI. for the latter. And an alteration or divergence from these standards in a language belonging to one or the other of these two stocks always occurs when the affected language has been engaged in this remarkable linguistic struggle. We know from history in so many cases that such was the fact, that we are authorized in other cases, concerning which historical testimony is lacking, to draw a similar conclusion. A strong negative evidence in favour of these views comes from the fact, most important here, that languages belonging to the two aforesaid stocks, which cannot have come into the social contact alluded to, and therefore have not been parties in the struggle, do not present the same phenomena of divergence and alteration. Their evolution has not been impressed in the same way.

"233. As the variations of ideology, temporary or permanent, have been indicated throughout the present memoir, among the aboriginal dialects, we need not go over the same ground again. As a complement, let us recall the altered ideologies of the Chinese 1 3 6 8 VI., of the Karengs 1 4 6 8 VI., and of the Tibeto-Burmans 1 4 5 8 III., instead of the original 1 3 5 8 III. in the Küenlunic family.

"234. We have seen, then, the undeniable existence, not only of languages mixed in their stock of words, but also of many others hybridized in their grammar, and of some new linguistic formations hybrid altogether in their vocabulary and grammar. I shall not insist here on the importance of the matter, as I have done so in another work on the comparative ideology of languages. It will be sufficient to call attention to this important fact, which finds exemplification all the world over.

"235. Another point which requires due consideration is that of pronunciation. The scientific achievements lately obtained in perfection of transcription by several English and German scholars go beyond human looseness. They have reached the high level of the respective idiosyncrasies of the speaker and of the transcriber, above the common average of speech. The activity of man's speaking organs, and also that of his ear-sense, have nowhere the mechanical and permanent precision which their principles and those of the new school of grammarians imply. Uncultured populations and uneducated men are not naturally bent in the material of their speech to the yoke of steady precision which is only the result of a training in educated social surroundings through several generations. Audition and articulation of language, except in the higher races, seldom arrive together at some sort of perfection in their effectiveness. For instance, we may quote the well-known fact that the acuity of the ear among the races paying peculiar attention to the colour and pitch of the vowels exists only at the expense of precision in the articulation.

"236. Tribes in a rude state of culture have a looseness and uncouthness of pronunciation and hearing, which escapes, in its group's fancies or individual distortions, from any unflinching law of regularity. The cases and causes of variance from analogy, relative easing, symbolical strengthening or weakening, scorn anything like a formulated law. The segmentation, dispersion, and migration of tribes grown from a homogeneous linguistic stock in that state of unculture, combined with the complication resulting from the frequent though often unknown superimposition of races and languages in a similar condition or otherwise, imply large divergences of pronunciation apparently inconsistent with their genuine derivation from common parents. And the efforts at reducing the whole of the divergences to regular and somewhat mechanical equivalence cannot lead otherwise than to numerous confusions and misapprehensions.

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"237. After the disturbance of ideologies, the most important result for all the languages engaged in the struggle,

a result produced at the same time by the intermingling of blood, concerns the phonesis. We have called attention to this fact again and again.[1] The difference of phonetic peculiarities between the two great stocks was on a par with the opposition of their ideologies. The Southerners, Mōns and Indonesian, were in possession of elliptic tendencies, and, above all, of a characteristic nicety of distinction in vowel sounds. The Northerners or Küenlunic, on the other hand, had just a reverse tendency to simplify the varieties of the vowel-sounds and to unify those of a word, a process leading straight to contraction and ellipsis. The first case is illustrated in the present day in the reports of European scholars on the extraordinary sharpness of the Khmers at catching the most delicate nuances of colour in the vocalic sounds.[2] The second is exemplified in the remarkable phenomenon of the vocalic harmonization which exists among many of the Uralo-Altaïc languages.[3] Such were the conditions of the contest. Neither of the two parties could adopt the preferences and characteristics of the other. These were reciprocally objectionable to their physiological possibilities and tendencies.

"238. A compromise became forcibly the natural outlet of the contending phonologies in the languages of the intermingled populations. Unable to find, in a difference of colour of the vowel, the compensation required by the natural equilibrium of language for the losses in the phonetic stuff of the words by contraction, ellipsis and otherwise, they have found, as a physical necessity, this compensation in a difference of pitch of the vocalic sound, which pitch is simple or compound according to the peculiar character of the loss

[1] For the first time in my *Early History of the Chinese Civilization* (London, May, 1880), p. 19. Vid. also my *Beginnings of Writing*, i. §§ 52-53.

[2] This is most difficult for European ears, and proves a serious obstacle to those who go there. Vid. G. Janneau, *Manuel pratique de la langue Cambodgienne* (Saïgon, 1870), p. v.

[3] It was disclosed for the first time by Dr. J. L. Otto Roehrig, at length, in his *Researches in Philosophical and Comparative Philology, chiefly with reference to the Languages of Central Asia*, in 1849, presented to the Institut de France. Cf. L. Dubeux, *Compte Rendu* (Paris, 1850), pp. 12-14. And previously in his *Eclaircissements sur quelques particularités des langues tartares et finnoises* (Paris, 1845), pp. 5-6. A complete exposition of the phenomenon has been given by M. Lucien Adam, *De l'harmonie des voyelles dans les langues Ouralo-Altaïques* (Paris 1874), pp. 31-76.

"235. Another point which requires due consideration is that of pronunciation. The scientific achievements lately obtained in perfection of transcription by several English and German scholars go beyond human looseness. They have reached the high level of the respective idiosyncrasies of the speaker and of the transcriber, above the common average of speech. The activity of man's speaking organs, and also that of his ear-sense, have nowhere the mechanical and permanent precision which their principles and those of the new school of grammarians imply. Uncultured populations and uneducated men are not naturally bent in the material of their speech to the yoke of steady precision which is only the result of a training in educated social surroundings through several generations. Audition and articulation of language, except in the higher races, seldom arrive together at some sort of perfection in their effectiveness. For instance, we may quote the well-known fact that the acuity of the ear among the races paying peculiar attention to the colour and pitch of the vowels exists only at the expense of precision in the articulation.

"236. Tribes in a rude state of culture have a looseness and uncouthness of pronunciation and hearing, which escapes, in its group's fancies or individual distortions, from any unflinching law of regularity. The cases and causes of variance from analogy, relative easing, symbolical strengthening or weakening, scorn anything like a formulated law. The segmentation, dispersion, and migration of tribes grown from a homogeneous linguistic stock in that state of unculture, combined with the complication resulting from the frequent though often unknown superimposition of races and languages in a similar condition or otherwise, imply large divergences of pronunciation apparently inconsistent with their genuine derivation from common parents. And the efforts at reducing the whole of the divergences to regular and somewhat mechanical equivalence cannot lead otherwise than to numerous confusions and misapprehensions.

"237. After the disturbance of ideologies, the most important result for all the languages engaged in the struggle,

a result produced at the same time by the intermingling of blood, concerns the phonesis. We have called attention to this fact again and again.[1] The difference of phonetic peculiarities between the two great stocks was on a par with the opposition of their ideologies. The Southerners, Mōns and Indonesian, were in possession of elliptic tendencies, and, above all, of a characteristic nicety of distinction in vowel sounds. The Northerners or Küenlunic, on the other hand, had just a reverse tendency to simplify the varieties of the vowel-sounds and to unify those of a word, a process leading straight to contraction and ellipsis. The first case is illustrated in the present day in the reports of European scholars on the extraordinary sharpness of the Khmers at catching the most delicate nuances of colour in the vocalic sounds.[2] The second is exemplified in the remarkable phenomenon of the vocalic harmonization which exists among many of the Uralo-Altaïc languages.[3] Such were the conditions of the contest. Neither of the two parties could adopt the preferences and characteristics of the other. These were reciprocally objectionable to their physiological possibilities and tendencies.

"238. A compromise became forcibly the natural outlet of the contending phonologies in the languages of the intermingled populations. Unable to find, in a difference of colour of the vowel, the compensation required by the natural equilibrium of language for the losses in the phonetic stuff of the words by contraction, ellipsis and otherwise, they have found, as a physical necessity, this compensation in a difference of pitch of the vocalic sound, which pitch is simple or compound according to the peculiar character of the loss

[1] For the first time in my *Early History of the Chinese Civilization* (London, May, 1880), p. 19. Vid. also my *Beginnings of Writing*, i. §§ 52-53.

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167. The Lu-tze of the Teks.
168. Their connection with the Kakhiengs, etc.
169. The Melam in S. E. Tibet.
170. Ideological Indices, hybridized.
171. The Lu-tze are Pre-Chinese, not aborigines.

XIX. The Si-fan Tibetans.

172. The Kiang, Jungs and Si-fan.
173. The Meniak.
174. The Sung pan Si-fan.
175. Their Tibetan affinities.
176. The outside Man-tze.
177. Their language is mixed.
178. The Si-fan Man-tze.
179. It is mixed.

Part VI. Aborigines and Intruders.

XX. Pre-Chinese Proper Names.

180. Researches in proper names.
181. Distribution of Pre-Chinese terms for 'river.'
182. Vagueness of names of aboriginal tribes.
183. Causes of their intricacy.
184. Their Chinese garb.
185. The older names are honourable.
186. The later ones are contemptuous.

XXI. Gradual retreat of the Pre-Chinese.

187. Aboriginal tribes and infiltrations of the Chinese.
188. Retreat, generally southwards, of the Pre-Chinese.
189. The standing of the Pre-Chinese made not apparent.
190. Aboriginal states and political agglomerations.
191. In the East.
192. In the South East.
193. In the centre and West.
194. In the South.
195. In the South West.
196. Their native civilization.

XXII. The Chinese Intruders.

197. The Chinese were intruders in their country.
198. Their imported civilization from S.W. Asia.
199. Remarks on the list of borrowings.
200. '*Bak*' their primitive name.
201. It was an ethnic from S.W. Asia.
202. Hia = *Kutche*, another primitive name.
203. The 'Peh Kia sing' shows their absorption of native tribes.
204. Early Chinese language and modern dialects.
205. General scheme of classification.
206. The smallness of the Chinese lasted long.
207. Their divisions and civil wars.
208. Building the Chinese greatness.

XXIII. Other Intruders.

209. Many tribes followed the steps of the Chinese Bak tribes.
210. The Shang, the Tchou, the Ts'in.
211. The Jews, Persians, Nestorians, Mahommedans, from the N. W.
212. In the west, in Pre-Chinese lands, from India.
213. Early entrance of Brahmanism and Buddhism.
214. In the east, early and late colonists.
215. Ancient Turko-Tatar dynasties in the north.
216. Later dynasties, from the K'itans to the Mandshus.
217. Their linguistic influence.

Part VII. Results and Conclusion.

XXIV. Their General and Historical Character.

218. They are important and complex.
219. For linguistic and history.

XXV. Additions to Classified Languages.

220. For the Indo-Pacific Languages.
221. Mōn-Taï.
222. Mōn-Khmer.
223. Taïc-shan.
224. Negrito.
225. Indonesian.
226. General scheme of the Indo-Pacific stock.
227. For the Küenlunic family.
228. The Kareng sub-family.
229. The Tibeto-Burmese Naga, Kakhyen, and Laka-Lolo.
230. The Tibeto-Burmese Si-fan group.
231. General scheme of the Turano-Scythian stock.

XXVI. Other Results as to Ideology, and Phonetics.

232. Existence of numerous mixed and hybrid languages.
233. Produced by intermingling of conflicting ideologies and vocabularies.
234. Several important instances.
235. Imperfection of pronunciation *versus* perfection of transcription.
236. Permanent causes of divergences.
237. Causes of the arising of tones in languages.
238. They are a natural phenomenon of compensation.
239. Their inequal repartition proves their formation.
240. Conclusion.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

§ 1, l. 8, *read* Kueitchou *instead* of Kueitchon.
4, l. 2, *read* 58 *instead* of 38.
13, l. 7, *read* sixteen *instead* of a dozen.
17, l. 9, *read* extortions *instead* of exertions.
19, l. 15, *read* Gyarungs *instead* of Gyalungs.
23, n. 1, l. 6, *after* divination *insert*: They were arranged for that purpose at the beginning of the Tchou dynasty, with the largely increased addition of words of fate.
ibid. l. 12, *read* impossibility *instead of* improbability.
28, n. 2, *read* N. Hunan *instead of* N. Honan.
31, l. 8, *read* Honan *instead* of Homan.
33, n. 2, *after* decayed forms *insert* Wu was a prefix.
38, l. 7, *read* dynasty, consists *instead of* dynasty. It consists.
41, n. 1, l. 9, *after* published) *insert* The *Ta-hioh* and the *Tchung-yung* are not included in the list of the thirteen classics because they form respectively the books xxxix. and xxviii. of the *Li-Ki*.
52, n. 5, *add* Among the Kacharis *Batho* is a name of the supreme deity.
93, n. 6, l. 3, *read* Truong *instead of* Tsuong.
105, l. 8, *read* Taï Shan *instead of* Mōn.
117, n. 1, l. 13, *read* many Shan affinities *instead of* many Chinese affinities.
130, l. 1, *after* Gyarung *insert* or Tchentui.
136, n. 3, l. 2, *read* of Rangoon *instead of* to Rangoon.
143, *add the following note*: I reproduce here the §§ 101, 102, and part of 103, of my *Formosa Notes*:—The Gyarung glossary exhibits numerous similarities with the Blue Miao and the T'u Man tribes now in Kueitchou, the Toungthus of Burma (in which case they extend to 25 °/₀), with the Tayal of Formosa and with the Tagala of the Philippines. This remarkable connection would some years ago have proved unintelligible, while in the present day we may look upon it almost as not unexpected. I have carefully compared the Tayal glossary with the lists of words available from the Aborigines or Non-Chinese tribes of the Middle Kingdom, and I have found with several of them the following proportion of similarities: *Tchung Miao*, 33 °/₀; *T'u Man*, 25 °/₀; *K'ih Lao*, 25 °/₀; *Loi of Hainan*, 25 °/₀; *Ngan Shun Miao*, 20 °/₀; *Blue Miao*, 20 °/₀; *Black Miao*, 15 °/₀; *White Miao*, 10 °/₀, etc. These figures, with the exception of those concerning the last two names, which belong to a more distant group, exhibit an undeniable connection and larger affinity than with the Malayan groups (which ran from 8 to 13 °/₀ only).
154, n. 1, *add* cf. below § 174, n. 1.
169, n. 2, *add* for Ghien pronounce Dj'ién.
193, n. 1, l. 3, *read* Hou Han *instead of* Hon Han.
ibid, n. 1, l. 8, *read* Shang yn *instead of* Shang-yu.
198, n. 1, l. 18, *read* 16, 17, 34, 39, 40, 45, 49, 57, *instead of* 1, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 50, 51.
200, n. 1, l. 2, *read* 丂 *instead of* 弓.
219, l. 18, *read* civilization of the Chinese *instead of* Chinese civilization.
230, l. 10, *add* M. Hd.
ibid, l. 11, *add* M. Hd.

XIV.—THE BRETON GLOSSES AT ORLEANS.

By Whitley Stokes, D.C.L., Hon. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and Correspondent of the Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions).

The following Old-Breton glosses were found in 1877, by the late Henry Bradshaw, of King's College, Cambridge, in a Latin manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century, written, chiefly, by one Iunobrus, preserved in the library at Orleans, and numbered 193. When I was leaving England for India, in 1880, he presented me with a copy in his own hand, not only of the glosses, but of the context of most of the Latin words glossed; and I seize this occasion to express my gratitude for a generosity as rare as it is precious. In 1881 I printed them privately in Calcutta, with a commentary, and in 1882 Mr. Bradshaw recollated his transcript with the MS., and I published the glosses and Latin context in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxvi. 423–497, with the additions and corrections which Mr. Bradshaw had made.

Since then, these glosses have been noticed by M. Loth in the *Revue Celtique*, v. 104, and republished by him in his *Vocabulaire Vieux-Bréton*, Paris, 1884, mixed up with the Old-Welsh and Old-Cornish glosses and with pseudo-Breton words like *arapred*, *deric*, *docondom*, *ercolim*, *incorit*, *latic* (the beginning of the Latin latic(lauiam cla)midem), *mined*, *pei*, *tinsot*, etc., and accompanied by a commentary which is largely annexed from mine; which contains some remarks both new and true; but which, from misplaced confidence in O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, and other causes, is often exceedingly erroneous.

Lastly, in August of this year (1886), I went to Orléans, collated all these editions with the original MS., and made the Latin context, which Mr. Bradshaw had taken chiefly from Wasserschleben's book,[1] agree with the Orléans codex.

The manuscript and its contents are best described in Mr. Bradshaw's own words :—

[1] *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, Giessen, 1874.

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230, l. 10, *add* M. Hd.
ibid, l. 11, *add* M. Hd.

IV.—[illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible]
he [illegible]
a Lat[illegible]
chiefly [illegible]
and [illegible]
in 18[illegible]
only of [illegible]
words [illegible]
gratitude [illegible]
I printed [illegible]
and in 18[illegible] a)
MS., and I [illegible] gl.
Zeitschrift, [illegible] tuta
which Mr. [illegible] tter,'
Since the[illegible] ficile)
the *Revue* [illegible]
Vocabulaire [illegible] much to
Old-Welsh [illegible] 13 glosses
words [illegible] view of the
(the begin[illegible] arian.
pei, tinso[illegible] e grammatical
largely [illegible] ge them in the
both new [illegible]
in O'Re[illegible] by internal *i* (Z.[2]
exceeding[illegible] *cerpit* 100, *meic* 169,
Lastly [illegible] rnal *i* (Z.[2] 284) are *desi*
collated [illegible] (Z.[2] 287) are *huisicou* 28,
the Lat[illegible] nd *neuidteruo, olguo*, 7, 119,
from W[illegible]

The [illegible] of each of which only the first letter is
[illegible], 29, 132*a*, 170, 199, 248.
[illegible]träge vii. 237.
[illegible]d, *nim*, Z.[2] 1065, should be read *rim*. See

"This manuscript, which may be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century, contains the following pieces in a very clumsy and illiterate handwriting:

I.—Liber ex lege Moysis; extracts from Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, to be used as canons still applicable to the Christian Church. Each extract is headed K (*Κάνων*, canon).

II.—A paragraph beginning 'Ex Adam in diluuium . .'

III.—A paragraph beginning 'Narcisus Hierosolimorum episcopus.'

IV.—Remissiones Peccatorum by Penuffius, from cap. 8 ['De diversis poenitentiae fructibus'] of No. 20 of the Collationes of Joannes Cassianus, which is headed 'De poenitentiae fine et satisfactionis indicio. Collatio xx. quae est Abbatis Pynuphii.'

V.—A paragraph beginning 'Ex Adam usque ad Ninum . . .'

VI.—Four extracts about divorce, from Hermas, St. Matthew, St. Paul, and the Law of Moses.

VII.—A piece containing in prose and verse the 'virtutes quas Dominus dominica die fecit.'

VIII.—An earlier scribe's subscription beginning 'Pro me frater oraueris' in four rhyming lines.

IX.—A discourse on the text 'Discite a me quia mitis sum.'

X.—Collectio Canonum Hibernensis; the A-text in 65 books. Wasserschleben gives 67 books, but his 9 and 10 properly form one book, and his 23 is only found in the St. Gallen manuscript.

XI.—Canons beginning 'Si quis homicidium . . . ,' here called 'Excerpta de libris romanis et francorum.'[1]

XII.—Canons beginning 'Marina animalia,' here and commonly headed 'Canones Adamnani.'[2]

"All these pieces occur in precisely the same order, only copied by a more intelligent scribe, in the *Book of Maeloc* in Paris MS. Lat. No. 3182, which may be attributed to the

[1] Printed in Wasserschleben's *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, Halle, 1851, pp. 124–136.

[2] Ibid. pp. 120–123. Also (with corrections) in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, etc., vol. ii. p. 111–114.

eleventh century. The Orleans manuscript is very clumsily written, and some of the words are very troublesome to read satisfactorily."

There are no glosses on the extracts numbered I., on the paragraphs numbered respectively II. and III., on the piece numbered VII., or on the scribe's subscription numbered VIII. But glosses (in which three handwritings are traceable) are found on all the other pieces.

The glosses are 322 in number,[1] but of these no less than 109 are only portions of the words intended by the glosser. Thus 37 consist of only the first two letters, 30 of only the first three, 24 of the first four, 11 of the first five, 1 of the first six, and 6 of the first seven. Similar abbreviations are found in the Old-Breton and Old-Cornish glosses already published by Zeuss.[2] Thus, Old-Breton *dadlt* (gl. curia) for *dadl-ti*, *doguomisur* (gl. geo), and *didanuud* (gl. elicio), respectively for *doguomisuram* and *didanuudam*, *guparth* (gl. remota) for *guparthol*, *torguisi* (gl. fido) for *torguisiol*, and *nim* (gl. seriem) for *nimer*.[3] So Old-Cornish *emmeni* (gl. babtuta 'buttermilk') for some derivative from *emmenin* 'butter,' *ara* (gl. aratrum) for *arater*, and *heuei* (gl. non difficile) for *heueith*.

These 109 abbreviations do not, of course, add much to our knowledge of Old-Breton, but the remaining 213 glosses are of great value, not only from the point of view of the lexicographer, but also from that of the grammarian.

It may be convenient to gather together the grammatical forms presented by our glosses, and arrange them in the order followed by the *Grammatica Celtica*:—

The Noun: The plural distinguished by internal *i* (Z.[2] 283–284) is exemplified by *meir* 79, *cerpit* 100, *meic* 169, *commin* 232. Plurals made by external *i* (Z.[2] 284) are *desi* 6, *cenemi* 130. Plurals made by *ou* (Z.[2] 287) are *huisicou* 28, *dalou* 90, *diprou* 110, *testou* 184, and *neuidteruo*, *olguo*, 7, 119,

[1] There are, besides, eight glosses, of each of which only the first letter is written. See infra at Nos. 6, 10, 13, 29, 132*a*, 170, 199, 248.

[2] See Prof. Rhys, in Kuhn's Beiträge vii. 237.

[3] Unless, as may be conjectured, *nim*, Z.[2] 1065, should be read *rim*. See infra No. 45.

for *neuidterou, olgou.* The adjective *ocer* makes its plural (*occrou* 274) in the same way. A plural in *iou* is *guiniou* 246. A plural in *-iau* for *-iou* is *roiau* 222. Plurals in *-ion* (Z.² 290) are the nouns *brientinion* 183, *orion* 193, *guorcerdorion* 211, *drosion* 230, the adjectives *anscantocion* 280, *bleocion* 281, and the unique form in *-iun, bliniun* 210. Plurals in *-ed* (Z.² 293): *lored* 132, and *comed* 136, if this be complete.

An interesting collective form (Z.² 294) is *loos* 218.

The numerals are represented by *un* in *un-blot*, 65, 66, and, perhaps, *on* 4.

Pronouns: abs. pers. pron. 1st pl. used enclitically, *docordomni:* abs. pers. pron. of 2nd sg. *ti*, used enclitically, *dino-ti*, 25. Suffixed pers. pron. of 2nd sg. (Z.² 380), *cent-et*, and perhaps the absolute possess. pron. of 3rd sg. masc. *e-rie.* Suffixed possessive pron. of 1st person sg. (Z.² 389) *i-m* 58; of 2nd person sg. perhaps *i-th* 32. Relative (Z.² 392) *a dorn* 203. Interrogative (Z.² 401) *pi co . . .* 140.

Verb (Z.² 506-606): Act. pres. indic. 3rd sg. without ending or inflection: *ampar* (gl. habet), *tal* (gl. soluit) 156, *insoblin* 164, *a dorn* (gl. triturantis) 203, *gro* (gl. crocitat) 243, *dotietue* (gl. desistit) 261, *doguolouit* (gl. redegit, leg. redigit). With dental ending: *fleriot* (gl. redolet) 231; *cospitiot* (gl. titubauerit) 171; deponent: *inruetir* 164. 1st pl. *docordomni* (gl. arcemus) 221; 2nd pl. *guotroit* (gl. demulgitis) 199; 3rd pl. *imguparton* (gl. se abdicant) 256.

Future: 2nd sg. *dinoe* (gl. discoperies) 13; 3rd sg. *ni inu* 14; 3rd pl. *decmint* 145.

Imperative, 2nd sg. *nac tu* 122, *guotric* (gl. difer) 242, *dino-ti*, 25.

Secondary present and future: *eli* (gl. redoleat) 89, *compri* (gl. comparauerit) 303, if this gloss be complete; *dogurbonneu* (gl. rogauerit) 52. The form *admosoi* (gl. qui inrogauerit maculam) 31, may be a conjunctive.

Perfect sg. 3, *arim-rat* 60.

Preterite: the *s*-preterite 3rd sg. is exemplified by *guoteguis* (gl. conpiscuit) 161, *tinsit* (gl. sparsit) 106b, and *toreusti*

(gl. atriuit) 275: the *t*-preterite 3rd sg. by the irregular verb *doit* 307.

Passive (Z.² 529–531): pres. indic. 3rd. sg. *testoner* 93, *dispriner* (gl. depretiatur) 248. Preterite 3rd sg. *strocat* (gl. tractus est) 115.

Participles (Z.² 532): pret. *inlenetic* (gl. interlitam) 67, *dieteguetic* (gl. distitutus) 186, *anfumetic* 219, *edeiunetic* 290, and perhaps *em-gruit* 309 and *toguat* 305; future: *inaatoe* (gl. ineundum) 133.

Infinitives or verbal nouns (Z.² 535–537) are: *bitat* 165, *scarat* (gl. diiudicari) 313, *dilucet* 36, *guenoc* 229, *arton* (gl. latrare) 198, *guomonim* (gl. pulliceri), *silim* (gl. tuitionem), *demguescim* (gl. conflictum) 38, 56, 285, *methlaom* (gl. confitari) 131, perhaps *guodces* 201.

Anomalous Verbs: *is* 'est' 153, *nit* 'non est' 133, perhaps *im* 'sumus' 182, *edo* 'erat' 69, *na-bu* 'non fuit' 219, the *t*-preterite (already cited), *doit* (gl. sustullerit) 307, and the participles *em-gruit* 309, and *in-aatoe* 133.

Adverbs (Z.² 615): *introc* 113, *inmor* 154.

Prepositions (Z.² 666–698): *di* 229, *a* 101, 109, 119, 123, 191, 238, 255, 318, *ar* 266, *in* 250, 263, 278, with loss of the nasal before s, *i*, 64, with change of *i* to *e*, *en*, 7: *dan* 195, *cant* (in *cent-et* 289), *bit* 'usque ad' 182, *hep* 167b.

Negative particles (Z.² 751, 752): *ni* 13, 14, 25, 148; *na* 50, 219, 221, 224.

Derivation (Z.² 817–852): of vowels, *goui* 47, *niguid* 50: of liquids, *air* 283, *rigl* 258, *dal* 90: in *-ol* ex *-âl*: *gutharol* 209, *bostol* 275: *eriolim* 76, *guomonim* 38, *silim* 56, *guescim* 285, *cenem* 130, *guedom* 301, *methlaom* 131, *limnn* 51, *lon* 8, *lien* 78, *eltroguen* 20, *milin* 260, *brientin* 183, *arton* 198, *neuidter* 7, *guirhter* 190, *cerdor* 212: of spirants, *bues* 278, *coguenou* 19: of tenues, *clut* 220, *blot* 66, *incoint* 72, *nith* 24, 94, *bitat* 165, *scarat* 313, *maciat* 308, *guiliat* 214, *guoliat* 215, *contulet* 178, *glanet* 255, *domot* 196, *gupartolaid* (*-aid* for *-aith*) 149, *haloc* 107, *bleoc* 213, 281, *guenoc* 229, *anscantoc* 280, *colioc* 247, *eleuc* 68, *iac* 59, *milintric* 179, *motrep* 23: of medials, *loed* 205.

Composition (Z.² 888–892): Noun with noun: *teg-rann*

250, *guel-cet* 234, *mun-cul* 138, and perhaps *bit-uer* 238 and *guelt-(t)oguat* 305. Adjective with verb: *trom-den(nas)* 75.

Compounds with particles (Z.² 893): Negative particles: *an-guo* . . . 173, *an-scantocion* 280, *en-bit* 172, *em-siu* 139, *em-guer* . . . 141, *di-lucet* 36, *di-liu* 57, *di-comit* 250, *dis-prener* 248. Intensive particles (Z.² 895): *guor-cerdorion* 212, *gur-limun*, 51, *gur-clut* 220. Inseparable particles (Z.² 897): *at-tal* 30, *ad-mosoi* 31, *athrecl* (=*at*+*trecl*) 266, *em-drit* 239, *em-gruit* 309, *im-co* . . . 217, *ar-cogued* 135, *ar-luth* 315, *er-guinit* 48, *er-iolim* 76, *er-dirh* 220, *er-cor* 259, *co-guenou* 19, *co-spitiot* 171, *co-gued* 126, *co-guelt* 284, *co-hudit(ioc)* 291, *com-min* 232, *com-nidder* 24, 227, *com-elia* . . . 228, *com-pri* 303, *do-cordom* 221, *di-lucet* 36, *di-noti* 13, 25, *guo-monim* 38, *guo-teguis* 161, *guo-troit* 199, *guo-tric* 242, *gu-for(n)* 10, *gu-partolaid* 149, *gur-prit* 95, *gur-stli(nnim)* 200, *gur-re* 273, *in-lenetic* 67, *in-aatoe* 133, *rac* . . . . . 144, 146.

Compounds with two or more inseparable particles (Z.² 906–908): *con-t-ulet* 178, *com-ar-guid(it)* 58, *dar-guid* 261, *dar-cen-neti(c)* 17, *dar-leber* 296, *di-et-eguetic* 186, *t-es-toner* 93, *du-ti-men* 44, *com-co* . . . . . 287, *ad-guo* . . . . . 151, *do-guo-louit* 80, *do-guor* . . . . . 37, *do-gur-bonneu* 52, *ar-im-rat* 60, *guo-d-ces* 201, *gu-d-co-guod*, 126, *im-gu-parton* 256, *do-ti-et-ue* 261, *th-im-dam-guas* . . . 181, *d-em-guescim* 285, *(di)-com(-b)it* 250.

The glosses now published also throw some light on Old and Middle Breton phonetics. The chief instances in which they do so are mentioned in the Breton index and more fully in the commentary.

The following list of the more important contractions used in this commentary may be useful:—

'BM.' Beunans Meriasek, London, 1872.

'Buh.' *Buhez Santez Nonn*, Paris, 1837.

'Cart. Red.' Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, Paris, 1863.

'Cath.' Le Catholicon de Iehan Lagadeuc, ed. Le Men, Lorient, 1867.

'Corm.' Cormac's Glossary. Text, London, 1862. Translation, Calcutta, 1868.

'Cr.' The Creation, a Cornish Mystery, Berlin, 1863.

'D.' *Passio Domini* in Norris' Cornish Drama, Oxford, 1859.
'Davies.' Antiquae Linguae Britannicae... Dictionarium, Londini, 1632.
'Fél.' Félire Oengusso, the Calendar of Oengus, Dublin, 1880.
'Horae.' Middle Breton Hours, Calcutta, 1876.
'Ir. Gl.' Irish Glosses, Dublin, 1860.
'Juv.' The Old Welsh glosses on Juvencus, Kuhn's Beiträge iv. 385.
'LB.' Lebar Brecc. Facsimile, Dublin, 1872, 1876.
'LL.' Book of Leinster. Facsimile, Dublin, 1880.
'LU.' Lebar na hUidre. Facsimile, Dublin, 1870.
'Lux.' The Old-Breton glosses at Luxemburg, printed as Old-Welsh in *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 1063–5.
'Mart. Cap.' The Old Welsh glosses on Martianus Capella, Kuhn's Beiträge vii. 385.
'MJ.' Le Grand Mystère de Jésus, ed. H. de la Villemarqué, Paris, 1865.
'O'Cl.' O'Clery's Glossary, Louvain, 1643.
'P.' *Pascon agan Arluth*, a Middle-Cornish poem, Berlin, 1862.
'PB.' Poèmes Bretons, ed. H. de la Villemarqué, Paris, 1879.
'R.' *Resurrectio Domini*, in Norris' Cornish Drama.
'Seintgr.' *Y Seint Greal*, ed. Robert Williams, London, 1876.
'Sg.' Le Chiose irlandesi del codice di San Gallo, ed. Ascoli, 1880.
'Skene.' The Four Ancient Books of Wales, Edinburgh, 1868.
'Z.²' Grammatica Celtica, ed. Ebel, Berlin, 1871.

I. *Liber ex lege Moysis.*

a. From Exodus.

1. *mi* (gl. sopula), MS. p. 2. The context is: "perforauitque aurem eius sopula" (Exod. xxi. 6). Here perforauit stands for perforabit, sopula for subula, and *mi* for *minauet*

=*menauet* Cath., now *ménaoued* or *minaoued* 'an awl,' W. *mynawyd*, Corn. *benewes* (Lhuyd), Ir. *menad*.

2. *guo* (gl. industria), p. 2. The context is: "Si quis de industria occiderit" (Exod. xxi. 14, where the Vulgate reads 'per industriam'). We have here the first syllable of some word compounded with the prep. *guo*, Ir. *fo*, Gaul *vo*,[1] and cognate, perhaps, with the Mid. W. *goual* Z.[2] 845, now *gofal* 'cura,' 'sollicitudo' (Davies), from *guo* and *mal*= Corn. *mal* 'will,' 'desire,' Mid. Br. *mall* 'impatience': *cleuet troz heuz ma mall ham leff*, PB. 42; *mall creff ho deveux*, 272. With *mal*, *go-fal* Prof. Bugge compares *μέλλω*, *μελέτη*, Curtius, G. E. No. 466.

3. *ar* (gl. expetiaerit).

4. *on* (gl. arbitri), p. 2. The context (Exod. xxi. 22) is: "Subiacebit damno quantum expetierit maritus mulieris et arbitri iudicauerint." *Ar* may be the beginning of a verb cognate with O. W. *di-erchim* 'ad poscendum,' W. *erchi* 'to ask,' *arch* 'petitio,' Corn. *arghaf* 'mando,' O. Ir. *arco*, all of which have, according to Windisch (Kuhn's Beitr. viii. 1), lost initial *p* and are cognate with Skr. *praçna*, Lat. *preces*, Goth. *fraihna*. But perhaps it is the first syllable of a verb compounded with the prep. *ar*: cf. No. 312.

on is probably the first syllable of some word like **onmanerion*=the modern *unvanerien* 'arbitres,' 'conciliateurs,' from *unvan* (*unvan ha leal*, PB. 148; *unvanou*, PB. 275), where *un* (=W. *un*, Ir. *oen*) is the unaugmented form of the numeral found in composition (*un-liu* 'unicolor,' *ung-calon* 'unicorn') Z.[2] 315. The change of *u* to *o* is found in *in on-vret* (gl. idem) Berne 53 (ms. *ni onuret*),=a Welsh *yn un-fryd* (Rhŷs), and in the augmented form of this numeral in Cornish *onon*, *onan*, Z.[2] 315, *onen*, BM. 3935.

5. *cis* (gl. adustionem), p. 3. The context (Exod. xxi. 25) is: "pedem pro pede, adustionem pro adussione, uulnus pro uulnere." This seems to be the equivalent of, or cognate with, the Mid. Br. *quis*[2] (now *kiz*), 'recul,' 'retour,'

[1] In *Vo-bergensis*, Glück, Keltische Namen, 89.

[2] *Oar quis* 'retro,' Cath.; *oar he quis* 'sur son recul,' PB. 255; *voar ma quis*, Buh. 12, 52.

'arrière'; *kisa* 'reculer,' 'retourner,' and to mean here 'retaliation,' 'returning of like for like.' M. Loth prefers to compare the Welsh *cîs* ictus, verber, plaga, alapa, Davies.

6. *desi* (gl. acervos), p. 4. The context (Exod. xxii. 6) is: "Si egresus ignis . . . conprehenderit aceruos frugum." *Desi* is the pl. of *das*=O.W. *das* (*o das* gl. acervo, Juvencus, p. 45), Mod. W. *dâs* 'acervus, proprie ut vulgò sumitur segetis, foeni, vel similium,' Davies; Ir. *dais* f. gen. dire do *daise* arba, 1 Senchas Mór, 166, .i. it cruaich arba, ibid. 170. The A.S. *tass* seems cognate, and from this, or some similar Teutonic form, comes the French *tas*.[1] The umlaut in desi of the *a* of *das* is noteworthy. So infra, in brientin, centet, ceple, cerpit, dar-leber . ., di-eteguetic, er, guescim and res. . .

Over "dotauit" (Vulg. dotabit) in the phrase "dotauit eam" (Exod. xxii. 16) p. 4, is written *c*, which is, perhaps, the initial of some verb cognate with the modern Welsh *cynnysgaethu* (*cynnysgaeddu*, Davies) 'to endow.'

7. *enneuidteruo* (gl. nouorum), p. 6. The context is: "sicut precipi tibi in tempore mesis[2] (Vulg. mensis) nouorum quando egresus és de egipto" (Exod. xxiii. 15). Here *en* for *in* is the preposition, elsewhere in these glosses *in* or *i*; and *neuidteruo* is for *neuidterou*, the pl. of *neuidter*=W. *newydd-der* 'newness,' 'novelty.' Here *neuid*, later *neuez*, is=Corn. *newyth*, Ir. *núe*, Gaul. *novjo*, *nevjo*, Skr. *navya*, the *j* becoming *dj*, and then *d*, as in many British words. For the umlaut in neuid of the *o* of **noguid*, cf. Erneb, infra No. 286= *Arnobius*. For the writing *uo* for *ou* compare *olguo* infra No. 119, *dadluo* (gl. antropas) MS. Hatton, 42, and O.W. *crummanhuo* (gl. scropibus) Juv. 77.

8. *lon* (gl. adeps), p. 6. The context is: "nec remanebit adeps sollempnitatis meæ usque in mane" (Exod. xxiii. 18). This is the Breton equivalent of the O. Ir. *lóon*, *loon* (gl. adeps) Sg. 70a, 125a, whence *lónaichti* (gl. adipati, crassi)

[1] It is sad to see Littré here quoting the non-existent Gaelic *tas* and the Breton verb *dastumi* 'amasser,' where *das*, for *daz*, is a compound prefix from *do-at*, Ir. *doaith*, Z.[2] 906, 907.

[2] Over 'mesis' is written '*g*.' Mr. Bradshaw plausibly conjectured that this means 'genitive case.'

Ml. 20a. I conjecture that initial *p* may have been lost and that *πλοῦτος* may be cognate.

b. From Leviticus.

9. *diblo* (gl. infitias), p. 7. Context: "Anima quae . . . rem perditam inuenerit et infitias [Vulg. infitians] insuper iurauerit [Vulg. pejeraverit]" (Lev. vi. 3). *Diblo* seems the pl., or the beginning of the pl., of some word meaning duplicity *(fallacia)*. M. Loth renders it by 'le double, doublement,' which makes no sense. But he may be right in referring *diblo* to Lat. *duplum*, as *nimer* from *numerus*.

10. *gufor* (gl. clibani), p. 7, in marg. r. Context: "siue clibani siue scitropes [chytropodes 'pots with feet,' Vulg.] destruentur" (Lev. xi. 35). This seems to be the first five letters of **guforniou*, where *gu* is the common prefix *guo* (Ir. *fo*, *ὑπό*), here implying diminution,[1] and *forniou* is the pl. of *forn* (Corn., *forn* gl. fornax vel clibanus), W. *ffwrn*, Ir. *sorn*, a loan from the Lat. *furnus*. The meaning would then be 'small ovens,' and it will be remembered that the clibanus was portable and smaller than the furnus.

Over 'scitropes' is written *t*, the initial of **trepediou* pl. of **treped*, now *trebez* 'trépied, 'ustensile de cuisine qui a trois pieds,' Corn. *tribet* (gl. andena), W. *trybedd*, all borrowed from Lat. *tripes*.

11. .i. *eidguin* (gl. aucupio), p. 8. Context: "Si uenatione aut aucupio cæperis feram aut auem" (Lev. xvii. 3). The gloss seems to stand for *eidn-guinot*, where *eidn* from *ethin* is= *ezn* 'oyseau' Cath., Corn. *ethen*, O.Br. *etn* (in *etn-coilhaam* gl. auguro, Z.[2] 1053), O.W., pl. *œtinet*, Ir. *én* (all cognate with *πέτομαι*, pattrin, penna, fĕdara), and *guinot* is a loan from the Latin *venātus*. So in Old Br. *guinod-roitou* (gl. plagae) Berne 56.

12. *co* (gl. indegenis), p. 8. The context is: "tam de

[1] Compare the W. *go-afael* 'a slight hold,' *go-air* 'a half-word,' *go-bant* 'a little dingle,' *go-fram* 'a feist,' *go-drem* 'a glance.' So in Irish: *fo-dhāla* .i. mionchuiseanna O'Cl., *fo-dhord* 'murmur,' ib. *fo-chas* 'slightly curling,' O'Don. Gr. 277, *fo-dhaoine* 'peasantry,' 4 MM. A.D. 1152, *fo-chrodh* 'small cattle,' ibid. A.D. 1336, *fo-bard* 'bardling,' *fo-ghéag* 'branchlet,' O'Don. note to 4 MM. A.D. 1336. An Old-Irish instance is *fo-chenele* (subgenus), species, Wb.

aduenis quam de indegenis lauabit uestimenta sua" (Lev. xvii. 15). Here we have the first syllable of the pl. *coguenou*, infra No. 19.

13. *nidinoe* (gl. non discoperies), p. 8. Context: "turpitudinem matris tuæ non disco[o]peries" (Lev. xviii. 7). This gloss must be compared with one lower down, *ni dino-ti* (gl. non discoperies) No. 25. It stands for *ni dino(g)e*, where *ni* is the negative particle, later *ne* (Z.² 751), and *dinoge* is the 2nd sg. pres. (fut.) of a verb cognate with W. *dinoethi* 'to make bare' (Seintgr., p. 400), Ir. *dinochtaim*, Lat. *denudo* (from **de-nugdo*), cognate with Goth. *nagvaths*, Engl. *naked*. M. Loth thinks that *dinoe* is a 2nd sg. of a fut. act., while *di-no-ti* is 2nd sg. imper. with suffixed pron.

Over 'feditatem' in the passage "nec reuelabis feditatem eius" (Lev. xviii. 19), p. 9, is written *b*, which probably stands for **breinter*=Mid. Br. *breinder* 'putredo' Cath. cognate with W. *braen* 'rotten,' Ir. *brén* (gl. foetidus). And over 'coitu' in the phrase "coitu femineo" (Lev. xviii. 22) is written *c*. The same letter is over 'coire' in the phrase "Jumenta non facies coire cum alterius generis animantibus" (Lev. xix. 19).

14. *ni inu* (gl. non demoretur), p. 9. Context: "Non demoretur merces [Vulg. 'morabitur opus'] mercennarii (*sic*) apud te usque in mane" (Lev. xix. 13). As to *ni* see No. 13 supra. The only word possibly cognate with *inu* is Ir. *anaim*, but, as M. Loth says, the *i* of *inu* renders the rapprochement very doubtful.

15. *frec* (gl. uabulabuntur), p. 10. Context: "Nec libertate donata uabulabuntur [Vulg. 'vapulabunt'] ambo" (Lev. xix. 20). *Frec* must be the first syllable of some verb borrowed from Lat. *frico*.

16. *res* (gl. radatis), p. 10. Context: "Nec radatis [Vulg. radetis] barbam" (Lev. xix. 27). This seems the first syllable of the 2nd pl. fut. (**resit ?*) of the verb **rasam*= Mid. Br. *razaff* 'raire,' 'radere,' Cath.

17. *darcenneti* •: *rā* (gl. ariolis), p. 10. Context: "Nec ab ariolis aliquid sciscitamini" (Lev. xix. 31). Here we seem to have the Breton cognate of the Irish *do-aur-chanim* (gl.

sagio), *tairchital* 'prophetia' Z.² 880, *tarchetlid* 'soothsayer.' For *dar* is=*do*+*ar*, Z.² 906, and in the rest of the word, which I would read *darcennéticion*, with the accent on the second *e*,[1] we certainly find the root *can*. The second *n* may be due to the accent. The modern *diougân* (=*do-guo-can*) and the W. *dar-o-gan* (*do-ar-guo-can*) are formed from the same root. The *rā*, i.e. *ran* (part), seems, as M. Loth says, to gloss aliquid. It is=Ir. *rann* from **radnā*.

18. *loit* (gl. cano), p. 10. Context: "Coram cano capite consurge" (Lev. xix. 32). This is the Mid. Br. *loet*, Cath., Corn. *luit*, *loys*, W. *llwyd*, Ir. *liath*, an Old Celtic **lēta*, which Rhŷs would connect with Skr. *palita*.

19. *coguenou* (gl. indegena), p. 10. Context: "sed sit inter uos quasi indegena" (Lev. xix. 34). This is a compound of *co* and *guenou*, a deriv. in *av* (Z.² 833–834) of the Breton cognate of Ir. *fine*, *fin*, *fin-gal* 'parricidium,' which again is cognate with A.S. *wine* 'friend,' O.Sax. *wini*, O.N. *vinr*.

20. .i. *eltroguen* (gl. nouerca), p. 10. Context: "et qui dormierit cum nouerca sua" (Lev. xx. 11), Corn. *altruan*, W. *elldrewyn*. In Middle Breton this word seems to have become *itronn* or *itron* 'lady,' the fem. of *autrou* 'lord'=Corn. *altrou* (gl. victricus), W. *alltraw* 'god-father,' root *al*, whence also Ir. *alim*, *altram* and *d-alte*.

Over 'nuro,' in the passage "si quis dormierit cum nuro suo" (Lev. xx. 12), p. 11, is written *g*, the initial of *guhid*, Mid. Br. *gouhez*, Corn. *guhit*, W. *gwaudd*.

21. *col* (gl. nefariam rem, Lev. xx. 17), p. 11. This is the W. *cwl* 'culpa,' 'peccantum,' Ir. *col*, gen. *in chuil* (gl. piaculi) Ml., cited by Muratori, Antt. Ital. iii., col. 871. In the Collatio Canonum, Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 12021 we have 'piacula .i. abscenia [leg. obscoena] .i. *caul*. It may be cognate with Lat. *culpa*, or, if initial *s* has been lost, with Teut. √*skal*, whence *schuld*.

22. *aimseudeticad* (gl. reuelauerint), p. 11. The context is: "eo quod turpitudinem suam mutuo reuelauerint" (Lev. xx.

[1] cf. O.W. *elles-h-eticion*, Mart. Cap. 8aa, where the *h* seems due to the accent on the following syllable.

17). I conjecture that this difficult gloss (which is clear in the MS.) is intended for mutuo reuelauerint, and that it should be analysed thus: *a-im-seudeticad*, that the initial *a* is a new form of the possessive pron. of the 3rd pl., that the *im* here, as in *im-guparthon* 256, is from *ambi*, the preposition signifying reciprocal or mutual action (Z.² 898); and that *seudeticad* is a scribal error for *seudeticaid*, and this for **seitheticaith*, a derivative (like W. *gweledigaeth* 'vision') of a verb cognate with Lat. *specto*. For *eu*=*ei* see *eules* 88. For *d*=*th* see *eidguin* 11, *gupartolaid* 149; for *ad* written for *aith* see *guad(am)* 206. The meaning of *aimseudetica*[*i*]*d* would thus be 'their mutual inspection.'

Another conjecture is that the initial *a* is the common verbal prefix, and that *imseudeticad* (for *imseitheticat*) is the pret. pass. of a verb **imseitheticam*. The meaning would then be, 'they were mutually inspected.' M. Loth also thinks that *-ad* may be for *-at*; but he renders *am-seudeticad* "se viser, se frapper réciproquement," supposing an infinitive in *-eticat* and a *seudio*, *seuthio*=*saithio* from *saith*=sagitta. This seems very doubtful.

23. *motrep* (gl. matertere), p. 11.

24. *comnidder* uel *nit* (gl. amite), p. 11.

25. *nidinoti* (gl. non discoperies), p. 11.

The context is: "Turpitudinem matertere et amite tuæ non discoperies" (Lev. xx. 19). Here *motrep*=*mozreb* Cath., now *moéreb*, Corn. *modereb*, pl. *modreped*, W. *modryb*, is a derivative from the lost British representative of the Irish *máthir*, Lat. *māter*. Long *o* for *ā* is found here, as in Nos. 154, 222, 236, 274, and 311 infra.

comnidder is=W. *cyfnither* f. 'cousin-german' from **comnepter*: cf. *ἀνεψιός*, naptar. The same word occurs infra No. 227, where it glosses consubrinis. The digraph *dd*=W. *th* is remarkable: *dd* for infected *d* occurs in the *meddou* of the Cornish vocabulary and see Z.² 139. In like manner *bb* seems to stand for *v* in *Kobbrantgen*, Z.² 137, and *cc* for *ch* in the Welsh laws and the Gaelic of the Book of Deir. On the Ogham inscriptions *cc*, *tt* and *dd* are the regular representatives of *ch*, *th*, and *dh* respectively. So in Latin loans

from Greek we have *acceruns*=*Ἀχέρων*, *littera* for **διθερα*, *διφθέρα*, *struppus* from *στρόφος*. (Havet.)

nit is=*nith* (gl. nepte) infra No. 94, later *nyz*, Corn. *noit*, W. *nith*, Ir. *necht*, Lat. *neptis*, and other words cited by Curtius, G. E. No. 342.

ni dinoti v. supra No. 13. Here, as M. Loth points out, we have an imperative (*di-no*) followed by the pronoun (*ti*) of the 2nd person sg.

26. *darguid* (gl. pithonicus), p. 11. Context: "Vir siue mulier in quibus pithonicus" (Lev. xx. 27). If we compare this gloss with *darleber* (gl. pithonicus) infra No. 296, we see that *dar* here stands for *tu-ar-*, and *darguid* is cognate with the W. *der-wydd*, pl. *derwyddon*, druides, sapientes, vates, Davies, a derivative of the root VID.

27. *cre* (gl. sicatricem, leg. si cicatricem), p. 11.

28. *huisicou* (gl. papulas), p. 11.

29. *inpit tar* (gl. inpetiginem), p. 11. The context is: "Si fractum si [ci]catricem habens, si papulas aut scapiem uel inpetiginem, non offeretis ea domino" (Lev. xxii. 22).

In *cre* we have the first three letters of *creith*, pl. *creithi* (gl. ulcera), Lux., later with the singulative *-enn*, *crezenn* (Cath.), now *kleizen*, W. *creithen*, Ir. *crecht*.

huisicou is the pl. of *huisicenn*, later *huysiguenn* 'ampulla,' 'pustula,' Cath., now *c'houézigen*, W. *chwysigen*, also *gwysigen* = Corn. *gusigan*, borrowed, according to Prof. Rhŷs, from Lat. *uesica*. Other instances of *hu* from *v* may be *hoari* 'jouer' = W. *chwarae* (also *gwarae*), *huerzin* 'rire' Cath. = *chwerthin* (also *gwerthin*), *hoanenn* 'puce' = W. *chwannen*, NHG. *wanze*, and *hueurer* 'feburier' = W. *chwefror* 'February,' from a low Latin **Vebrārius* (Rhŷs, Arch. Cambrensis, v. 55). The Mid. Br. *hoalat* 'carpere' (cf. Lat. *vellere*) and the W. *chwa* 'aura' (root VA, Fick,[3] i. 759) may also be instances of this change.

inpit must be a loan from *inpetigo*, and *tar* (if not = *tar* 'venter,' infra No. 91) probably stands for the adj. **tardol* = W. *tarddawl* 'issuing,' 'springing,' cf. *tarddwreinyn* (gl. impetigo), Davies. The Mod. Br. cognate is *tarza*.

Over 'scapiem,' *i.e.* scabiem, is written *t*, which stands for

**truscenn*, now *trousken*, 'croûte qui se forme sur une plaie, écaille légère qui survient sur le peau,' Ir. *trusci* (gl. scabiem), Parker, 134.

30. *attal* (gl. uicarium), p. 12. Context: "Qui percuserit animal reddet uicarium" (Lev. xxiv. 18). This seems the Welsh *atdâl* 'repayment,' and is compounded of the particle *at-*, later *as-*, Corn. *as-*, W. *at-*, Ir. *aith-* (Z.² 900) = Gr. ἔτι, Skr. *ati*, and *tal*, probably cognate with Br. *talvout*, valoir, payer, infra 156, Ir. *taile* (gl. salarium), and Gr. τέλος 'tax,' 'duty.' Prof. Bugge reminds me of O. Welsh *atail* (gl. vicem referre).

31. *admosoi* (gl. inrogauerit maculam), p. 12. The context is: "Qui inrogauerit maculam cuilibet ciuium suorum" (Lev. xxiv. 19). We have here a verb in the third sg. conj., compounded with the preposition *ad*. The root is obscure. M. Loth compares W. *mûs* (foetidus), Ir. *mosach* (spurcus), Gr. μύσος. For the termination compare the following Old Welsh forms cited by Evander Evans: *creddoe* 'credat,' *guledichuy* 'dominetur,' *cothvy* 'lædat,' *digonwy* 'faciat,' *carwy* 'amet,' *rodwy* 'det,' *syllwy* 'videat,' *catwy* 'servet.'

32. *ipn* (gl. ualere), p. 13. The context is: "Si statim ab uno incipiente [Vulg. anno incipientis] iubelei [uoverit] agrum, quanto[1] ualere potest redimere, tanto æstimabitur" (Lev. xxxvii. 17). This gloss is obscure. Possibly here, as in Nos. 96, 131, 266, 315 infra, the *p* is miswritten for *þ*, the A.S. sign for *th* (cf. *gurpait* gl. fusam, Lux., leg. *gurþait, gurthait* gl. fusum) and the *n* (if not for **nimeram*, later *niveraff, nivera* 'nombrer') should be read *u*, i.e. *v*, the vocalic infection of *b* (*barn, bri?*) or *m* (*mennos?*). The gloss would thus mean "in thy estimation,"[2] and *ith*, later *ez*, is the possessive pron. of the second sg. suffixed to the prep. *in*, Z.² 389.

33. *pus* (gl. punderabitur), p. 13.

34. *arga* (gl. obelos), p. 13.

[1] Manuscript qnđo.

[2] Cf. the Authorized Version (Lev. xxvii. 17): "If he sanctify his field from the year of jubilee, according to thy estimation it shall stand."

35. *am par* (gl. habet), p. 13.

The context is: "Omnis æstimatio siclo [1] sanctuari punderabitur siclus [2] .xx. obelos habet" (Lev. xxvii. 25). Here *pus* (for *puis*) is the first syllable of the 3rd sg. fut. pass. of the Old Bret. verb equivalent to Mid. Br. *poesaff* 'peser,' Cath., now *poéza, pouéza*, W. *pwyso*, loans from Lat. *pensare*. So Ir. *piss* Corm. from *pensum*, as *cis* from *census*. The Corn. *poys*, Ir. *pés* (in *pés-bolg*) are also from *pensum*.

arga stands for *argant* 'argenti,' Cath., Corn. *argans*, W. *ariant, arian*, Ir. *argat*, Gaulish *Arcanto-dan(os)* ἀργυροκόπος *Argento*-ratum, Z.[2] 845.

In *ampar* we have, perhaps, a loan from the Provençal *amparar, emparar* 'saisir,' 'prendre' (Fr. *s'emparer*), Burguy III. 282. M. Loth says: "Le sens seul du passage proteste contre une pareille interpretation," but gives nothing better.

c. From Deuteronomy.

36. *dilucet* (gl. anathema), p. 14. Context: "ne fias anathema" (Deut. vii. 26). This may be the infinitive or verbal noun of some verb compounded with the privative particle *di-* Z. 894, and meaning 'to deprive of light' (W. *llug* 'lux,' 'lumen'), 'to excommunicate.' Compare the Ir. gloss *coindel-b(á)thadh*, lit. 'candle-extinguishing' (gl. anathema), Ir. Gl. No. 845, the phrases *sith báitte coindel* 4 MM. A.D. 1225, *iar ndénamh easccaoine 7 bathadh coindell* ibid. A.D. 1233, and the ceremony of excommunication described in a MS., about 1190, published by Martene.[3] The root is *LUK*, Curtius G. E. No. 88.

37. .i. *doguor* (gl. concupuerit, Vulg. connubuerit, Deut. xxii. 28), p. 15, the first two syllables of some verb (**doguor-uedam ?*) compounded with the prepositions *do* and *guor* (so *do-gur-bonneu*, infra No. 52) cognate with the modern *gourvez*;

[1] Manuscript *siglo*.
[2] Manuscript *siglos*.
[3] Twelve priests stand round the bishop with lamps or torches in their hands, and after the conclusion of the sentence they cast them on the ground and stamp out the light beneath their feet.—Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 641.

gourveza 'se coucher,' Corn. *growethe*, W. *gor-wedd* 'to lie,' 'to recline.' Loth omits.

38. *guomonim* (gl. pulliceri, Vulg. polliceri), p. 15. The context is: "Si nolueris [altered into non abueris] pulliceri absque peccato eris" (Deut. xxiii. 22). This is an infinitive, compounded with the prep. *guo*, Z.[2] 904, and cognate with the W. *gofun* 'to vow,' and, as Prof. Bugge thinks, *mun* 'hand,' the Ir. *moit* (oath) Corm., from **monti*. The gloss *guomone* (gl. territorio) infra No. 249 may be connected, if, as Bugge conjectures, it originally meant *ὑποχείριον*. For the termination in *-im*, cf. Old Bret. *diprim* (gl. essum) Lux., *hepcorim* Berne, 44, *silim* and *demguescim* infra Nos. 56, 285.

39. *din* (gl. conflatilem, Vulgate conflatile), p. 15.

40. *er* (gl. domini), p. 15.

The context is: "Maledictus homo qui facit sculptile et conflatilem abominationem domini" (Deut. xxvii. 15).

Here *din* is the first three letters of *dinouet* 'fusus' Cath., W. *dinéu* 'effundere' (Davies), Gr. *σνυ*.

er may possibly be a loan from the Latin *herus*, better *erus*.[1] But more probably it stands, as Prof. Bugge thinks, for **erluid* = *arluth*, W. *arlwydd, arglwydd*. Compare *ir* . . . infra No. 46.

IV. *Remissiones Peccatorum.*

41. *alo* (gl. admisorum), p. 17. The context is: "admisorum scelerum remissio obtinetur." "See," says Mr. Bradshaw, "Joann. Cassiani collationes ed. Lugd. 1606, 8vo. p. 549. The passage is said to be from Isaiah xliii., according to the Septuagint." Here *alo* may stand for the pl. of the past participle (*aloisetic ?*) of a verb = W. *allwys* 'effundere' (Davies). M. Loth compares a non-existent W. *alu* 'produire, commettre.'

42. *moid* (gl. finicum), p. 17. The context is: "Etsi fueri[n]t peccata uestra ut finicum ut nix dealbabuntur." Here for 'finicum' (*i.e.* phœniceum 'purple-red') the printed

[1] Brugmann in Kuhn's Zeitschrift xxiii. 95. It stands for **esus* (the fem. *esa* = *era* actually occurs).

copies have 'coccinum,' as in Isaiah i. Prof. Bugge conjectures that the ignorant glosser took 'finicum' to be a derivative of *fenum, foenum*, and that *moid* is the beginning of a word which (like Old Fr. *moie*, Span. *meda* 'haufe garben,' Lomb. *meda* 'haufe heu,' Ital. *meta* 'misthaufe') comes from the Lat. *mēta* (cf. fenum in metas extruere, Col. 2, 19). This conjecture is confirmed by the gloss 'fenicium: acerbum (i.e. acervum) feni *hrec*, in a Werden MS. of the tenth century (Germania xiii. 480). Other Old-Breton examples of *oi* from *ē* are *Ploi-lan, Hael-moini, Hoiar-scoit*, Z.² 97, and see No. 18 supra. For *d* from Latin *t*, cf. *soudan, rad*, infra Nos. 64, 177.

43. *ma* (gl. labis), p. 18.

44. *dutimen* (gl. exquoquitur), p. 18.

The context is: "Nonnunquam misericordiæ et fidei merito labis exquoquitur [leg. labes excoquitur] uitiorum." Here *ma* are the first two letters either of **macl* = Lat. *macula*, W. *magl*, or of **mann* = W. *mann* 'a spot' (pl. *manneu*, Seintgr. 269), cognate with, or a loan from the Latin *mendum*.

dutimen (for **dutimener*?) seems, as Mr. Bradshaw suggests, connected with the *dodimenu* (gl. decre[s]cit) of the Luxemburg glosses. The *t* may stand for an infected *d*, and the Latin *diminuo* (whence *diminuaff*, Cath.) is either cognate with, or the source of, both the verbs just quoted. The modern Welsh *difanw* 'despicable,' 'dwindling,' may, as Prof. Rhŷs says,[1] be connected.

V. *The Paragraph 'ex Adam usque ad Ninum.'*

45. *ri* (gl. summa), p. 19. The context is: "Summa autem ab Adam usque in Stilliconem anni .v. milia. cc. ccc. lxxx. ii." Here *ri* stands for **rim* = W. *rhif* 'numerus,' O.-Ir. *do-rimu* 'enumero,' from a root-form *rā* = *ār* in O.-Ir. *áram*, Curtius G. E. No. 488. For long *i* from *á*, cf. *blin* No. 210 infra = Skr. *glāna* (Bugge), *ri* = Skr. *rājā* and see No. 165 infra.

[1] *Revue Celtique* i. 161. M. Loth connects W. *dy-ddyfnu* to absorb, to abstract (Pughe), and *dyfnu* to suck.

VI. *The Four Extracts about Divorce. From Hermas.*

46. *ir* (gl. quatinus), p. 20. The context is: "Interrogaui deinde eum et dixi ei Domine quatinus pro patientia tua mihi indulgere cepisti." Mr. Bradshaw referred to Hermae Pastor (ed. Cotelerius in the Patres Apostolici) Mand. 4, sect. 4: 'Domine *quoniam* patienter me audis, etiam hoc mihi demonstra.' M. Loth equates *ir* with W. *yr* (ad quod? i.e. quamvis) Z.² 736.

IX. '*Discite a me quia mitis sum.*'

47. *goui* (gl. conpescat), p. 23. The context is: "Vitamque nostram a prauitate compescat." This gloss must, as Bugge thinks, be intended for 'prauitate,'[1] and be derived from *gou*, now *gaou* 'faux,' 'tors,' Corn. *gow*, W. *gau*, Ir. *gáo*, *gó*, which have been compared by Fick with γαυσός and the Hesychian γαυσάδας · ψευδής; but which seems more probably cognate with χαFος, χαῦνος. For the ending compare *glisi* 'livor,' W. *tlodi* 'paupertas,' Corn. *berri* 'pinguedo.' M. Loth omits this gloss.

X. *The Collectio Canonum Hibernensis.*

48. *erguinit* (gl. molirentur), p. 25. The context is: "Porro episcopus non ab uno, sed a cunctis comprouincialibus æpiscopis ordinetur, ne aliqui[d] contra fidem unius tirannica auctoritate molirentur" [Wass. *moliretur*]. This seems a verb in the 3rd sg. pres. conj. act. and is, like *er* . . . (gl. mollimur), *er* . . . (gl. moliuntur) infra Nos. 127, 152, compounded with the prep. *er* from *ar*, Z.² 900. Prof. Bugge compares W. *arwyn* 'violent passion,' *gwyn* 'rage,' a violent impulse of the mind: 'lust,' Vedic *vena* verlangend, Verlangen, *venati*. For the termination in *it* compare the Irish forms in *-ed*, *-id*, Z.² 445. M. Loth, however (perhaps rightly), regards *erguinit* as a noun, glossing the idea of 'tirannica auctoritate molirentur.'

[1] The gloss is sometimes over the wrong word. Thus in p. 23 .i. behemoth stands over *enoc* in the passage: Tunc conseruasti duas animas, enoc et leuitan; where it ought to be over *leuitan*. So often in the Berne glosses.

49. *siel* (gl. signaculum), p. 25. The context is: "Datur ei (sc. episcopo) et anulus propter signum pontificalis honoris, vel signaculum secretorum, sacramentorum ne indignis quibusque sacramenta Dei aperiantur" (i. 6). Here *siel* (like W. *sêl*, Ir. *seula*) is a loan from Lat. *sigillum*, with the regular loss of *g* between vowels, which we shall find in *aatoe*, *brientinion* infra Nos. 133, 183, and in the loan-word *straal*, No. 194. It is spelt *syel* in PB. 245. The Catholicon has, more accurately, *siell*.

50. *na niguid* (gl. non neophitum), p. 25 in marg. r. The context is: "Nemini cito manus inpossueris. Idem [scil. Paulus, 1 Timoth. iii. 6] Non neophitum ne in superbiam elatus putes se" (i. 7). Here *na* is the negative particle used dehortatively (Z.² 752), and *niguid* (from **noguid*), later *neuez*, is=Corn. *newyth*, O.W. *neguyt* Z.² 128, now *newydd*, Ir. *núe*, Gaul. *nevios*, *novios*, Lat. *Novius*, Goth. *niuji-s*, Skr. *navya*, the *d* regularly representing *dy*, where, as often in Greek, the *d* is a parasitic growth before *y* (j). See Rhŷs, Revue Celtique, ii. 115, Curtius G. E.⁵ 522 *et seq.*

51. *gurlimnn* (gl. diliniti), p. 25.

52. *dogurbonneu* (gl. rogauerit), p. 25.

The context is: "Nunc uero sepe cernimus, plures ordinationem facere, non quos ecclesiæ elegit, sed quos vel ipsi amant vel quorum sunt officiis deliniti, vel pro quibus malorum quispiam rogauerit" (i. 7). The former gloss may either mean 'very smooth,' or may stand for *gurlimnetic*, the pret. part. pass. of a verb compounded with the prep. *guor*, Z.² 905 (cf. W. *gorllyfni*), and the Breton equivalent of the Welsh *llyfnu* or *llyfnâu* 'to smooth,' a derivative of the adj. *llyfn*=Ir. *slemain* 'lubricus' Z.² 777, cognate with ὀ-λιβ-ρός.

do-gur-bonneu is compounded (like the verb supra No. 37) with the two prepositions *do* and *guor* (=Ir. *do-for-*, *tór-*). The *b* is possibly written for an infected *m*, and if so, the verb may be compared with the W. *gofyn* 'to demand,' 'to ask,' Corn. *govynnadow* 'a demand.' If the *b* is original, compare W. *bwnneiaid* (prayers) cited by Richards, Ir. *bonnae*, Rawl. B. 512, fol. 13*a*. 1, and the Old Irish *at-boind*

'he proclaims, inhibits,' *ad-bonnar* .i. *urfogarthar*, O'Don. Supp. to O'Reilly's Dictionary.

53. *es* (gl. honestatis), p. 26. The context is: "Huius sermo debet esse . . . plenus grauitatis et honestatis" (i. 8). This must be only the first syllable of some word, perhaps *estim*, cf. "estimaff g. estimer cuyder, *l.* estimare Cath. *ne raff estim*," MJ. 232*b*.

54. *comarde* (gl. colligam, leg. collegam), p. 26. A square dot between the *a* and *r* was read *i* by Mr. Bradshaw. The context is: "Ut episcopus in eclesia consensu prespiterorum sublimior sedeat; intra domum uero colligam se prespiterorum esse cognoscat" (i. 10). The same word occurs in No. 97: *comarde* (gl. collegium). It seems, as M. Loth says, to be cognate with W. *cyf-aru*, *cyf-arddu* (co-arare). It is also cognate with Ir. *com-ar* (tillage in common), Laws i. 126, ii. 158, and Br. *kev-erer*.

55. *tiguotrou lau*—MS. *ti guo trou lav*—(gl. supellectilem), p. 26 in marg. l. M. Loth reads *-lou*, but the *a* is clear. The context is: "Ut episcopus uilem suppellectilem . . . habeat" (i. 10). Here, as in *htigutre* (gl. utensilia) infra No. 71, the *ti* is = τέγος, Ir. *teg*, *tech*: *guotrou* for *guotraou* seems the pl. of a compound of the prep. *guo*, here (as in No. 10 supra) implying diminution, and of *tra* a thing. As to *lau* (hand), see infra 70.

56. *silim* (gl. tuitionem), p. 26. The context is: "Ut episcopus tuitionem testamentorum non suscipiat" (i. 10). This is cognate with the Mid. Br. *sellet* 'tueri' Cath., Corn. *sylly*, W. *sylwi*, *syllu* 'to observe,' Ir. *sellad*. For the termination *-im* see above, No. 38.

57. *diliu* (gl. fuscetur), p. 28. Context: "ut nulla relegionis reuerentia obscuritate[1] fuscetur" (i. 13). Here *di-* (as in *di-lucet* supra, No. 36, *di-com(b)it*, infra No. 259) is the common privative particle, Z.[2] 894, and *liu* is 'colour,' W. *lliw*, Corn. *liu*, *lyw*, Ir. *li*, cf. Lat. *liveo*, *livor*, *lividus*. Perhaps the gloss is only intended for 'obscuritate.' But it may be the beginning of a verb translating fuscetur.

58. *imcomarguid* (gl. expertus sum), p. 28. The context

[1] MS. abscuritate.

is: "Quem prae ceteris hominibus expertus sum Deum colentem" (i. 14). The gloss seems to mean 'in my experience': *im* (later *em*, Z.² 672) being the preposition *in* with the infixed possessive pronoun of the first person singular, and *com-ar-guid* (for *comarguidit*) being = W. *kauarwydyt* 'historia,' Z.² 906, now *cyf-ar-wyddyd*. Compare the Cornish lowenna tekca gothfy ihesu ov map *kevarwouth* vgy warnaf ow pygy 'the fairest joy thou knowest make my son Jesus experience, who is praying unto me,' D. 1043–4. M. Loth, however, compares the W. *ymgyfarwyddo* 'to acquaint oneself.'

59. *iac* (gl. suspite), p. 28. The context is: "De eo quod elegit episcopus successorem ipso uiuente et suspite" (i. 17). Here *iac* stands for *iach* = *yach* 'sanus' Cath., Corn. *iach* (gl. sanus), W. *iach*, cognate with Ir. *icc*, Gr. ἄκος, ἀκεῖσθαι, Delph. ἐφακείσθαι. Our *iac* for *iach*, accordingly, stands for **iac-co*, and this, M. Coelho (Rev. Celt. vi. 483) connects with Ptolemy's Ἰακκα, now *Jaca*, the name of a town in Hispania Tarraconensis. Other instances in these glosses of *c* written for *ch* are *meic* No. 169 and *maciat* No. 308.

60. *arimrat* (gl. functus est), p. 28. The context is: "Narcisus, qui prius sibi [leg. ibi] functus est pontificatus officio" (i. 17). This seems to be compounded with the prepositions *ar* and *im*, and to stand for *ar-im-rat*. If so, we may compare the Welsh *ymroddi* (to resign oneself), *dym-roddi* (to resign). The simple *rat* (which M. Loth reads *rot*) is = Ir. *rat* for **ro-dad* (cf. Skr. *dadāmi*, Gr. δίδωμι), the 3rd sg. *s*-pret. of a reduplicated stem.

61. *ender* (gl. euidentissimis, i. 17—MS. euidentis simis), p. 29. Context: "Euidentissimis reuelationibus euocauit. This seems to stand for *en derch* 'in view,' W. *drych*, Ir. *derc*. See infra No. 220.

62. *guasco*. This is written in the right margin of p. 29 opposite the line ending 'vitæ deces-,' in the following title: "De eo quod debet electio bonorum post obitum obseruari et in exitu uitæ decessoris episcopi" (i. 18). It is probably intended to gloss 'exitu uitae,' and stands for *guascotenn* = the modern *gwaskaden* 'défaillance,' 'évanouissement.' Loth reads *guasce*.

63. *er* (gl. prefuit), p. 29. Context: "Et postea Laudicienși æclesiae praefuit" (i. 19). This is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *ar-*, *er-*, Z.² 900. So infra No. 82, *er* (gl. preerant).

64. *i soudan* (gl. in hebitudinem, i. 20), p. 29. Context: "Si quis episcopus [in] infirmitatem aut in hebitudinem sensus incederit." The *i* is of course, with loss of the liquid, the preposition *in* (as in *ihepcorim* Berne, 44, and Old Welsh *hi hestaur* Z.² 117), and *soudan* is the Mid. Br. *souzan* 'surprise,' 'étonnement,' 'frayeur soudaine' PB. 265, connected with *soez* 'stupor' Cath., *soezaff* 'stupere,' Corn. *sawthenys* 'surprised,' D. 610, and all borrowed from the Latin *subitaneus* or *subitare*, "re quapiam insolita et subitanea percelli, expavescere,' Du Cange. For the vocalisation of *b*, cf. *diglo*, No. 148. For *d* = Lat. *t*, cf. *moid* . . . supra No. 42 and *rad(ou)* No. 177.

65. *unblot* (gl. similaginem, ii. 7), p. 31 (wrongly '32' in the MS.

66. *unblot* (gl. simila quæ—leg. similago, ii. 7), p. 31. Here *blot* (now *bleud*, *bled*) is 'flour'; W. *blawd*; but the *un-* is obscure. Can the cardinal *un* 'one' be used here instead of the ordinal first, the first or finest flour? Compare the Ir. *aon* .i. oirdheirc 'conspicuus,' O'Cl., *aon-bharr Manannáin*, O'Curry, Children of Tuirenn, 163. Prof. Bugge compares the A.S. use of *án* in *án-getrum* 'cohors eximia,' and the Old-Norse *einsmurning* 'unguentum praestantissimum.' Davies renders similago by *eil-blawd* 'second flour.' With *blot* cf. Old Corn. *bloteit* (gl. spumaticum) Z.² 1061, *blot* (gl. farina) Z.² 1080. Either cognate with Corn. *blodon* (gl. flos), O.Ir. *bláth*, the Latin *flos* and other words mentioned by Curtius G. E.⁵ No. 412, or (as Loth suggests) for **mlāt*, √*mel*.

67. *inlenetic* (gl. interlita), p. 31. The context is: "quae . . . euangeliorum mola interlita, et spiritu separata" [Wass. *inter litteram* et spiritum separat] (ii. 7), and the glossographer has taken the scribe's blunder (*interlita* instead of *inter litteram*) for the past participle passive of *interlino* and translated it accordingly. Our gloss is compounded of the

prep. *in* (Z.² 905) and *lenetic*, the pret. part. pass. of a verb cognate with Ir. *lenim* 'adhaereo,' Lat. *lino*, Gr. *ἀ-λίνεω· ἀλείφειν* Hesych. and other words quoted by Curtius, G.E. No. 541. The termination *-etic* (now lost in Breton, though kept in Welsh) occurs also in *dieteguetic*, *anfumetic* infra Nos. 186, 219, *hanter-toetic* Lux., *utgurthconeti(c)* Berne, 58, *deh-louetic* MS. Lat. 12021: a plural *craseticion* occurs in Lux. Ebel compares Latin adjectives, such as *dediticius*, *facticius*, *suppositicius*.

68. *eleuc*, *eleac?* (gl. uitule), p. 32. The context is: "Si sanguis uitulorum et irchorum et cinis uitule sparsus redemit peccata hominum" (ii. 8). The gloss is on the margin with reference-mark. It seems cognate with W. *elain* 'cerva,' Ir. *elit* 'capreolus,' Gr. ἔλαφος. But the termination *-euc* ex *-âc* is peculiar, and Prof. Bugge would analyse the gloss thus: *e-le-uc*, where *e* for *eh-* is the negative prefix, Z.² 894, *le* = Mid. Br. *lue*, W. *llo* 'calf,' and *-uc* for *-oc*, Z.² 849. The gloss would thus mean 'calf-less,' 'a cow that has not had a calf.' M. Loth compares the W. *elawch* (indulgence) Spurrell.

69. *„edo* (gl. erant, leg. erunt), p. 32. The first letter of the gloss is, said Mr. Bradshaw, not clear. The printed context is: "Primitie omnis populi Israel sacerdotis erunt" (ii. 11). M. Loth says that the first letter is probably *h*, and that the gloss stands for *hedo* 'était.' It seemed to me a mere reference-mark, like two commas.

70. *lau* (gl. pectusculum), p. 32. The context is: "Pectusculum et armum dextrum tulli a filiis Israhel" (ii. 11, citing Num. xviii. 18). As *lau* means 'hand' (O. W. *lau* Z.² 117, now *llaw*, Corn. *lof*, *lêf*, Ir. *lám* = *palma*, παλάμη Curtius, G. E. No. 345), this must be the first part of a compound, the second part of which means 'breast.' Compare the *do ucht na dernainne* (gl. pectusculum), literally, 'to the breast of the palm.'

71. *htigutre* (gl. uttensilia, ii. 11), p. 32. Context: "Item non Aron portabat tabernaculum et uttensilia eius." This gloss has been already noticed, supra No. 55. The prefixed *h* is also found in *hguet* No. 180, *hgurstli* No. 200. It may perhaps be a mere reference-mark. The *gutre* a pl. of *gutra*.

72. *incoint* (gl. quesitus), p. 32. M. Loth reads *incorit*. The context is: "sicut [is,] qui inui[ta]tus renuit; quesitus refugit sacraris preesse altaribus" (ii. 13). This seems cognate with the Mid. Br. *queiniff*, now *keini*, W. *cwyno*, Ir. *cóinim*, the glosser having mistaken 'quesitus' for 'questus.'

73. *gur* (gl. ultro), p. 32. The context is: "sic autem qui ultro ambit . . . procul dubio repellentus" (ii. 13). Here *gur* (for *guor*), Corn. *war*, *oar*, Ir. *for*, from *u(p)er* = Gr. ὑπέρ, Lat. *s-uper*, Skr. *upari*, is the first syllable of some adverb to me unknown.

74. *guir* (gl. sedatium), p. 33. The context is: "Quia Aron summebat partem uniuscuiusque oblationis siue principis siue famuli et sedatium communis [leg. commune] de substantia omnis mortui dantum [leg. dandum] est" (ii. 15). The Latin word seems to mean 'pretium sepulchri.' The Breton stands, perhaps, for *guirth* = W. *gwerth* 'price,' Corn. *gwyrthy* 'to sell,' Goth. *vairths*, Eng. *worth*. M. Loth would connect it with Latin *vertere*, saying that, in the British dialects, "*gwerth* signifie plutôt *vente* que *prix*."

75. *tromden* (gl. peruolauit), p. 34. The context is: "Mox ad eum Lincuntius, diuina expertus beneficia, peruolauit" (ii. 24). The gloss is obviously, like Old W. *ceinmicun* Z.² 892, compounded of an adjective and a verb: *trom* is=the modern *trumm* 'prompt,' 'diligent,' 'expéditif.' See infra No. 265. The *den* may stand for *dennas* (where *d* is an infected *t*) from *tenna* 'tirer,' 'retirer,' *en-em-denna* 'se retirer,' Corn. *ym-denne*.

76. *eriolim* (gl. editui), p. 36. The context is: "leuite a Lmo anno custodes sacrorum habe[b]antur in lege: sic et in nouo editui æclesiarum in senectute sunt" (iii. 5). It seems the peritonic pl. of a noun meaning 'guardian,' 'sacristan.' For its formation cf. *cenemi* infra No. 130. M. Loth, however, reads *ercolim*, which is palaeographically impossible, and explains this as an infinitive, 'garder, défendre.'

77. .i. aqua *lostr* (gl. aquiminilem), p. 37.

78. *lien* (gl. manutergium), p. 37.

The context is: "De manu archidiaconi accepit urceuleum [leg. accipit urceolum] cum aqua et aquiminilem [leg.

aquamanilem], id est scipum [leg. scyphum] et manutergium" (iv. 3). Here *aqua* is a Latin gloss on the *aqui* of aquiminilem, and *lostr* is a Breton loan from Lat. *lostratio*= *lustratio*, intended to explain *-minilem*.

lien (also in Cath.) = W. *lliein*, Z.² 823, now *lliain* 'linteum,' 'mappa,' Corn. *lien* in *lien dui-lof* (gl. manutergium vel mantile), *lien gueli* (gl. sindo) pl. *lyynnyou*, Ir. *léne* 'shirt.' These words are doubtless connected with O. Norse *lesni*, and *lerept*: see Rhŷs, Rev. Celt. vii. 242.

79. .i. *meir* (gl. actores templi, vi. 1), p. 38. This is the pl. of *maer* = Corn. *mair* (gl. praepositus), *maer buit* (gl. dispensator), O.W. *merion* (gl. actores). The modern Breton is, according to Legonidec, *mear* or *maer*, pl. *meared*. The Ir. equivalent is *maer*, pl. n. *maeir* 'stewards,' acc. *maeru*, O'Don. Gr. 84, all borrowed from Lat. *maior* 'a house-steward.'

80. *doguolouit* (gl. redegit), p. 38. The context is: "Sic exorcista redegit in sua diligentia totius regni Dei secreta" (vi. 1). This is a verb in the 3rd sg. pres. indic. act. compounded with the prepositions *do* and *guo* Z.² 907, like the verbs *do-guo-misur(am)*, *do-guo-renniam*, *do-uo-louse*, Lux. The British and Irish cognates are W. *llyw* (ruler, rudder), *llywedu* (to direct, to steer). The pres. indic. sg. was probably *doguolouitam*, just as the *dodiprit* (grassatur) of the Luxemburg glosses points to a *dodipritam*. The *it-* ending occurs only in absolute (and uncompounded ?) verbs.[1]

81. *di* (gl. inergominum, leg. inerguminum, vi. 2), p. 38. The Cornish gloss *sach diavol* (gl. demoniacus) = W. *sâch diawl* suggests that we have here the beginning of the Old Breton word corresponding with *dyaul* 'le diable' Cath.

82. *er* (gl. praecrant, vii. 1), p. 38. See above No. 63.

83. *an* (gl. sugestionem), p. 38. The context is: "ad sugestionem archidiaconi tradat ei episcopus claues æclesiæ" (vii. 3). So infra No. 86, *an* (gl. sugessionem),

[1] Studies in Cymric Philology, *Arch. Cambrensis*, April, 1873, p. 146. He cites *enghit* 'escapes,' *pereïd* 'remains,' *trengid* 'perishes,' *tricid* 'starves,' *tyvid* 'grows,' *chwareïd* 'plays.' The Old Bret. loan-word *acupet* (occupat) seems regarded as a simple verb.

No. 85, *anno* (gl. sugerendum), and No. 162, *anno* (gl. persuadentum). These fragments of words are clearly connected with the Mid. W. *annoc* (yr hunn aoed yn eu hannoc wy, Seintgr. p. 296) now *annog* 'hortari,' 'suadere,' 'incitare,' *annos* 'incitare,' 'instigare,' and perhaps with the Old-Irish *andud*, **ad-annaim* (*ad-r-andad*, Fél. Oingusso, April 5, B).

84. *incan* (gl. triforium, ix. 1), p. 39. For the meaningless 'triforium' the printed text has 'ceroferarium' (candlestick, taper-bearer) in the following context: "ab archidiacono accipiat (scil. acolytus) ceroferarium cum cera ut sciat se ad accendenda ecclesiae luminaria mancipari" (ix. 1). I take our gloss to stand for *in cantoeller*, where *in* (for *inn*, *ind*) is the article (as, perhaps, in No. 72 supra) and *cantoeller*, now *cantoler*, is = W. *canhwyllyr* 'candelabrum' (Davies), a derivative from **canhwyll* borrowed, like Corn. *cantuil*, from a low Latin **cantēla* for *candēla*.

85. *anno* (gl. sugerendum), p. 39. The context is: "accipiat et orceulum uacuum ad sugerendum uinum in eucharitiam" (an empty pitcher to furnish wine for the eucharist) ix. 1. See above No. 83.

86. *an* (gl. sugessionem generis), p. 39. The printed text has: "per *successionem* generis" (ix. 2), but the scribe and glosser seem to have meant *suggestionem*, as in the quotation supra No. 83.

87. *coson* (gl. canora), p. 40. The context is: "Vox autem eius non aspera, nec rauca vel disonans sed canora (printed text: clara) erit" (ix. 2). Our *coson*, like W. *cyson*, is borrowed from the Lat. *consonus*, the *n* (of a toneless syllable ?) disappearing before *s*, as in *i soudan* supra No. 64, *cosoin* infra No. 304, and in *musur* 'mensura,' *cusul* 'consilium,' Z.² 117.

88. *eules* (gl. medoliam), p. 40. The Latin word should, of course, be 'melodiam.' The printed context is: "habens sonum et melodiam sanctae religioni congruentem" (ix. 2). Our gloss seems cognate with the modern W. *eilod*, *eilw*, *eilyw* 'music,' 'melody,' as *eusin* is = W. *eisin* and *douo-louse* is connected with W. *llais*. The Old Welsh pret. part. pass.

ellesheticion (gl. mela) in Mart. Cap. 8, a a, seems to come from a different root.

89. .i. *eli* (gl. redoleat, ix. 2), p. 40. The context is: "neque musica vel theotrali arte redoleat." The glossographer seems to have believed in some connection between *redoleo* and *oleum*, for *eli* is cognate with W. *elio* 'ungere.' For other instances of his crass ignorance, see supra No. 67 and infra Nos. 95, 191, 220, 309, and the note to No. 118.

90. *dalou* (gl. andronas, x.), p. 40. Context: "Clericus per plateas et andronas certa et maxima sui officii necessitate ambulet." This gloss stands for *dadlou* or *datlou*: cf. *dadluo* (gl. antropas, leg. andronas) Bibl. Bod. MS. Hatton 42, *dadlou* (gl. curiae) Cotton MS. Otho E. xiii. pl. of *dadl* (gl. concio) Eutych. 3.[6] 8[a]. Corn. *dathel* in *dathel-uur* (gl. concionator), O.W. *datl* (gl. foro), Ir. *dál*. M. Loth remarks that the dental in the group *tl* was early assimilated, and compares *Callon* in a charter of A.D. 834 from *Catlon*. The Latin word glossed is the acc. pl. of *andron* 'compitum, locus publicus ubi viri, *οἱ ἄνδρες*, invicem confabulantur,' Ducange.

91. *cormo tar*. This gloss is written in the left margin of p. 40, but without a reference-mark. The context is: "Clericus inuidens frat*rum* prouectibus [printed text: profectibus] donec in hoc uitio est, degradetur" (x.). Here I conjecture that *cormo* = *cormo* (gl. emulamenti, *i.e.* emolumenti?) Lux., that *tar* is here, as in the Berne gloss, 'venter,' that our gloss 91 means 'advantage, or indulgences in diet,' 'relaxations in fasting,' and that it is intended to translate 'provectibus.'

92. *doilux* (gl. promens), p. 40. The context is: "Clericus inter epulas cantans, fidem utique non edificans, sed auribus tantum promens[1]) excummunis sit" (x. 1). I suspect that *doilux* stands for *doilus*, just as the name *Dilex* (Cart. Red., p. 333) is for *Diles*,[2] and is a loan from the Latin 'dēlicias,' which the glossographer supposes to be understood after

[1] The printed text has 'pruriens,' another reading is 'placens.'

[2] And to go further back, *Comux Caelexti* for *Comus Caelestis*, Rhys' *Lectures* 188, 189–204; *milex*, *xancto* for *miles*, *sancto*, Corssen 297, 298.

'promens.' I cannot, however, account for the *u*. Prof. Bugge compares the Mid. Lat. *eluciens* = eliciens, *dilutuit* = dilituit (Loewe, Prodromus, 429), and *dilyciae* Schuchardt, Vocalismus ii. 231. M. Loth regards *doi* as for *do-e*, *do-eh*, *do-es*, and *lus* as connected with *do-uo-louse* (gl. depromis) Lux. and *go-lou*. He renders *doilux* accordingly by 'manifestant,' 'mettant en lumière.'

93. *testoner* (gl. ineuitabili), p. 40. The context is: "Clericus qui indictum ieiunium rumpit absque ineuitabili necessitate, uilior habentus est" (x.). This seems, as M. Loth says, to be the 3rd sg. pres. indic. pass. of the verb *doner* (venitur) compounded with *tu* and *es*. The *t* of *toner* is due to the provecting power of *s*. For the termination compare *dispriner*, infra No. 248.

In p. 40, penultimate line, dictor mortis is glossed by the Latin '.i. clericus.' Out of this M. Loth has made a Breton *deric*.

94. *nith* (gl. nepte, x.), p. 41. Context: see above, No. 24.

95. *gurprit* (gl. superstitiose), p. 43. The context is: "hoc carnalem delictum, quod committunt, etiam uindicare quadam superstitiose temeritate nituntur" (xi. 5), compounded of *gur*, *guor* 'super,' Z.[2] 905, and *prit* for *brit* = Ir. *breth* 'judgment,' Corn. *bris*, *brys*. So Ir. *for-bann*, compounded of *for* = *gur* and *bann* 'law,' seems to mean 'a superstitious rule.' For the change in *gurprit* of *rb* to *rp* see Rev. Celt. vii. 148.

96. *guerp* (gl. stigmate), p. 43. The context is: "illico stigmate lepræ percusa est" (xi. 6). This may, possibly, be the Breton equivalent of the Ir. *ferb* .i. *bólc docuirither for aigid duine iar n-áir no iar ngúbreth* 'a blister that is put on one's face after a satire or a false judgment,'[1] Cormac: *fearb cluiche* 'a rounded lump of a stone,' Petrie's *Tara*, p. 155. But more likely here, as in No. 32 supra and Nos. 131, 209, 266 and 315 infra, the *p* is miswritten for *þ*, the A.S. *th*. If so, we may compare W. *gwarth* 'reproach,' and the Latin *vereor*, *verenda*, Curtius, G. E. No. 501. The word is omitted by M. Loth.

[1] Compare Theocritus xii. 24 (ψεύδεα βινὸς ὑπερθεν ἀραιῆς οὐκ ἀναφόσω) and Fritzsche's note. Prof. Bugge compares the modern Breton *gwerbl* 'bubon' with this Ir. *ferb*.

97. *comarde* (gl. colligium), p. 43. The context has: "Idem collegium sanctæ æclesiae vii. annis proiciatur" (xi. 6). See above, No. 54.

98. *cot* (gl. agresti), p. 44. The context is: "et agresti mellæ pascebatur" (xii. 2). Here *o* stands for *oi* or *oe* as in Nos. 25 and 218, and our gloss is the first syllable of an adjective **coetoc*=Mid. Br. *coadec* Cath., W. *koedawc* 'sylvester' Z.² 849, now *coedog*, derived from *coat* 'nemus' Cath., Corn. *cuit* (gl. silva), Lat. *bu-cêtum*, and Goth. *haithi*.

99. *ar* (gl. coibere), p. 45. The context is: "Nihil prodest coibere exteriorem hominem, et interiorem dampnare" (xii. 4). The gloss is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *ar*, Z.² 900, which, like Ir. *ar*, *air*, W. *ar*, *er*, *yr*, Gaul. *are* in *Aremorica*, has lost initial *p*, and is cognate with πάρος, Skr. *puras*,[1] Goth. *faúra*, *faúr*, Engl. *for*.

100. *cerpit* (gl. vehiculis, xii. 5), p. 45. Context: "Neque uehiculis et equis uehuntur." This is the pl. of the Breton equivalent of W. *cerbyd*, which is cognate with Ir. **carpeth*, whence acc. pl. *cairpthiu*, and the derivative *cairptheoir* 'charioteer.' The Ir. *carpat* is = Lat. *carpentum*.

101. *amor* (gl. fastu), p. 45. The context is: "Multi clericorum ieiunant fastu superbiæ nihil largientes egenis" (xii. 7). Here *a* may be the prep. used to indicate the ablative and *mor* (now *meur*) 'great,' the first syllable of some compound. See *in-mor* infra, No. 154. "Peut-être," says M. Loth, "est-ce simplement le latin *amor*? Par amour de l'ostentation."

102. .i. *scal* (gl. carduumque, xii. 8), p. 46. This gloss is exactly the W. *y-sgallen*. The Cornish *askellen* (gl. card[u]us) and Mid. Br. *ascolenn* 'chardon' have an initial *a*, which I do not understand. M. Ernault compares Gr. σκόλυμος 'an edible thistle.'

103. *ie* (gl. curatusque), p. 46. The context is: "Curat uulnera delinquentis abstinentia, curatusque [leg. curatosque] sanctificat ieiunium" (xii. 9). Here *ie* is the first two letters of *iecheticion*, pl. of the pret. part. passive of a verb (now *iac'haat*) derived from *iach*, supra, No. 59.

[1] A trace of the original (genitival ?) *s* has been observed in Irish by Prof. Bugge, who brings *errach* 'spring,' from **persāko*, and compares N.H.G. *frühling* and Danish *for-aar*.

104. *ar* (gl. arduam), p. 47.

105. *distrit* (gl. austeram), p. 47.

The context is: "Hic uitam arduam et austeram gerebat" (xii. 15). Here *ar* seems the beginning of some word cognate with Ir. *ard*, Gaul. *Arduenna*, Lat. *arduus*, and *distrit* (for *distrith*[1]) is a loan from Lat. *districtus* 'strict,' 'severe.' So *striz* Cath. comes from *strictus*. M. Loth prefers to connect *distrit* with W. *trythyll* (lascivus). But this is for *drythyll* = Ir. *dretel*, as *trum* is for *drum* = (iugum montis) = Ir. *druimm*.

106. *acomloe* (gl. insolubile), p. 47. The context is: "De abstinentia insolubile a cibis statuunt Romani, ut Christi aduentus sponsi nullas nostri ieiuni soluendas leges inueniat" (xii. 15), and this gloss is in the right margin with a reference-mark. Here *a-*, for *an-*, is the negative prefix, and *comloe* is, as M. Loth points out, cognate with the Ir. *comloighthe* (which seems to mean a set-off, *compensatio*), *di-lgud* (forgiveness), and the simple verb *logaim* (I forgive, remit).

106*a*. *sci* (gl. sciphos, plenos uino) p. 47.

106*b*. *tinsit* (gl. sparsit), p. 52. Context: "Concubina Saulis sparsit tunicam super corpora nepotum Saul." Cognate with W. *tynu* (to pull), τείνω and other words cited by Curtius, No. 230. For the termination compare *toreusit* 275.

107. *haloc* (gl. lugubri), p. 52. The printed context is: "Quidam puer moriens visus est matri non una vice in veste lugubri sitiens et esuriens" (xv. 6). Our gloss means 'foul,' and is = W. *halawg*, Ir. *salach* (gl. sordidus): cf. also Corn. *halou* (gl. stercora), O. Ir. *sail* (gl. labe), Sg. 52a, 4, and the O.H.G. *salo* trübe. Other instances of Breton *h* from *s* are *hir*, *hun*, *hep* (No. 167b) and *hent*, Z.[2] 123.

108. *pre* (gl. instanter), 53. Context: "Quecunque manus tua potest facere, instanter operare" (xv. 8). This seems the first syllable of an adverb cognate with Mid. Br. *presant* 'presens,' Cath., W. *presennol* 'instans.'

109. *adis* (gl. aspertione), p. 55. Context: "testimonium

[1] Compare *nit*, supra, No. 24, and *gupartolaid*, *arton*, infra, Nos. 118, 149, 198, for *nith*, *guparthotaid*, *arthon*. So *-weten*, *Doitanou*, Z.[2] 152. So Corn. *bruit* for *bruith*, Z.[2] 151, *guhit* for *guhith*.

redemptionis iniquitatum populi aspersione sanguinis animalium" (xvi. 12). Here, as in No. 101 supra, *a* is the preposition indicating the ablative. The *dis* may be the first syllable of some word like **discain* or **disceiniat*, cognate with W. *caen*, *ysceiniad* 'aspergo,' or like **disperfa*, cognate with the modern *sparfa* 'asperger.'

110. *diprou* (gl. acitamenta, xvii. 11), p. 58. The context tells how one of the sons of an artifex (smith?) "dedit acitamenta eius in oblationem ecclesiæ." In MS. Hatton 42, 'acitamenta' ('i.e. acutamenta') is explained by the Br. *cl*[*o*]*ou* 'clavi.' But our *diprou* is the pl. of *dipr*=the modern *dibr* 'saddle,' pl. *dibrou*, W. *dibr*, and, as Prof. Bugge suggests, the glossographer here seems to have taken acitamenta for *equitamenta, 'means of riding,' from equitare. Conversely in the middle ages *Equitania* was often written for *Aquitania*, see Schuchardt, Vocalismus, i. 213.

111. *soeul* (gl. fiscum), p. 59.

112. *er* (gl. conpetita), p. 59. The context is: "Etiam illud hac lege sancximus, ut si quæ domus vel agri vel quaelibet praedia ex bonis christianorum ac parentum nostrorum praeceptis ad *fiscum* sociata fuerint, si qua etiam ab aliquo *conpetita* sunt . . . haec omnia in ius antiquum reuocari precipimus" (xvii. 15).

Here *soeul* seems=W. *swllt* 'solidus,' 'thesaurus,' 'fiscus' (Davies), Corn. *sols* (gl. pecunia) from Mid. Lat. *solta* Z.² 154, *soldus* for *solidus* (nummus), whence also Ital. *soldo*, Sp. *sueldo*, Fr. *sol*, *sou*. The triphthong *oeu* is curious. Should it be *oue*=the *ue* of *sueldo*? M. Loth brings *soeul* from an imaginary Latin **segillum*, or rather **sēgulum*, the accented *e* being lengthened!

er is the first syllable of some verb to me unknown. Compare *ar* (gl. expetiaerit) 3, and *ar* (gl. conpetiit) 312.

A little after this (p. 60) comes a passage beginning, "Transamundus uandalorum rex," and over the last syllable of "uandalorum" is written *gua*. This probably stands for **guandal* or **guannal*='Vandalus.'

113. *l. introc* (gl. obnixe), p. 62. The context is: "Quidam clericus in aliena æclesia moriens illic sepultus est, propinquis

autem ejus corpus petentibus non est dimissum, sed *obnixe* retendum est" (xviii. 7). The meaning of the gloss seems 'vel *obnoxie*,' for *introc* may be=*int-droc* an adverb formed (like W. *yn ddrwg* 'male') from the prefix *int*=*ἀντί*, and the adj. *droc*, later *drouc*, Cath.=W. *drwg*, Ir. *droch*. Compare the Mid. Br. *enta* 'igitur, ergo,' lit. 'probe,' Cornish *inta* 'bene' from *int-da* Z.² 200.

114. *beb* (gl. tumuli), p. 63. The context is: "Cum peccata gravia deprimunt, non ad absolutionem, sed ad dampnationem tumuli in eclesia ponuntur" (xviii. 8). The copyist perhaps meant *bep*, *beþ* (see No. 32 supra) for *beth*, *bed*, the first syllable of **bediou*, now *beziou*, pl. of *bed*, now *bez*, Corn. *beth*, W. *bedd* 'sepulchrum,' cognate, according to M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, with Lat. *fossa* from *fodio*. If *beb* be the true reading, cf. the Irish *beabh* tomb, grave (O'Reilly), and perhaps *βωμός*.

115. *strocat* (gl. tractus est), p. 63. Context: "Nocte media cum tumultu ab eclesia et ligatus pedibus tractus est" (xviii. 8). This should, as Prof. Bugge conjectures, be *scrocat*, the 3rd sg. pret. pass. (Z.² 531) of some verb borrowed from a Mid. Lat. *ex-crocare* 'mit einem haken ausziehen,' Fr. *croc* 'hook,' whence Mod. Br. *krôk* or *krôg*. He compares the Mid. Lat. *incrocare* 'an einem haken aufhängen (Lex Salica). His etymology reminds me of Juvenal's 'Sejanus ducitur unco' (x. 66). M. Loth compares a non-existent Ir. *strácaim*, je tire, je pousse.

116. *aco* (gl. adeundis), p. 65. Context: "De alienís prouinciis adeundis ad iudicandum" (xx. 5). Here *a* may be the preposition indicating the ablative, and *co* the first syllable of some verb.

117. *amsobe* (gl. fingunt), p. 66.

118. .i. *iecol* (gl. alienigena), p. 66. The context is: "Judices sunt .xv. . . . . .vii. gentilis in sua gentilitate, ut Deorum iudicium Minerve et Neptum [leg. Neptuni] de contentione regionis apud Cicropem actum eronica[1] *fingunt;* vir [leg. viii] alienigena, ut Moises consilium ab illo alieni gena cognato suo suscipit" (xxi. 2).

[1] This word is glossed by *pri*, *i.e.* proprium nomen! So in p. 157 *emticis* is glossed by *pri*!

Of the first of these glosses I can make nothing. I conjecture that *iecol* (if not a corruption of *Iethro*) may be cognate with *ieth*, later *yez*, now *iez* 'dialecte,' 'idiome,' W. *iaith* 'lingua, dialectus, idioma' (Davies), from **yakti*, which Siegfried connected with the O.H.G. *jehan* 'fateri, affirmare' (Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, iv. 668), and Glück with the Gaulish river-name *Iactus*[1] and the Latin *jacio*. Should this conjecture be right, our gloss would properly mean ἰδιόγλωσσος, and may well be used for ἀλλόφυλος.

119. *a olguo* (gl. indagatione), p. 67. The context is: "Tribus modis iudicibus iudicandum, natura, hoc est, indagatione rerum, et similitudine praecedentium, et ex uerbis scripturæ" (xxi. 6). Here *a* is the preposition indicating the ablative, and *olguo* for *olgou* (see No. 7, supra) is the pl. of *olg*=*ol* (gl. indago), infra, No. 132, now *eul*, *heul*, W. *ol* 'vestigium,' Corn. *ol*, *ooll*, Cr. 1763, pl. *olow*, *allow*, Cr. 1748. All cognate (as Prof. Rhŷs suggests) with O.H.G. *folgon*, N.H.G. *folgen*, A.S. *folgian*, O.N. *fylgja*, the original *p* having been lost in the Celtic forms. For the loss of *g* after *l*, cf. W. *bol*=Ir. *bolg*, Gaulish *bulga* 'saccus' and *hel* 'venari'= Ir. *selg*.

120. *im* (gl. iurgiorum, xxi. 7), p. 67. This is probably the first syllable of the Br. cognate of W. *ymsen* or *ymserth*.

121. *am* (gl. e diverso, xxi. 7), p. 67. I cannot explain this. Prof. Bugge compares W. *amryw* diverse, sundry, Z.[2]897.

122. *nac tu* (gl. nec . . . adquiescas), p. 68. The context is: "Non sequeris turbam ad malum faciendum, nec in iudicio adquiescas sententiæ plurimorum" (xxi. 10, citing Exod. xxxiii. 2, 3). Here *nac* (later *na*, Z.[2] 753) is the particle used in expressing double or multiplex negation (here seems 'and not'), and *tu* is the 2nd sg. imperative of a verb = the modern *tuat* 'prendre partie,' from *tu* = Ir. *tóib* 'side.'

123. *aolo* is written (p. 68 left marg.) without a reference-mark, opposite the line "De peruerso iudicio non faciendo temere" (xxi. 11). Mr. Bradshaw conjectured, with much

[1] I believe there is a river *Ieithon* in Breconshire.

probability, that it refers to 'judicio,' and compared the gloss *aolguo* (gl. indagatione) supra No. 119.

124. *arlu* (gl. proibuit), p. 68. Context: "Omni modo non proibuit iudicandi facultatem" (xxi. 11). This gloss is, no doubt, a fragment of a verb cognate with *arlup*, leg. *arluth* (gl. pedicam), infra No. 315. It probably stands for *ar-ludas*, third sg. pret. act. of the Breton equivalent of W. *ar-luddias* 'to intercept,' 'to hinder,' which Prof. Bugge connects with Skr. *rodha* 'obstruction' (root *rudh*), Zend *apa-raodhayéiti*.

125. *fan* (gl. uolubiles), p. 69. The context is: "Non oportet iudices æclesiae uolubiles esse" (xxi. 12). The same word glosses the singular 'uolubilis' infra No. 299, and the *fan* in No. 125 doubtless stands for *fanion*. We may, perhaps, connect this word with Goth. *spinnan*, *spann*, for a Breton *f* occasionally comes from *sp*: thus *felch*, *σπλάγχνον*, Ir. *selg*, *faezaff* 'vincere' (Skr. *spaç*?), *fazyaff* 'spatiari.'

126. *gudcoguod* (gl. reprehendendi), p. 69. Context: "De .iiii. principalibus modis reprehendendi (*var. lec.* pervertendi) iudicium (xxi. 13). This seems, as M. Loth says, to be a compound of *gud* (also in *gud-naiol* infra No. 206 and *guod-ces* No. 201), = *guo* + *od* and *coguod* (leg. *cogued*?) in *arcogued* 'noxa,' 'laesio,' infra No. 135 = W. *argyweedd* 'noxa,' 'laesio,' 'accusatio,' Davies.

127. *er* (gl. mollimur, leg. molimur), p. 69: see above No. 48.

128. *di* (gl. discutit, xxi. 14), p. 70.

129. *do* (gl. dispenset, leg. dispensat xxi. 14), p. 70.

In these three glosses we have the first syllables of verbs respectively compounded with the prepositions *ar*, *di*, and *do*.

130. *cenemi* (gl. causidicorum, xxi. 15), p. 70. This seems the plural of a derivative from *cen* = Corn. *chen* (gl. causa). M. Loth, however, thinks it stands for **cesnemi*, and compares the Ir. *cosnam* (contentio).

131. *meplaom* (gl. confutari), p. 70. Context: "cum errorem suum senserint confutari" (xxi. 15). This is an infinitive in *-om*, of the ā-conjugation, like *douohinuom* and *linom*, Lux. In the first syllable of the word, as in Nos.

32, 96 supra and Nos. 209, 236, 315 infra, the *p* seems mis-written for *þ*, the A.S. sign for *th*, and the *meth* which we thus attain is the Old Breton form of the Mid. Br. *mezz* 'honte,' 'uergoyne' Cath., Corn. *meth*, W. *méth* 'a miss,' 'abortion.' The *laom* is the infinitive of a verb cognate with Ir. *laaim* 'I drive,' 'cast,' *ἐ-λάω*, Curtius G.E. No. 661. Our gloss would thus mean 'to put to shame.' M. Loth thinks that *meplaom* stands for **mebalom*, translates it by 'avoir honte,' and compares W. *mefl* dedecus.

132. *ol .lored* (gl. indago, xxi. 15), p. 70. As to *ol* v. supra No. 119: *lored* may be the pl. of **lor* = Ir. *lorg* 'track.'

132a. *di* (gl. forinsecus). The context (xxi. 15), p. 70, reads: "Negutiorum sectatores forinsecus [Wasser. *forensium*] eloquentiam propter proximi dilectionem in saeculari negutio diserere debent." Over the *t* of Negutiorum (*sic*), the scribe has written *e*. I cannot explain either of these fragments. As to the *di*, Prof. Bugge thinks the glosser may have meant some word corresponding with W. *dyeithr* (stranger).

133. *ni tinaatoe* (gl. non ineundum est, xxi. 21), p. 72. In *nit* (= W. *nid*) we have a combination of the negative *ni* and a fragment of the verb substantive, and *in-aatoe* is = the prep. *in* + the fut. part. passive of the irregular verb *monet* 'ire,' of which the present (*af* for *aaf*), the preterite (*aez*), the future (*ahy*), the secondary present (*ahenn*), the imperative (*aet*), and the pret. participle pass. (*aet*) are from the root AG. In *aatoe* (ex **agatoe*), as in *siel* supra No. 49, the *g* is lost between vowels. Cognate are *ἄγω*, Skr. *aǵāmi*, Lat. *ago*, O.Ir. *atom-aig* (*ad-dom-aig*) 'adigit me.' For the termination *-atoe* compare the Old Breton names *Benitoe*, *Portitoe*, Z.[2] 532, Corn. *caradoc*, *casadoc*, W. *caradwy*, Skr. *-tavya*.

134. *acom* (gl. disceptantes, xxi. 21), p. 72. I cannot explain this.

135. .i. *arcogued* vel iniquos (gl. niciuos, xxi. 26), p. 73. The context is: "De iudicio clericorum ut non sit apud niciuos aut apud infideles." This 'niciuos' (for which the printed text has 'iniquos') seems a mistake for 'nociuos,'

and our *arcogued* may stand for *arcoguedolion*, pl. of **arco-guedol*, a derivative from **ar-co-guod* = W. *argywedd* 'noxa,' 'laesio,' Davies. The root may be the Ir. *er-chóit* 'noxa': so *arachoat* 'quod nocet' Ml. 31d; *co arcói* (gl. ad nocendum) Ml. 46d. Prof. Bugge doubtfully connects the Skr. root *vyadh, vidhyati.*

136. *comed* (gl. minas, xxiv. 1, citing Eph. vi. 9), p. 75. This gloss seems one of the so-called plurals in *-ed.* That these were originally collectives is maintained by Prof. Rhŷs, Rev. Celt. ii. 117, 118, who cites the Old Bulgarian use of the fem. *bratija* 'brotherhood' as the plural of *bratŭ* 'brother.' As British *d* often comes from *dj*, and this from *j*, we may compare not only *bratija*, but the Greek oxytons *δωρ-ιά, ἀνθρακ-ιά, μυρμηκ-ιά, νεοττ-ιά*, and Skr. *gav-yā* 'a number of cows,' Curtius, G.E.[5] 609.

137. *couled* (gl. oculum), p. 75. Context: "Non ad oculum servientes" (xxiv. 2, citing Ephes. vi. 6). According to Prof. Bugge, this may stand for *co-vled*, where *co* is the preposition, later *que-* in *que-vaes* 'ager,' Z.[2] 902, and *vled* a mutation of *bled* = W. *blaidd* 'look.'

138. *muncul* (gl. lenticulam), p. 75. Context: "Samuel lenticulam olei accipit et fudit super capud Saulis" (xxv. 1, citing 1 Reg. x. 1). This is a compound of *mun* (neck) = Ir. *muin*, and *cul* (slender) = Ir. *cóil*, and means a slender-necked vessel.

139. *emsiu* (gl. abitionis), p. 76. This must be the 'abusionis' of the printed text: "Nonus abusionis gradus est rex iniquus" (xxv. 3). Here as in No. 141 infra, *em-* seems the negative prefix *am-* Z.[2] 893-4, and No. 22 supra, the *a* being infected by the following *i*. As to *siu*, it seems connected with W. *sywino* 'to turn or use continually,' Ir. *soud* (gl. conversio), root *su*, whence Latin *sucula*.[1] M. Loth analyses thus: *em-s-ium*, where *em* = *ambi*, *s* = *es* = *ex* and *ium* is the infinitive of the root *i*.

140. *pico* (gl. qualiter), p. 76. The context is: "sed qualiter alios corrigere poterit, qui proprios mores, ne iniqui

[1] M. de la Villemarqué cites an Old French *si* 'tare, default' (*sans nul si* = Br. *hep si*), as to which I can find nothing in Diez, or elsewhere.

sint, non corregit?" (xxv. 3). In *pi* we have the old form of the Mid. Bret. interrogative pronoun *pe*, Z.² 401, Corn. *py*, Ir. *cia* = Lat. *quis*, Umbr. *pis*, Gr. *τί-ς*. In *co* we probably have the beginning of some word like **cogued* = W. *cyvedd* 'conformity.'

141. *emguer* (gl. piacula), p. 76. Context: "Propter piacula regum . . . semina eorum ne regnarent, extinxit Deus" (xxv. 3). I cannot explain this gloss. Possibly it is pl. of a compound of the prefix *am* and some cognate of the Welsh *gwyr* 'fresh.'

142. *pis imfer* (gl. pithonistarum), p. 76. The context is: "magorum et pithonistarum et auguriorum superstitionibus non intendere" (xxv. 4). With *pis* . . . I would connect the Corn. *pystry* 'witchcraft,' *pystryor* 'wizard,' and the Irish *pisoc (pisóc)*, of which the n. pl. occurs in a gloss on the Senchas Mór (Laws, i. 180): *Fuba n-imda* .i. *pisoca isin lepuidh* 'charms in the bed' (to render a man impotent?), and again *fromadh felmais* .i. *fromadh na pisoc* 'to prove the enchantments.' The Mid. Br. *pistri* 'veneficium' may also be connected. The stem-word seems to Prof. Bugge the Lat. *pyxis*, a box for medicine or poison: pyxidem veneni alicui tradere (Cic.), venenum in auream pyxidem conditum (Sueton.), partos gladio vel pyxide nummos (Juv.). Hence also the Ir. *pios* 'a cup.' The *t* in *pis-t-ri* is = the *d* in *pyxida*. The second word, *imfer*, is obscure. It may possibly stand for *imfernus* = the mod. *ifernuz* 'infernal,' W. *uffernol*. Compare in the Berne Vergil, fo. 122ᵃ, imferno (gl. ereboque) and imfernali (gl. aperto) in the line Tantum effata furens antro se inmisit aperto. The *m* before *f* may be compared with the Gaulish *brivatiom Frontu*, the Lat. *im fronte*, C.I.L. i. 1104.

143. *tros* (gl. tirannide), p. 77. The context is: "melius est pauci temporis legitimum regnum quam tirannide longi temporis" (xxv. 7). *tros* must be the first syllable of the Breton cognate of W. *trawsedd*, *trawsder* or *trawsineb* 'oppressio, iniquitas' (Davies), a derivative from *traws* = Lat. *trans*. M. Loth thinks *tros* is for **toraus*, related to *tori*.

144. *rac* (gl. proferebat), p. 77. The printed context is: "Surrexit Judas Galileus, qui *asserebat* eos . . . tributa non

reddere" (xxv. 91). This gloss is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *rac*, Z.² 678, 679, Corn. *rag* in *rag-leueris* 'antedictus,' W. *rhag*. Compare the Br. *racloriou* (gl. proscenia) Berne, 28, and the gloss *rac* (gl. obtimantes, *i.e.* optimates) infra No. 146.

145. *decmint* (gl. adecimabit), p. 78. Printed context: "sed et segetes vestras et vinearum reditus addecimabit" (xxv. 12). This must be the 3rd pl. (a mistake for the 3rd sg.) of a Breton verb equivalent to the W. *degymmu* 'addecimare,' *decum, degum* 'decimae,' Z.² 821, Corn. *dege*, Ir. *dechmad*.

146. *rac* (gl. obtimantes), p. 79. The printed context is: "et increpavi optimates et magistratus" (xxv. 14). See above No. 144.

147. *er* (gl. celebræ), p. 79. The context is: "huius inter omnia celebræ dictum fertur, perdidisse diem, in quo nihil boni fecisset" (xxv. 14). This, no doubt, is the first syllable of *erdirch* 'conspicuus'=*erdirh*, infra No. 220.

148. *ni diglo* (gl. non deglobare), p. 80. The context is: "Boni pastoris est pecus tundare [*i.e.* tondere] non deglobare" (*i.e.* deglubare, xxv. 16). *Ni* is the negative particle and *diglo* is borrowed from the Latin word which it renders. The *b* is vocalised as in *soudan* No. 64 supra.

149. *gupartolaid* (gl. praeuilegia), p. 81 in marg. Context: "cum praevilegia singulorum non possunt legem facere communem" (xxvi. 2). This seems to be a derivative from **guparthol*, MS. *guparth* (gl. remota) Lux., pl. *gupar(tholion)* gl. remotis, infra No. 208, and cognate with the verb *imguparton* (gl. se abdicant) infra No. 256. I take our gloss to stand for *guparthol aithou*, pl. of **guparthol aith*, where *-aith*, later *-aez, ez*, is=Corn. *-aid* (in *ruifanaid* 'regnum,' *medhecnaid* 'medicina'), later *-eth*, O.W. *-aid* (in *utolaidou* gl. natales), later *-aith, -aeth*, Ir. *-acht* ex *-acta*, Z.² 846, 847. The ground-form *gu-parth* is, of course, from the prep. *guo* and *parth*, which is either a loan from the Lat. *pars*, or, as is more probable, = Ir. *scert, scart, cerdd* in *descert* (*des-scert*) [=W. *deheu-barth*] 'south,' *túai-scert* 'the north,' *di-scart din innecin fil fornd*, LU. 63 b, *cerdd chuind* ('Conn's part,' the

northern half of Ireland, usually *leth Cuinn*) Amra Choluimb-chille, 130 — all from the root SK'ARD, Rhŷs, Rev. Celt. ii. 333–334.

150. *com* (gl. sortiendum), p. 81. The context has: "non viribus sortiendum [leg. sortientium] et maxime ethicorum" (xxvi. 3). This is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *com*, Z.² 902.

151. *adguo* (gl. secuit), p. 83. Context: "Fineas meritricem cum uiro suo una secuit, ut cito mortem finerent" (xxvii. 5). Here we have the first two syllables of a verb compounded with the prepositions *at* and *guo*, Z.² 907.

152. *er* (gl. moliuntur, xxvii. 8), p. 84. See above, Nos. 48, 127.

153. *is*. This word, the 3rd sg. of the verb substantive, is written (p. 84) over the first *a* of 'uanitas' in the phrase "que ista uanitas est" (printed text "Quae est vanitas ista" xxvii. 8). 'Est' is written with the usual contraction, so may (says Mr. Bradshaw) have been overlooked by the scribe. *Is* (=Ir. *is*, est, *ἐστί*) occurs often in Old Welsh, Z.² 553. It seems the Corn. *es*. The Mid. Br. *eus*, Corn. *eus*, *us*, appear to be different words.

154. *inmor* (gl. multo), p. 85. The context is: "quamuis multo maius quam in ueteri testamento" (xxvii. 9), and our gloss begins over the *o* of 'multo.' It is, like the Ir. *inmar* (gl. magnopere), *inmaire* 'bigness,' compounded of the particle *int*, Z.² 615, 616, supra No. 113, and *mor* (*már*), whence O.Br. *dermorion* (gl. inormia) Lux., Corn. *maur* (gl. magnus), W. *mawr*, Ir. *már*, Gaul. *mâros*. Not in Loth.

155. *sce* (gl. discertam), p. 85. The context is: "a cetero corpore discerptam manum" (xxvii. 9). This gloss seems the first three letters of the pret. part. pass. of the verb equivalent to the modern *skéja* 'couper'=*squeiaff*, Cath., *hanter squeiget* 'demy couppé,' Cath. As the lingual sonant spirant *j* (written *i* and *g*) often comes from a dental (*egenn* 'ox'=W. *eidion*, *eureugou* 'nuptials,' pl. of *euret*, *nigal* 'to fly,' W. *neidio*, and the loan-words *rouejou*, O.Br. *roitou* =retia, *pinigen*, *stleja*, etc.), we may, perhaps, connect *skeja*

(O.Br. **scetam*, **scitam*) with *sci-n-do*, *σχίδη*, Curtius G.E. No. 295.

156. *tal* (gl. soluit), p. 85. The context is: "Cain primus homicida .vii. uindictas soluit" (xxvii. 10). Here *tal* is the 3rd sg. pres. indic. act. of a verb=W. *talu*, Corn. *taly*. Compare the noun *at-tal* 'repayment' supra No. 30. In Mid. and Mod. Br. the root is compounded with *bout*: *talvout* 'valoir.'

157. *guo* (gl. motulauit), p. 86. The context is: "Zacharias . . . nouem mensibus motulauit," *i.e.* mutulauit 'remained dumb' (xxvii. 11). This is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *guo*.

158. *gu* (gl. prodens, xxvii. 20), p. 89. This may be the first two letters of some form of the verb equivalent to the modern *gwerza* (*gwerzaff*, Cath.) 'vendre,' 'livrer,' 'trahir,' W. *gwerthu* 'vendere.' Compare *guir* . . ., No. 74.

159. *coel* (gl. aruspicem, xxviii. 10), p. 92. This stands for *coelioc* (*colioc*, infra, No. 247), Corn. *chuillioc* (gl. augur), whence *cuillioges* (gl. phitonissa), O.W. *coiliaucc* (gl. augur) Mart. Cap. 2. a b., all derived from *coil* (O.W. pl. *o coilou*, gl. auspiciis), Z.[2] 1657, Ir. *cél*=O.N. *heill* 'omen,' 'auspicium.' See infra, No. 293.

160. *crap*. This is written in the margin of p. 93, without a reference-mark, opposite 'a conuiuio chatolicorum separetur. De æclesiæ reos obstinanter non defendente' (xxviii. 11, 12). I think this must mean 'a prohibition.' Davies has (s.v. *crâff* 'harpago,' 'fibula,' Fr. *agrafe*) an 'Arm. *crapaf* 'anchoro' (leg. 'anchorare'): cf. Corn. *grabel* 'a grappling-iron,' Fr. *grappin*, Eng. *grapling*. Legonidec has *kraban* 'serre.' The Welsh cognate is *crap* 'raptio,' 'prehensio,' Davies. The Irish *grabbad* .i. *bacáil no tairmesc* 'a stopping or prohibition,' H. 3. 18,[1] p. 51*b*, seems to suggest the meaning of our gloss. All appear connected with the Ital. *grappare* and the other Romance words which Diez[4] 172 brings from O.H.G. *krapfo*. To *crap* belong the Mid. Br. *scrap* (=*excrap*) 'objet d'un rapt' PB. 243, and *scrapat* 'to scrape,' Cath.

[1] A manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

160*a*. In the margin of p. 93, opposite the line: sanguinis particeps fiat . . . Si enim dominus eos in ergastilo retinuit, is *scrib* with a stroke through the upper part of *b*.

161. *guoteguis* (gl. conpiscuit), p. 93. The context has: "Christus mali facientes in templo flagellis conpiscuit et eiecit" (xxviii. 13). This is the 3rd sg. s-preterite of a verb compounded with the prep. *guo* and the O.Br. equivalent of Mid. Br. *tevell* 'tacere,' W. *tewi*. Compare the O.Br. *taguel* in *taguelguiliat* (gl. silicernium) Eutych. Z.[2] 1053= Corn. *tewel*, W. *tawel*, Ir. *tó* (1.) 'silent,' (2.) 'silence' (*fearr tó labhra*, O'Cl.), from the root *tus*, Fick[3] i. 602, Skr. *tushyati*. Our gloss seems to mean 'he put to silence (by scourging) the evildoers in the temple.' The termination *-is* (swallowed up in Middle Breton by the commoner *-as*) is= the Corn. *-ys*, W. *-is*, infecting the preceding vowel, Z.[2] 523.

162. *anno* (gl. persuadentum), p. 94 in l. marg. The context has: "Non ad reorum defensionem facta est æclesia, sed iudicibus persuadentum" (xviii. 14), and Mr. Bradshaw says that "this *-tum* for *-dum* is very common in most of the Brittany MSS. I have seen." See as to the gloss, Nos. 83, 84, supra.

Over funer is written *b*. Context: Salam*one* dicente et ne egestate conpulsus funer.

163. *gud*. This is written, p. 94 l. marg., without a reference-mark, opposite the line "De eo quod intersit [leg. idem sit apud Deum] utrum paruum an magnum quis furatur" (xxix. 2). This seems intended to gloss 'furatur' and is probably only the beginning of a verb (*gud=guo-od?*).

164. *inruetir* .i. *inso blin*. Written in the r. margin of p. 95, without a reference-mark, opposite the words in the following passage beginning with 'iuue-nes' and ending with 'habet-.' "Vacca .iiii. quoque utilitates habet, immolatur, consolatur senes, nutrit iuūenes, arat in Palastina. Ouis similiter .iiii. utilitates habet" (xxix. 4). If, with Prof. Bugge, we regard *soblin* as cognate with W. *syflyd* 'to move,' 'to stir,' we may, I think, refer our gloss to 'consolatur.' *Insoblin* would then be the 3rd sg. pres. indic. of a verb synonymous with *inruetir*, which seems a deponent, also in

the 3rd sg. pres. indic., meaning 'incitat,' compounded with the preposition *in*, and radically connected with W. *rheu* 'to move,' *rheuedd* 'activity,' N.H.G. *regen*.

165. *bitat* (gl. resicaret), p. 95 in marg. r. The context is: "Nam Salamon . . . addit tria super legem, ut resicaret uitia populi" (xxix. 5). This seems an infinitive like *scarat*, *bidio*, radically connected with the W. *bidog* 'ensiculus,' 'gladiolus,' 'scia,' Davies, which is, I suspect (like the Ir. *bith* 'a wound,' O'Cl., *ro-bith* 'he slew,' LU. 58[a]), connected with Skr. *ghāta*, the *b* coming from *gv* as often. Prof. Bugge adds, doubtfully, Church Slav. *biti* schlagen, Alban. *bie* schlage (Bezz. Beitr. viii. 189).

166. Vinniaus dicit (xxix. 8), p. 96. "The printed text," says Mr. Bradshaw, "from the St. Gallen MS., has Vinnianus. All the Brittany MSS. have, the older ones 'Vinniaus,' the later ones 'Vinniauus.' The Cambrai MS. (eighth century) has 'Vinniaus.' So also the Vienna MS. The name 'Vinniau' occurs in the Redon cartulary as 'Vinniau' or 'Viniau,' and in the invocations in the Breton litanies as 'sce. Guiniaue.'" The Schaffhausen Vita Columbae, p. 53b, has Vinniauo, for which Bishop Reeves (p. 104 of his edition) prints Vinniano.

167. *tal* (gl. dependunt), p. 102. The context is: "Sino*dus* ait: Quicumque filii a parentibus suis causa diuini cultus abscedunt, nec debitam reuerentiam dependunt, anathema sint" (xxxi. 15). Here *tal* stands for *talont*, 3rd pl. pres. indic. act. of the verb, whence comes *tal* (gl. solvit) supra No. 156.

167b. *hep* (gl. secus), p. 104. Context: "Lex dicit, pater non potest dare hereditatem filio dilecte secus filium odiossæ." This, like Ir. *sech*, is cognate with Lat. *secus* for **sequus*.

167c. *is* p. 105 written over omnis. Context: "Lata est mihi omnis potestas in celo et in terra."

168. *brat*. This is written in p. 107, l. marg., opposite the following passages from Numbers xxvii.: "Filie Salphath . . . accesserunt ad Moisen . . . dicentes: pater noster mortuus est non habens filios . . . cur priuamur hereditate eius?" (xxxii. 19). This is the modern *brad* 'trahison,'

'tromperie,' Corn. *bras*,[1] W. *brad*,[2] O. Ir. *mrath* Ml. 1, 33rd, ar in *mrath* (gl. pro proditione) Ml. col. 301, *mraithemnachtae* (gl. iniquae simulationis) Ml. 133 a., *conu-merad* (gl. ut proderetur) Ml. 24 c. The Old French *barat* (whence Eng. *barratry*) is, apparently, of Celtic origin. The rise of *br* from *mr* is also exemplified by *bro* = O. Ir. *mrug*, cognate *margo*, *marka*, etc. With *mrath*, *brad*, etc., Prof. Bugge compares *ἁμαρτεῖν*, *ἤμβροτον*, *ἀβροτάζω*. For the development of meaning he compares Lat. *via decipi* des weges verfehlen, decipere, betrügen.

169. *meic* (gl. ratas), p. 107.

170. *ra* (gl. stimulationes), p. 107.

The context is: "Auctores æclesiae hic multa addunt, ut feminæ her[ed]es dent ratas et stimulationes [leg. stipulationes], ne transferatur hereditas ad alienas" (xxxii. 20).

Here *meic* is written for *meich*, the pl. of *mach* = W. *mâch* 'vas, vadis, praes, fidejussor, sponsor, adpromissor, vid. an hinc *mechdiern*' (Davies), Corn. *myghtern*. *Mach* is, doubtless, as Davies suggests, the first element of the well-known Old Breton title *machtiern*, which occurs in Cart. Red., p. 6: 'Ermor episcopus, Machtiernn in Poutrecoett.' Compare also the Old Welsh *di-guor-mechis* ('testatus est') Z.[2] 907.

ra (like *rad* infra No. 177) stands for *radou*, pl. of **rat* = Ir. *rath* 'surety.' Borrowed, apparently, from Lat. *ratum* in phrases like *ratum aliquid facere*, *habere*, *ducere*.

Over 'dent' in the passage just quoted is written *g*, which probably stands for the 3rd pl. pres. conj. act. of *guervell* 'appeler' Cath., now *gervel*.

171. *cospitiot* (gl. titubauerit), p. 108. The context is: "Heredes mortuorum sic iudicentur: si alter habuerit testes, adhibeant, si non habuerit, [aetas] uidenda et nobilitas et ordinatio et ratio: si autem titubauerit, aut sorte aut ueritate . . . aut iudicibus ueris . . . interpretentur" (xxxii. 23). *Co-spitiot* is compounded with the

[1] *The vn carn y fue teulys par may cothas yn ow bras*, 'to a rock he was cast so that he fell into my perfidy,' R. 2333, 2334, where Norris renders *bras* as if it were *brus* 'judgment.'

[2] Hence Mid. W. *bratwr* 'proditor,' Z.[2] 828 and *bradoue* (gl. insidiosi), Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 423.

prep. *con*, Z.² 901. The termination resembles that of W. *beidyawt* 'he will challenge,' Skene ii. 307, W. *methawd* 'it will fail,' *ymchoelawd* 'it will turn,' Z.² 516, *bidhawt* 'erit,' *gwasgarawt* 'will scatter,' Evander Evans, Arch. Camb. April, 1873. The simple verb is, like the W. *yspeidiaw* 'to make an interval,' a denominative from **spit*=Corn. *spys*, W. *yspaid*, borrowed from Lat. *spatium* 'a space of time.' The Mid. Br. *espet* (*en berr espet* 'in brevi spatio' PB. 82) is from the low-Latin *espatium*.

172. *enbit* (gl. debilis), p. 108. Context: "De debitis dimitendis illi, qui debilis est aut inops" (xxxiii. 3). This must, I think, be the W. *ynfyd* 'stultus, insanus, ineptus, demens, amens,' Davies, Ir. *oinmid* (gl. sotus). If so, the *b* of *enbit* is written for infected *m*, as, possibly, in *dogurbonneu* supra No. 52. The privative particle here used resembles the Ir. *in-*, Z.² 860.

173. *anguo* (gl. inequalitatem, xxxiii. 3), p. 108. The *an-* is, of course, the negative prefix, see infra No. 280. The *guo-* is either the beginning of some word or (as M. Loth thinks) = Ir. *fó* .i. cuma, O'Cl.

174. *guos*. This is written in the r. margin of p. 109, without any reference-mark, opposite the first seven words of the following passage: "*Romana* dicit: Quatuor comitantur debita, ratae (MS. rate), stipulationes, testes idonei scriptio" (xxxiii. 4). The gloss *guos* (gl. ratas) infra No. 185 shows that our *guos* refers to 'ratae.' It is either borrowed from Lat. *vas*, or stands for *guostlou* = the modern *gwestlou* 'gages,' pl. of *gwestl*, Corn. *gwistel* (gl. obses), W. *gwystl*, from **ved-tla*, cognate with *ἄ-Fεθ-λον*.

175. *erie* (gl. pernoctauit), p. 110. The context is: "si pauper est, non pernoctabit apud te uestimentum eius" (xxxiii. 10, citing Deuteron. xxiv. 12). I suspect that this is a gloss on 'uestimentum eius' (omitted by our codex) rather than on 'pernoctauit (-abit ?).' If so, the *e* is the possessive pron. 3rd sg. masc., Z.² 386, but the *rie* . . . remains obscure. Can it stand for *rei* (as *uo* for *ou*, supra, Nos. 7, 119) the first three letters of **reit*=W. *rhaid*, Mod. Br. *ret* now *rét*, *réd* 'needment,' Corn. *reys* ?

176. *molin* (gl. molam, xxxiii. 10), p. 110. This is Mid. Br. *melin* Cath., now *milin*, Corn. *melin* (gl. molendinum), W. *melin*, Ir. *muilenn*. All apparently borrowed from Lat. *molina*, as *kegin*, Ir. *cuicenn*, from *coquina*, and Ir. *ruingenn* 'a plane,' from *runcina*.

177. *rad* (gl. stipulationes, xxxiv. 6), p. 112. See No. 170, supra.

178. *contulet* (gl. colligas), p. 114. The context has: "Bassilides quidam inter colligas suos" (xxxv. 4). This is apparently the same word as the *cuntullet* (gl. collegio), pl. *cuntelletou* (gl. collegia), of the Luxemburg MS., as to which see Z.[2] 901, and Rev. Celtique, i. 362, Corn. *cuntellet* (gl. congregatio vel concio) Z.[2] 901, 1068, Mid. W. *kynnullaw* 'colligere.' M. Émile Ernault compares the Mod. Bret. *kutuill* 'cueillir.' From the prepositional prefixes *con-tu* and the root *ul*, whence also Ir. *com-ul*, *com-ol*, *tin-olaim* (Loth).

179. *milintric* (gl. stupris), p. 114. The context has: "si quispiam adulteræ [conjunctus] perpetuam cum ea permanendi fidem polliceatur; tollerabilius est non implere sacramentum quam permanendi (*sic*) in stupris flagitium" (xxxv. 5). This probably stands for *milintricion* (or *-iou* ?), pl. of **milintric*, a derivative from *milin* (gl. prostitutam), infra, No. 260. Compare the Old Breton names *Milon*, *Milun*, in the Redon Cartulary. The root seems *mil*, Fick,[3] i. 173, whence μείλια, the Lith. *meilùs* 'lovely,' and other words cited by Curtius G. E. No. 464.[1]

The suffix *tric* may perhaps be compared with the Lat. *tricio* in *meretricium*, etc.

180. *nguet* or *hguet*—Mr. Bradshaw thought the latter—(gl. secundum), p. 114. Context: "Item iuramenta peruersa retrorsum uertantur. Secundum cum, etc." The printed context (xxxv. 5) is: "Tria juramenta solvenda sunt, primum, cum quis male facere jurat . . . secundum, cum quis incaute iurat non putans peccatum . . . . . tertium: si mulier, etc.

Prof. Rhŷs suggests that the true reading is *guet*, i.e. *eil gueth*: cf. *an eil guez* 'vicissim,' Cath., W. *am er eyl guyt*

[1] To these perhaps may be added the Ir. *milide*, an epithet for heaven in the Scéla lái bráthn, LU. 33*b*.

'pro altera vice,' *ar eil weith* 'secunda vice,' Z.² 732. M. Loth, however, thinks that *guet* stands for *guetig* (après), now *goudé*, W. *gwedy*.

181. *th im dam guas* (gl. se . . . . . contrixerit; leg. constrinxerit), p. 114.

182. *bit panim* (gl. usque), p. 114 in l. marg.

The context is: "Si quis uirorum uotum uouerit aut sé iuramento contrixerit non faciat uerbum irritum sed omne quod promisit inpleat. Item lex mulier si iuramento constrixerit et rl. usque ait." But Wasserschleben has "Si mulier sita in aetate puerili in domo patris se juramento constrinxerit et reliqua usque ait Si pater statim ut audierit contradixerit, uota eius et iuramenta eius irrita erunt" (xxxv. 5).

In *th-im-d-am-guas* we have four particles, *di*, *im* (as in *imguparton*, infra No. 256), the reflexive particle, later *em* Z.² 892, *do* and *am*=*dam* now signifying inchoate action, Z.² 906. The final syllable *guas* stands for some form of the modern verb *gwestla*; and M. Loth completes it thus: *diim-dam-guastlot* (se sera lié par vœu par serment ?).

In *bit panim* (gl. usque, i.e. usque ad) *bit* is the later *bet*, *bed* Z.² 698, Corn. *bys*, W. *behit*, *bet*, *byt*.

pan seems the modern *pan* or *pann* 'lieu,' 'endroit.' The *im* may be =W. *ym*, *yd-ym* 'sumus.'

183. *brientinion* (gl. ingenuis), p. 116. Context: "De captiuis ingenuis in eodem sabbato liberandis" (xxxvi. 3). This is the pl. of *brientin*=Corn. *bryntyn* 'princeps,' Mid. W. *breenhin*, *brenhin*, Z.² 845, Glück K. N. 129, from **brigentin*, a derivative from **brigant*, W. *bryeint*, *breint* 'privilegium,' now *braint*. As to the loss of *g* between vowels, see Nos. 49, 106, 133, 164 supra, and Nos. 194, 218, 229 infra.

184. *testou* (gl. stipulationes), p. 116.

185. *guos* (gl. ratas), p. 116.

The context is: "accipe stipulationes et ratas et signa forinsecus" (xxxvi. 5, citing Jeremiah xxxii. 11). Here *testou* is the pl. of *test*, Corn. *tist*, *test*, W. *tyst*, a loan from Lat. *testis*. As to *guos* for *guostlou*, see above, No. 174.

186. *dieteguetic* (gl. distitutus), p. 118. The context is: "Populus a principe distitutus dixit, quis ibit ante nos?" (xxxvii. 2). I would analyse this word thus: *di-eteguetic*. Here *di* is the common prepositional prefix, Z.[2] 903, 900, and *eteguetic* is the pret. part. passive of some verb cognate with W. *adaw*, now *gadaw* (linquere), Davies.

187. *aior* (gl. anchora, xxxvii. 3), p. 118. *Aior*, Mid. Br. *heor* Cath., now *héôr* or *éôr*, is a loan, like W. *angor*, Corn. *ancar*, Ir. *ingor*, from a Low-Lat. **angora* for *ancora* (Loth), as *congordiam* for *concordiam*. For the loss or vocalisation of the guttural nasal in inlaut compare Mid. Br. *ael* 'angelus,' *aviel* 'evangelium,' *ciuellenn* 'cingulum,' *iuin* 'unguis' = Ir. acc. sg. *ingin*, *moe* 'coma' = Ir. *mong*, *nouen* 'unguentum,' *stoeaff* 'clinare,' W. *ystwng*, *toeaff* 'iurare,' Ir. *tongad*, *spoe* 'spongia,' and perhaps the Mod. Br. *s-t-laon* 'eel' = O.H.G. *slango*, now *schlange*. Compare the change in Welsh of *ng* to *w*, Rhŷs, Rev. Celtique, ii. 192.

188. *or* (gl. maleus, leg. malleus, xxxvii. 3), p. 118. This is for *ord* now *hors* = O. Corn. *ord* (gl. malleus) Z.[2] 1061, W. *g-ord* with prefixed *g* from *v*, Ir. *ordd* (gl. malleus). In Old Celtic it is perhaps represented by the first element of the name *Ordo-vices*.

189. *guilp* (gl. madeficandum), p. 118. The printed context has: "Ros sit ad madefaciendum" (xxxvii. 3). This is the beginning of *guilpitoe*, the fut. part. pass. of the verb whence *rogulipias* (gl. olivavit) Lux. The modern infinitive is *glebia* or *glibia*, a derivative from *gleb* = Mid. Br. *gluip* (*gluipyadur* 'humectatio'), O.W. *gulip*, Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 405, now *guclyb* 'humidus,' 'madidus,' Corn. *gleb*, Ir. *fliuch*. The root is VALG according to Fick,[3] 778. I think it is *vliq*, whence also Lat. *(v)liquidus*.

190. .i. *guirhter* (gl. austeritate), p. 119. The context is: "cum austeritate imperabant eis, eo quod non esset pastor bonus" (xxxvii. 4). This is an abstract noun formed like *blinder* (gl. segnitia), by adding *-ter* to some adjective, Z.[2] 829. What this adjective is remains doubtful. *Guirh* may stand for **guirch*, and if this is by metathesis for *guichr*, we may compare O.W. *guichir*, *guichr* (gl. effrenus, gl.

effera) Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 398, W. *gwychr* 'alacer,' 'strenuus.' Or if the *c* is a *g* provected by the *t* of the suffix, we may bring *guirhter* from the Old Br. *guerg* (gl. efficax) Eutych.

191. *ablin* (gl. faustu), p. 119. The context is: "Et cunctos fastu superbiæ paruipendunt" (xxxvii. 4). The glossographer seems to have regarded 'fastus' as meaning 'fastidium,' in which case we should read *a blin(der)*, or 'fastigium,' for *blin* (now *blîn* 'bout,' 'extrémité') is=Corn. *blyn*, W. *blaen* 'cuspis,' 'extremitas,' 'summitas.' The *a* is, of course, the preposition indicating the ablative. There is a castrum *Blaen* in a 12th century charter, Cart. Red. page 291. A third hypothesis is suggested by M. Loth, who enters *ablin* in his Glossary under *a* and translates it by 'orgueil.' If so, we might think of the *Di-ablintres*.

192. *ceple* (gl. reprehensibiliter, xxxvii. 5), p. 119. Connected with *cablus* 'coupable' Cath., 'criminans' Davies, Corn. *cabel*, W. *cabl* 'calumnia.' All from a Med. Latin *cabilla*, classical *cavilla*. For the change of *b* to *p* in loan-words compare the Mid. Br. *chapl* 'cable,' *campr* 'chambre,' *divempraff* 'to dismember,' *canap* 'cannabis.' *Meplaom*, 131, for *mebalom*, is (if Loth be right) an example of a similar change in a native word.

193. *orion* (gl. oram), p. 119.

194. *straal* (gl. calamidis), p. 119.

The printed context is: "abscidit oram clamidis [leg. chlamydis] ejus" (xxxvii. 5). Here *orion* is the pl. of *or* (Ir. *or*, dat. sg. *ur*), a loan from, or cognate with, Lat. *ora*, and *straal* (not '*straul*' as Loth reads it) is like Corn. *strail* (gl. tapeta), W. *ystraill*, a loan from Lat. *stragulum*, the *g*, as usual, disappearing between vowels, and the post-tonic *u* becoming *a*.

195. *dan* (gl. sub), p. 119. This is written over the *sub* of "subiectione" (xxxvii. 6). It is the Corn. *tan* (in the oath *tan ow feth*), the W. *dan* from *tan*. In Middle Breton this preposition appears only when compounded with the prepositions *di* or *en*: *di-dan*, *en-dan*, *dindan* = *di-en-dan*, Z.[2] 680: *dindan poncz pilat*, Horae. The Latin *tenus* may be cognate.

196. .i. *domot* (gl. ritum), p. 120. The context is: "Quicunque uenerit contra ritum [*var. lec.* decretum] p[ri]ncipis, ab ecclesea abieciatur" (xxxvii. 6). This is the W. *defawd, defod* 'mos,' 'consuetudo,' Davies, cognate either with *θέμις, dhāma(n)*, Goth. *dôm-s* (Eng. *doom*) and the other words cited by Curtius, G. E. No. 309, or, as Prof. Bugge conjectures, with O. Welsh *dometic* (tamed). So Old Norse *temja* means not only zähmen, but gewöhnen, üben.

197. *tes* (gl. decreto), p. 121. Context: "Qui contra-edixerit decreto principis" (xxxvii. 18). This is the first three letters of *testamant*, Cath., a loan from Latin *testamentum*.

197a. *no* (gl. non quaesito), p. 122, I cannot explain. It is omitted by Loth. The context is: "si autem corripuerint licet non audiant n*on* q*uae*sito.

198. *arton* (gl. latrare), p. 122.

199. *guotroit* (gl. demulgitis), p. 122.

The printed context is: "Canes muti non possunt latrare, uos demulgitis lac ovium et comeditis eas" (xxxvii. 22, citing Isaias lix. 10). Here *arton* is for *arthon*, cognate with the Mid. Br. *harzaff* 'aboyer,' Cath., now *harza*, W. *cyf-arth*, Davies. Pughe has also *arthal, arthiad, arthaw* and *arthu*. The ending *-on* seems to stand for *-ân*. In Middle Breton we have only *-en*, Z². 536, as in *autren, antren*.

guotroit is the 2nd pl. pres. indic. act. of a verb=the Mid. Breton *gozro* 'mulgere' Cath., now *gôrô*, W. *godro*, and compounded of the prep. *guo* and *tro*, which latter seems cognate with the Ir. *trágud* (ebbing, exhaustion).

Over 'abutimur' in the phrase "quorum abutimur donis" (xxxvii. 22) is written *m*, which I cannot explain.

200. *h gurstli* (gl. informetur), p. 123. The printed text has: "Decernimus, ut discat, quod doceat, *reformetur* quod teneat" (xxxvii. 23). This seems compounded with the prep. *guor*, like *gurlimun, gurprit*, supra, Nos. 51, 95. The *stli* may be the beginning of a verb cognate with O.W. *stlinnim* in *glan-stlinnim* (gl. famine sancto), Juv. 5, *istlinnit* 'loquitur,' Juv. 4=O. Ir. *sluindid*.

201. *guodces* (gl. hodio habentes), p. 124. Context: "crudeles, hodio habentes bonum" (xxxvii. 30, citing

2 Timoth. iii. 3). Here *guod-* is=the prep. prefixes *guo*+*od* (cf. Ir. *fo(d)* in *fócre=fo-od-gare*), and *ces* may stand for **ceseion*=W. *caseion*, pl. of *casai* 'a hater,' cognate with *cas*, Corn. *cás* 'hatred,' Mid. Br. *caset* 'to hate' Cath., W. *cassau* 'odio habere,' Davies, Ir. *cais* .i. *mioscais no fuath*, O'Cl. M. Loth thinks the gloss complete, and renders it by haïr.

202. *im* (gl. Paulus, xxxvii. 36), p. 125. This name is prefixed to 1 Corinth xii. 21, 22: "Non potest dicere caput pedibus," etc. Perhaps our *im* is the first syllable of *impossibl* MJ. 9b, 120a, and is intended to gloss 'non potest.'

203. *adorn* (gl. triturantis), p. 126. The context is: "Non alligabis ós bouis triturantis in aera [leg. area]," xxxviii. 1, citing Deuteron. xxv. 4. Here *a* is the relative pronoun, Z.² 392, and *dorn* is the 3rd sg. pres. indic. act. of a verb =*dornaff* 'bastre' Cath., now *dourna*=W. *dyrnu* 'triturare,' 'flagellari.' All derived from *dorn*, Corn. *dorn*, W. *dwrn* 'pugnus,' Ir. *dorn*. Hence also Mid. Br. *dornat* 'manipulus' Cath.

204. *liusiu* (gl. lixa), p. 127. Context: "Ut lixa per cinerem humidum et sordidum fluens lauat, et non lauatur" (xxxviii. 5). So *lisiu* (gl. lixa) Eutych. Z.² 1054 and Cath., now *lisiou* 'lessive,' O. Corn. *lissiu*, Z.² 1063, W. *lleisw*, both loans from Lat. *lixivium* (Fr. *lessive*). Other instances in Breton loan-words of *s* from *x* are *flus* 'flux,' *nos* 'nox,' *es-freizaff* 'exfrigidare,' *estren* 'extraneus,' *bisest* 'bisextus,' and perhaps *escis*, infra No. 264.

205. *in lin loed* (gl. in lacuna sordida, xxxviii. 5), p. 127. Here *in* is the preposition; *lin*, now *lenn*, is=Corn. *lin*, W. *llyn* 'lacus,' 'stagnum' [Ir. *linn*], which Davies compares with λίμνη, and *loed* is now *louz* 'sale,' 'malpropre,' et selon quelques-uns 'vilain,' 'laid,' Corn. *lowse* Cr. 158, *lowz* 'mouldy,' Lhuyd, Arch. Brit. 281. Our *loed* seems to stand (with regular loss of intervocalic *g*) for *logedo-s*, a derivative, as M. Loth has seen, of the same root as the Ir. *loghaim* (I rot).

206. *gudnaiol* (gl. minus erudiens), p. 128. The context is: "Melior est docta sapientia non minus erudiens, quam sancta rusticitas" (xxxviii. 7). This seems, as Prof. Loth suggests, a compound of *gud*=*guo-od* (supra No. 201) and **gnaiol*, a

deriv. in *iāl* from the root *gnā*. He thinks that *guo-* here implies diminution, as in *gu-forn*, supra No. 10, and translates the gloss by 'un peu moins instructif.'

207. *con* (gl. sustulit), p. 129. The Latin word should be 'sustollit.' Context: "Lectio diuina indoctum ædificat, doctum corripit, pauperem *sustulit*, regem humiliat, purificat animam," etc. (xxxviii. 13), and our gloss seems the first syllable of the 3rd sg. pres. indic. act. of the Old Br. verb corresponding to the Mid. Br. *quen-derchell*, cognate with W. *cynnal* 'sustinere,' a *cyn* et *dal*, Davies: cf. *quendelch* 'conserve,' 'garde,' *evel merch a quendelch guerchdet* 'like a maiden that guards her virginity,' PB. 13; *ez quendelch roen tir e guiryou* 'the king of the earth keeps his words' P.B. 40.

In the same page, l. 8, *g* is written over 'extollit,' and l. 10, *n* over 'minus.'

208. *gupar* (gl. remotis, xxxix. 3), p. 131. Context: "In cellulis procul á conspectu hominum remotis." See above No. 149.

209. *guparol* (gl. theorica), p. 131. Context: "In sola contemplatione theorica uiuentes perseuerabant" (xxxix. 3). This adjective (which glosses 'theoricam,' infra No. 240) seems compounded of the prep. *gu(o)*, and a derivative of a root *ǩar* or *sǩar*, whence also Ir. *etar-cert* (interpretatio).

210. .i. *bliniun* (gl. tebefacti), p. 131. M. Loth, wrongly, *blinion*. Context: "Sed continuo tebefacti dum pristinos mores ac uita resecare contempnant." The printed text has "eorum . . . qui . . . continuo tepefacti" (xxxix. 3). This seems the plural of *blin* (gl. inerte) Lux., pl. *blinion* (gl. inertes) Lux.=Skr. *glāna* 'fordone,' Prof. Bugge. Compare *blin* (gl. tepore), infra No. 268, which probably stands for *blinder*, Mid. W. *blinder* 'fatigatio' Z.[2] 829, or some other abstract derivative. The word *blin* or *blen*, which forms part of several Old Breton names,[1] may be cognate.

211. *ad* (gl. lacesi, leg. lacessiti, xxxix. 3), p. 132, the first syllable of the pret. part. passive of some verb compounded with the prep. *at*.

[1] *Blen-lini, Blen-lisset, Blen-liuet, Blen-linuet, Blen-luet, Blin-liuet, Treublen.*

212. .i. *guorcerdorion* (gl. circumcillionum), p. 132. Context: "V. genus est circumcillionum *sed* [leg. sub] habitu monachorum vagantur circumferentes hiphocrisin, circumuenientes prouincias," xxxix. 3. This is the pl. of *guorcerdor* 'vagabond,' where *guor* (= Gaul. *ver-*) is the common intensive prefix Z.² 895, 896; the ending *-or*, as in *ousor* (gl. opilio) Berne 10, is from *ār*, Z.² 830, and *cerd* is the base of the verb *credam*, leg. *cerdam* (gl. vado) Eutych. 6a. = W. *cerddaf*, Z.² 1053, and the verbal noun *querzet*, Cath., now *kerzet* = W. *cerdded* 'incedere,' 'ambulare,' Davies, Corn. *kerd* (gl. iter), Ir. *ceird*, all cognate with O. Saxon *scrîdan* 'schreiten,' Curtius G. E.⁵ No. 71.

213. .i. *bleoc* (gl. criniti), p. 132.

214. *guiliat* (gl. tonsa), p. 132.

215. *guoliat* (gl. comata), p. 132.

The context is: "Alii criniti incedunt, ne uilior habeatur tonsa sanctitas quam comata" (xxxix. 3). Here *bleoc* stands for *bleocion*, infra No. 281, pl. of *bleoc*, better *bleuoc* = *bleuhec*[1] 'plein de poil' Cath. = Corn. *bleuak*, W. *bleiwog* 'crinitus,' Davies. It is an adj. derived from *bleu* (also *bleuou* gl. iubis, Lux.), pl. of *bleuenn* 'poil' Cath. = W. *blewyn*. Compare O.W. *bleuporthetic* (gl. lanigerae) Z.² 1055, Corn. *bleu yn pen* (gl. capillus), *bleu en lagat* (gl. palpebrae). The root seems *bhlugv*, whence the Latin *fluere*, *fluxi* (from *flugvere*, *flugv-si*), *con-fluges* and the Lucretian *fluvidus*. The primary meaning of *bleu* would accordingly be 'something flowing.'

guiltiat, *guiliat* for **guilliat*, pl. *guiltiatou* (gl. tonsuras) Lux., seems an abstract noun meaning 'the state of being shorn.' For the termination see Z.² 840. Our gloss is cognate with O. Corn. *guillihim* (gl. forceps) Z.² 1062, W. *gwellaif* 'a pair of shears,' and perhaps Ir. *doellaim*, *-tellaim*, 'I steal,' protoceltic *tu-vellāmi*, and Latin *vello*. M. Loth adds that the Bretons still say, not "couper la barbe, mais l'arracher (*lemel ar barv*)."

guoliat for *guoltiat*, also an abstract noun, meaning 'hairi-

[1] Here the *h* is due to the accent on *ec*.

ness,' is derived from **guolt* 'coma,' Corn. *gols* (gl. cesaries), W. *gwallt*, Ir. *folt*, which Prof. Rhŷs would connect with Gr. λάσιος ex *Flatios*. See *coguelt* (gl. lanitium) infra No. 284.

216. *guad* (gl. deterrimum, xxxix. 3), p. 132. This stands for *guadam*, an irregular superlative of *drouk* 'malus.' Prof. Bugge conjectures that the stem-word may be the Latin *vapidus*, whence, according to G. Paris, the Fr. *fade*. But the Mod. W. *gwasa*, *gwaethaf*, Corn. *guethe* D. 1130, Br. *gueze* 'pessime' MJ. 196, 2, seem to show that our *guadam* stands for *guaitham* ex **vactamo*, **vaptamo*, and is therefore cognate with, but not borrowed from, *vapidus*.

217. *imco* (gl. agitet), p. 132.

218. .i. *loos*—MS. *lois*, with *o* written over *i* (gl. latronibus), p. 132.

The context is: "Agustinus: Quis nauem agitet si gubernator abscedat? Quis ab insidiis luporum custodit oues, si pastoris cura non uigilet? Quis latronibus et furibus resistet, si speculatorem non habeat?" (xxxix. 4).

im-co is the first two syllables of a verb compounded with the preposition *im*, perhaps with a reflexive meaning, Z.[2] 898, and the prep. *con*, and possibly identical with W. *cynnhyrfu* 'agitare' ex *cyn-tyrfu* 'conturbare.'

In *loos*, if this be the right reading, the *-os* may be= the *-wys*, *-is* (ex *-enses*?) forming collective substantives in Mid. W. and Mid. Breton, such as W. *monwys*, *Lloegrwys*, Br. *bedis* 'homines,' literally 'mundi (*bet*) habitatores,' *brois* 'regionis habitatores,' *ploeys* 'plebani' from *ploe* 'plebs,' Z.[2] 294. In *lo* I see the equivalent of λόχος 'an ambush,' 'the lurking-place of robbers.' The Welsh cognate seems to exist in the Ogam part of the bilingual inscription on the Llanvaughan stone, *Trenaccat lo*, i.e. 'the bed,' or 'grave,' 'of Trenacatus (Tringad), son of Maglagnus (Maelan).'[1] The root of *lo* (the Gaulish *loga-n* in the Todi inscription) is *lagh*, as to the existence of which in the Celtic languages see Curtius, G. E. No. 173 and Rhŷs, Rev. Celt. i. 373. For the loss of the *g* between vowels, see above No. 49.

[1] See as to *Maelan* and *Tringad*, Rhŷs' Lectures on Welsh Philology, 2nd edition, 380.

219. *nabu anfumetic* (gl. non suspectionis), p. 133 in r. marg.

220. *gurclut erdirh* (gl. mali euidentis), p. 133.

The context is: "abbas ita degenerauit ab opere Dei ut mereatur . . . fornicationis cremine non suspectionis sed mali euidentis honerari" (xxxix. 7). For the last three words the printed text has "male videntis onerari."

In *na-bu* (as in gloss No. 221) the *na* is the negative particle used in a relative or subjunct sentence Z.² 752, and *bu* must be the 3rd sg. pret. of the verb substantive. It is identical with the W. *bu*, Z.² 561. The Middle Breton forms are *boue*, *boe*, the Cornish *bue*, Z.² 563, 562.

M. Ernault thinks that *anfumetic* may be = Fr. *enfumé* (a low Latin **infumatus*), and compares the proverb *il n'y a pas de fumée sans feu*. For the prefix *an-* = O. Fr. *en-* cf. *anclinaff*, *ancontraff*, *anserret*, *antechet*, *antren*, Cath.

In the second gloss, *gurclut erdirh* 'very notorious, evident,' *gur* as in *gur-limnn*, supra 51, is for *guor*, Ir. *for*, Gaul. *ver*, *ὑπερ*, *s-uper*, and *clut* is=*clot* in O. Br. *Clot-ri*, Z.² 889= *Clutorīx*, Ir. *cloth*, Gr. *κλυτός*, Curtius No. 62. The second word *erdirh*, for *er-dirch*, is exactly the Ir. *airdirc*, *erdirc* 'conspicuus,' from the root DERC, Skr. *darç*, Curtius G. E. No. 13. The simplex is found in the phrase *en hanu derch an guerches* 'in the clear (or bright) name of the Virgin,' PB. 173, cf. O. Sax. *torht* 'splendens,' O.H.G. *zorah-t* 'hell,' 'deutlich.' The assimilation of *e* to *i* in *dirc*=*derci* is noteworthy.

221. *na docordomni* (gl. non arcemus), p. 133. The context is: "Illos uero, quorum abbatem de mensa sanctorum propter infamiam non arcemus" (xxxix. 7). As to *na* see No. 219. The *-ni* (later *ny*), Lat. *nôs*, Zend *nâo*, is the pers. pronoun of the 1st pl. (Z.² 374, 380, Curtius G. E.⁵ No. 444) here used as an enclitic. Between the *m* of the termination of the verb and the *n* of the suffixed pronoun, a *p* was, in Middle-Breton, inserted as a fulcrum (cf. in Mid. Br. *colum-p-nenn* 'columna,' *dam-p-naff* 'damnare,' *hym-p-n* 'hymnus' and in mediaeval Latin *som-p-nus*, *sollem-p-nitas* for *somnus*, *sollemnitas*). The *ni* (*ny*) then dropt off and left the verbal ending *-omp*. The verb *do-cordom*, or perhaps *docordam*, is

compounded with the prep. *do* and its root seems *kor*, cognate with Gr. *κείρω*, Lat. *curtus*. M. Loth's Breton '*docondom*' and "irl. *docannaim* 'je pousse' (Corm. Gl. addenda)," are both imaginary.

222. .i. *roiau* (gl. soffosoria), p. 133. The context is: "aratra trahentes et sofosoria (*var. lec.* fossoria) figentes terræ." Our gloss means 'spades.' It is the pl. of *ro*, and is equivalent to the modern W. *rhawiau*, pl. of *rhaw* 'rutrum,' 'ligo,' 'palios,' Davies. I think this must be cognate with, or borrowed from, the Lat. *rāmus*; for *o* from *ā* see No. 154 supra, and for the vocalisation of *m*, see *lau* supra No. 70 and W. *ffaw* from *fāma*. In Mod. Breton we have *reoñ* 'pelle' (Leon) and *rañv* 'bêche' (Trég. et Cornouaille). The Ir. *ráma* LL. 12b. (like Fr. *rame*) means 'oar.' The *-iau* for *-iou* is remarkable.

223. *boco* (gl. paulo), p. 133. Context: "De monacho paulo remissioris regulæ non admitendo" (xxxix. 9). This seems intended for 'remissioris,' and if so is the comparative of *boc*, *buc* (gl. putris), pl. *bocion* (gl. putres), Berne 13, 27; for the loss of the final *ch* cf. *enterafho* (gl. inopportunius). But M. Loth thinks it is perhaps for Low Latin *poco=pauco*.

224. *na co* (gl. non admittat, xxxix. 9), p. 133. As to *na* see No. 220. The *co-* must be the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *con*.

In p. 134, antepenult. line, *e* is written over adhibe, 135 line 1, over $^{\text{nl}}_{\text{hicus}}$ is written gen. Context: "Si autem eclesie non audierit sit tibi $\overline{\text{sc}}$ et $^{\text{nl}}_{\text{hicus}}$ et poplicanus."

225. .i. *pec*, the third letter is a little doubtful (gl. belial), p. 135. Context: "quae autem societas, lucis cum tenebris et Belial cum iustis?" (xl. 1). Cf. 2 Corinth. vi. 14, 15. I suspect we have here the beginning of Lat. *peccatum*. M. Loth reads *pei*.

226. *corn* (gl. scipho, leg. scypho, xl. 5), p. 136, in l. marg. This is = Ir. *corn* m. 'a drinking cup or *horn*,' Corn. *corn* (gl. cornu), W. clywitor *corn* can ni weler 'a horn will be heard, though it be not seen,' whence *corneyt* 'cornu plenum,' Z.² 840. Compare, too, Galatian *κάρνον* · *σάλπιγγα* Hesych. and Goth. *haurn*.

227. .i. *comnidder* (gl. consubrinis leg. consobrinis, id est filiis fratris patris, xl. 6), p. 136, v. supra No. 24.

228. *comelia* (gl. sodalitates, xl. 13), p. 137, in l. marg. I suspect that this gloss stands for *comeliachou*, pl. of *comeliach* = W. *cyfeilliach* 'amicitia' Z.² 851. Cognate with W. *cyfaill*, *cyfaillt* 'amicus,' 'socius,' 'sodalis,' Davies, Ir. *ad-com-altar* 'conjungitur,' *ac-comallte* (gl. socius, i.e. junctus) Z.² 73, 116 n., Corn. *chef-als* (gl. artus), Ir. *alt* 'a joint,'[1] Goth. *lithus*, Lat. *artus*, and other words quoted by Curtius G. E. No. 488. The preservation of the preposition *com* is remarkable: cf. *cou-arcou*, *co-archolion* Berne 12, 46, where it is infected or vocalised.

The assimilation of the *t* had taken place in the ninth century: *Comal-car*, *Cumalcar*, *Couuellic* (Cart. Red., pp. 12, 221, 125). But we find, also, in a charter of the ninth century, *Comalt-car* (ib. pp. 10, 36, 143, etc.).

229. *diuenoc*—MS. *diuenic*, *o* being written over the second *i* (gl. in ballinea), p. 137. The context is: "Sunt qui audierunt, quod Iohannis discipulus Domini apud Effessum, in ballinea lauandi gratia fuisset ingressus et uidisset ibi Cerintum exsoluisse, continuo fertur et discessise non lotus dicens: fugiamus hinc, et ne ipse balleneæ conruant, in quibus Cerintus lauat, ueritatis inimicus" (xl. 13). This may be for **di-guennoc*, where *di* is the prep. *di* (= Ir. *du*, *do*, O.W. *di*, Corn. *dhe*), now *de* or *da*, and *guennoc* is connected with the adj. *gwenn* 'white,' Ir. *find*, Gaul. *vindo-s* from *vid-nos*, and with the W. verb *gwynu*, the Cornish verb *gwynna* 'to whiten,' 'to wash' (*Iosep the gryst a wynnas y arrow* 'Joseph for Christ washed his legs' P. 233, 1). If so, our gloss means 'ad lavandum,' the 'lauandi gratiâ' of the text. The loss of *g* between vowels is regular. For the writing *n* for *nn* ex *nd* compare *oferen* = *offerenda* and *peden* = *petenda* Z.² 113. For the formation of an infinitive in *-c* compare *redec* 'currere,' Cath. = Corn. *resek*, W. *redec*, and W. *eredic* 'arare' Z.² 535. M. Loth, however, renders *diguenoc* by 'bains,' and then says it comes from *di* privative and a deriv. in *ioc* (?).

[1] Also 'a song or strain,' cf. μέλος.

230. *drosion* (gl. tritura), p. 137. The context is: "In tritura areæ grana sub paleis premuntur" (xl. 14). This may be intended for 'paleis,' and must be the pl. of *dros*, which seems to be connected with A.S. *dros* 'filth,' 'lees' (Ed. Müller), Eng. *dross*, N.H.G. *drusen*, rather than with N.H.G. *drasch* tritura, O. Fr. *drasche* 'hülsen,' 'schoten' Diez, E. W.[4] 563.

231. .i. *fleriot* (gl. redolet), p. 137. Context: "Item rossa, que redolet, crescit cum spina" (xl. 14). This seems the 3rd sg. pres. indic. act. of a simple â-verb=Mid. Br. *flaeriaff*, Corn. *fleyrye*, *flerye*, from *flaer* = Corn. *flair* (gl. odor), O. Fr. *flair*. From Lat. *fragrare*, by dissimilation *flagrare*, Diez E. W. 146. For the termination cf. *crihot* Lux. But M. Loth thinks *fleriot* an adjective meaning 'odorant,' 'qui sent,' and a deriv. in *-āt* 'comme *priot* sponsus, gall. *priawd*,' both of which are borrowed from Lat. *privātus*.

232. .i. *commin* (gl. annalibus), p. 138. Context: "Origines in annalibus Ebreorum ait" (xli. 1). This is the pl. of *com-man*, which is radically connected with Ir. *cu-man* 'remembrance' (*ni cuman lim* 'nescio,' Z.[2] 872) or *cumain*, and the modern *cuimhne*. The root is MAN, whence (inter alia) *comminiscor*, *commentum*, Curtius G. E. No. 429. In the Mid. Br. *couff* 'souvenir,' W. and Corn. *cóf* (Mod. Br. *koun*) the dental nasal has been lost. It is kept in the Corn. *covenek*.

233. .i. *colcet* (gl. agipam), p. 139.

234. *guelcet* (in marg. gl. agipam), p. 139.

235. .i. *brothrac* (gl. taxam), p. 139.

236. .i. *toos* (in marg. gl. taxam), p. 139.

The context is: "ut episcopo liqueat principi commendare uestimentum, quo utitur, et agipam et taxam" (xli. 2).

Here *colcet*, O. W. *cilchet* pl. *cilchetou* (gl. vela) Z. 1056, Corn. *cilcet* (gl. tapiseta, gl. stratorium) Z.[2] 1063, Ir. *colcaid*, is a loan from Lat. *culcita*, whence also Fr. *coite*, Engl. *cowlte* now *quilt*.

guelcet, the *gulcet* of MS. Lat. 12021, the *golchet*, *golchedenn* of the Catholicon, now *golc'hed*, is a compound of *guel* (feast) = W. *gwyl*, Ir. *féil* (Loth), and of *cet* cognate with W. *ceden* (villus).

The barbarous Latin *agipa* seems a corruption of *acupicta* 'an embroidered garment': see Ducange, s.v. *acupictus*.

brothrac seems a loan from the Ir. *brothrach*. But the meanings differ, for *taxa* is 'a purse' and *brothrach* is some kind of embroidered (?) garment.[1] M. Loth says there is a Mod. Bret. *broz* 'robe,' in Vannes *broc'h*.

toos i.e. *tôs* (ex **taus*, **tas*) comes, like Fr. *tasse*, from *taxa*. For the expression of length by duplication, cf. O. Br. *guaan* Otho E. xiii.

237. *tron ca issent*. This is written in the margin of p. 140, opposite the following passage: "Ut si contigerit episcopum migrare de hoc seculo, certis exsistantibus rebus, que sunt æclesiae, sciamus, ne ipse conlapsæ deperiant, neque proprie probantur episcopi, sub occassione peruadantu æclesiæ" (xli. 5). Mr. Bradshaw says: "If it is a Latin word, I don't see what the meaning is. Can it be Breton?"

We may perhaps have in it an example of the 3rd pl. secondary preterite, like *responsent*, PB. 138.

238. *auituer* (gl. degente), p. 140. The context is: "De degente sub censu nihil commendante" (xli. 8). This is the heading of the following chapter: "*Sinodus Hibernensis*: Sicut sine permissu abbatis monachus nihil commendare [to make a bequest?[2]] audebit, ita degens sub censu [a lay tenant paying rent?] potestatem non habebit donare aliquid in morte sua, nisi jubente domino suo." The *a* may be a preposition signifying the ablative: the *uer* seems part of a compound of which *guer*, *gur* supra No. 220 is the second element.

[1] It is glossed *brat riogh*[*d*]*a* by O'Rody in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, ii. 298; *brothrach* col-luibnib finnaib im chechtar de, LL. 252 b. dat. sg. cona-*brothraig* bósaille, LB. 215 b. dat. pl. roherrad a tech di cholctib 7 *brothrachaib*, LU. 19 a. Intan bá urlam la Bricrind dénam a thige máir 7 a grianán 7 anerrad díblínaib do *brothrachaib* 7 brecánaib 7 cholcthib 7 cerchaillib 'and the furnishing of both of them with *brothrachs* and plaids and quilts and pillows,' LU. 99 b. tárgud amra isin tig do cholcthechaib 7 *brotrachaib*, LU. 134 b. acc. pl. sudigthe a thincur etir cholcthe 7 *brothracha*, LU. 56 b. Ni cuincem colcthi no cerchaille no clumderaigthe no *brothrachu* no breccanu, LB. 211 a. In each of the last four citations it seems to mean 'blanket.' Its diminutive *brothrachan* explains sabribarra, *i.e.* sarabarra, Ir. Gl. 180.

[2] Compare W. *llythyr cymyn* 'a testament or bequest.'

The *uit*, i.e. *vit*, may stand for *bit* 'mundus,' the *b* being infected (cf. *abredahez* 'sero' from *a pret*, *a-uoez* 'palam' from *a-guoez*). The *bit-uer* to which we thus attain would mean 'a person leading the secular, as opposed to the monastic, life.' The corresponding Welsh word *bydŵr* means an accoucheur.

239–240. *emdrit gupar* (gl. theoricam), p. 141. Printed context: "tantum iii æclesia custodit et nutrit theoricam et actualem et penitentem" (xlii. 1). Here *emdrit*, or perhaps *eindrit*, is written over *gupar* by a different hand.

As to *gupar*, see above No. 209.

241. *fon* (gl. inrogatis), p. 141. Context: "vii. non solum non suffertis, sed etiam non facientibus inrogatis" (xlii. 4). This seems the beginning of a verb in the 2nd pl. pres. indic. act. derived from *fon* = W. *ffon* 'baculus,' 'hasta,' Davies, Ir. *sonn*, protocelt. *s(p)undo*.

242. .i. *guotric* (gl. difer), p. 141. The context is: "Si debitor [inrogandus] vel exigendus est, difer" (xlii. 4). This gloss is = the '*gutric* (gl. difer)' of the Cotton MS. Otho E. xiii., and is connected with W. *godrig* 'mora,' *trigo* 'morari,' Lat. *tricari*.

243. *gro* (gl. crocitat), p. 141. Context: "Columba . . . non movet pennam . . . neque crocitat" (xlii. 4). This is perhaps the 3rd sg. pres. indic. of some verb cognate with Lith. *groju*, *groti* 'krächzen,' O.H.G. *crājan*, *chrājan*, Mod.H.G. krähen, Krähe. But the gloss may be an abbreviation, and M. Ernault compares the mod. Bret. *grougousat* 'roucouler.'

244. aguetur (gl. diminuitur, under which are two puncta delentia). The printed context is: "quanto de terrenis deminuitur [scil. ecclesia], tanto de spiritualibus augetur, et quantum terrena quaesiverit aut contenderit, tantum de spirit(u)alibus *diminuitur*" (xlii. 4). This is a mistake for the Latin *augetur*, which the scribe intended to replace *diminuitur*. See M. Loth, Rev. Celtique, v. 114.

245. *tru* (gl. humanitatis, xlii. 9), p. 142, is the first syllable of **trucared*, later *trugarez* = W. *trugaredd* 'misericordia' (Davies), Ir. *trócaire*, from *tro*, *tru*, Corn. *tru*, Ir. *tróg*,

truag,[1] and *cared*. Compare O.W. *trucarauc* (gl. mitia), Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 401.

246. *guiniou*[2] (gl. uinulas, xlii. 9), p. 142, in l. marg. Plural of *guin* borrowed from the Latin *vinea*, whence also Ir. *fine*. M. Loth proposes *guinion(ou)* pl. of *guinion* (a little vine).

247. .i. *colioc* (gl. fascinauit), p. 143. The context is: "O insensati Galate, quis uos fascinauit?" (xlii. 13), citing Galat. iii. 1, and our gloss is an answer to this question. It should be *coilioc* or *coelioc*, see above No. 159.

248. *dispriner* (gl. depretiatur), p. 146. The context is (xlii. 24): "De infantibus in eclesia proiectis. Eadem ait. Filius in[e]cl*e*sia adlatus seruus est eadem [leg. eiusdem], nisi depretiatur." Our gloss is the 3rd sg. pres. indic. pass. of a verb compounded with the privative particle *dis* (= *di*+*es*?) Z.[2] 894. The simple verb is in Mid. Br. *prenaff* now *préna* 'acheter,' 'acquérir,' O. Corn. *prinid*, Z.[2] 1069, Corn. *prenne*, W. *prynnu*, *prynu* 'emere,' 'redimere,' Davies, Ir. *crenim* 'emo,' *crithid* 'emax.' Here, as in *pi*, *panim*, *prin*, Nos. 140, 182, 295, supra, *p* has come from *kv*, *k*, and our gloss is connected with the Skr. root *krî* 'to buy' (*krîṇâ* base of the present).

In the same line, over 'proteruus,' is written *g*, which I cannot explain. It can scarcely be the initial of a Br. equivalent of W. *gwantan* (rhuthrau gwyntau gwantan 'gusts of wanton winds,' Pughe), for this is borrowed from the Engl. *wanton* = wan-togen 'schlecht gezogen' (Bugge).

249. *guomone* (gl. territorio), p. 149.

250. *in dicomit*, and underneath: *tegran*, p. 149, in r. marg. The context is: "Si quis episcopus siue aliquis edificauerit eclesiam *in territorio* alicuius episcopi, huius æclesiæ consecratio reseruetur ei, in cuius territorio edificata est" (xliii. 2). Gloss No. 250 is in the margin without a reference-mark, opposite the line ending with 'in territorio.'

guomone seems a compound of the prep. *guo* and some formation from *mon* = W. *mun* 'hand': see above, No. 38.

[1] Cognate with *στρεύγομαι*, Windisch.

[2] The MS. has *guininou*, with a punctum delens under the second *n*. The printed text has 'villulas' (*var. lec.* vineolas vel terrulas).

M. Loth completes and translates thus: *guomone*[*t*] 'territoire domaine.'

The last letter of the second word in gloss No. 250 is doubtful. I agree with M. Loth in thinking it a *t*. The Redon cartulary suggests that *dicomit* stands for *dicombit*. Thus, in the 264th charter, "data est ista terra in dicombitione ad Endelgent et semen ejus in sempiternum." "Vendidit Tanethic terciam partem Brontro . . . in alode et in dicombito" (Cart. 39). So in Cart. 40 'in luh in dicombito in alode comparato' (Cart. 91), 'in alode et in conparato et in dicombito' (Cart. 131), 'sine fine, in dicombito, sine ulla renda' (Cart. 133), 'in dicombito sine censu et sine tributo' (Cart. 146). M. de Courson (p. 752) explains the phrase by 'res Ecclesiæ sic concessa, ut inde nihil sibi reservet donator.' *Dicombit* is compounded of the negative prefix *di* and *combit* = Ir. *commaid* 'partnership,' LL. 106b, *comad* Cormac Tr., p. 45, dat. sg. robátar i commaid oc legund, LL. 278 a.

tegran often occurs in the Redon charters, and means, according to M. de Courson (p. 755), 'mansus; praedium cum cella vel habitatione' (*ti* 'domus,' *ran* 'pars fundi'). Our *teg* (also *tig* in *bou-tig*, Z.² 1053) is = Ir. *tech*, τέγος, *tegere*; our *ran* is for *rann*, pl. *rannou*, Lux. Old Breton *rannam* (gl. partior), Z.² 1052, W. *rhan*, Ir. *rann*,[1] whence Corn. *renniat* (gl. divisor).

251. *bi* (gl. fore, xliv. 18), p. 154. Context: "uindicta que defertur in Herodem propter occissos pueros fore pronontiatur non propter loca sancta in quibus occissi sunt." This stands for **bidam* or **bidut* = Mid. Breton *bezaf* or *bezout*, Z.² 564.

252. *do* (gl. fautrix), p. 155.

253. *di* (gl. eradicatrix), p. 155.

The context is: "Virginitas . . . innocentiæ fautrix, amica justitiae, eradicatrix uitiorum" (xlv. 1). Compare Nos. 128, 129 supra. The *di* in No. 253 may stand for **digridienneres*: cf. the modern *dic'hrisienner* 'extirpateur,' W. *diwreiddiaw* 'to uproot': from *gwreidd-yn*, Corn. *grueiten*,

[1] From *randa*, *radna*, sg. nom. fem. of a *no*-participle from √*rad*.

(v)*radix, Fρίζα, vaúrt-s, wurz-el.* In the Irish *frém*, LL. 5 b, now *freumh*, the *d* has disappeared with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

254. *co* (gl. dedicauerint, xlv. 9), p. 158. Here we probably have the first two letters of the O. Br. equivalent of the Welsh loan-word *cyssegru* 'consecrare,' Ir. *coisecrad.*

255. *aglanet* (gl. a palliditate, xlv. 10), p. 158. Context: pallium a palliditate dictum. Here *a* is the preposition indicating the ablative, and *glanet* a derivative from *glan* 'pur,' 'blanc,' Corn. *glan*, W. *glân* 'mundus,' 'nitidus,' O.W. *o glanstlinnim* (gl. famine sancto) Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 392. Connected is the Old Celtic river-name *Glana*, which corresponds in meaning with the German *Hlûtra, Lûtra*, now *Lauter*, Glück K. N. 187 note.

256. *imguparton* (gl. se . . . abdicant), p. 158. The context is: "et se mundi actibus abdicant" (xlv. 13). Here *im-* is the reflexive particle (later *em-*, Z.² 899) and *guparton* (better *guparthon*) is either the infin. (cf. *arton* 198), or the 3rd pl. pres. indic. of a verb cognate with *guparth(ol)* gl. remota, supra No. 149. If the latter conjecture be approved, the termination *-on* for the usual *-ont* is noteworthy, and may possibly be an example of the nasal infection which the late Evander Evans pointed out in Welsh forms like *techyn* 'they yielded,' *a doyn* 'they came,' *a emdygyn* 'they brought themselves,' *rygwydyn* 'they fell,' *ry-godessyn* 'they had offended' (Archæologia Cambrensis, April, 1874, pp. 121, 122). Of the assimilation of *t* to *n* we find a few certain examples in Middle Breton. Thus *cann* 'white' (ex *canta*), *rouanez* 'kings' *(regentes)*, *tennoer* 'tentorium,' *n-ouen* 'unguentum,' and see infra No. 289. So in modern Breton *gourvenn* 'envie' = Ir. *format* ex **ver-men-ta.*

257. *dem* or, perhaps, *dein* (gl. coactaticia), p. 161. Context: "coactaticia uis matrimonium non separat" (xlvi. 7). Compare *dem-guescim* infra No. 285.

258. *rigl* (gl. gilosa—i.e. zelosa—xlvi. 10), p. 162. The context is: "Quid ergo, si sterilis . . . si luxoriosa, si gilosa, si iurgatrix et maledica, tenenda sit vel tradenda sit?" This seems the sg. of *riglion* (gl. garrulis) of the Luxem-

burg glosses. If so, our gloss is intended, not for 'gilosa,' but for 'iurgatrix' or 'maledica' (cf. No. 291 infra). M. Loth compares the W. *rhuol* 'loquacious,' which he thinks comes from **rigol.* This is unlikely.

259. *ercor* (gl. ictum), p. 163. Context: "ipse ad primum libi[di]nis ictum uictus cadit" (xlvi. 16). This is the W. *ergyr* 'impulsus,' *ergyr-wayw* 'hastile impulsum' (Davies), Ir. *erchor, irchor, aurchor* or *urchor* 'a cast,' with which Prof. Bugge connects Skr. *kirati* 'werfen.'

260. *milin* (gl. prostitutam, xlvi. 21), p. 165. See above No. 179.

261. .i. *dotietue* (gl. desistit), p. 166. The context is: "Ubi fuerit numerus maritorum, ibi vir, qui proprie unus [est], esse desistit" (xlvi. 28). This verb is compounded with three prepositions. The *do-ti* may, like the *du-ti* of No. 44, stand for *do-di.* The *-et,* as in *di-et-eguetic* supra No. 186, stands for *at.* The stem may possibly be the same as that of *πανόμαι.* M. Loth doubts whether the reading is *-tuc* or *-tue.* It is *-tue.*

261a. *deu* (gl. edocandi, xlvi. 30), p. 166. I cannot explain this. Context: "nisi forte confesso filio pretium edocandi."

262. *brot* (gl. zelotipiæ, spiritus, xlvi. 37), p. 168. Context: "q*uia* sacrificium zelotipiæ et oblatio inuestigans adulterium." Connected with the modern adjective *broud* 'très-chaud,' 'ardent,' W. *brwd,* Corn. *bredion* (gl. coctio). The Irish noun *bruth* 'furor,' 'fervor' (root BHRU, Curtius, G. E.[5] No. 415, whence *φρέαρ, brunna*) is the exact equivalent of *brot.* So Welsh *aidd* 'zeal' is = Ir. *aed* 'fire,' *αἶθος.*

263 and 264. *inardotas escis* (gl. flagitium), p. 169. The gloss is written in the r. margin with a reference-mark: *escis* is below *inardotas* in a different hand, but with the same mark repeated. The context is: "Latente commisso virorum non facile aliquis ex suspicionibus separandus, qui utique submouebitur, si eius flagitium detegatur" (xlvi. 38). Here *in* may be the preposition, *ardotas* a substantive cognate with Lat. *ardor* and O. Ir. *ardithe* (gl. accensus) Ml. 50 d,—the glosser supposing a connexion between *flagitium* and *flagro*— and *escis* another substantive borrowed, like Mid. Br. *escus,*

W. *esgus*, from Lat. *excūsare*. For Breton *ĺ* from *ú*, cf. *glin* =Ir. *glún* and *quil*=Ir. *cúl*. For *s* from *x* see above No. 204. The words would thus mean 'in heat of passion: an excuse'; but this explanation is a mere conjecture.

265. *trum* (gl. inoportune, leg. inopportuna), p. 170. The context is: "Inoportuna in euangelio anus, quæ canibus se parem confessa est" (xlvii. 3). This gloss seems=Corn. *trom*, W. *trwm* 'heavy,' 'weighty,' Ir. *trumm* 'heavy,' 'dense' (*circull trom do démnaib*, LB. 26 a).

266. .i. *araprecl* (gl. prodigum), p. 170. The context is: "Christus, inquam, prodigum filium reuertentem letus amplectitur" (xlvii. 3). This seems, according to Prof. Rhŷs, intended for 'revertentem,' and should be read *ar athrecl*= W. *ar athreigl* 'on returning,' the *p* being miswritten for the A. S. *thorn*. Here *athrecl* comes from *at-trecl*. As to *at-* see above No. 30: *trecl* is=W. *treigl* 'revolutio,' 'obambulatio,' Davies. The root seems *tark*, whence *ἄ-τρακτος*, Skr. *tarku*. M. Loth reads, and tries to explain, *arapred*, as he reads, and tries to explain, *deric*. The *cl* is perfectly clear in the MS.

267. *scal* (gl. ferula), p. 171. The context is: "Nemo gladio percutiat uulnus quod ferula mederi ualet" (xlvii. 6). In a similar passage in MS. Otho E. xiii.—"nec ferula curare meditetur quisque quod gladio percutiendum"—the glossographer renders 'ferula' by *altin* 'razor.' This suggests that our *scal* may be a word, or the first four letters of a word, cognate with, or borrowed from, the Latin *scalpellum*. M. Ernault connects it with the Germ. *scheere* and the *scara* parua nouacula, which occurs in one of the glossaries published by Diez.

268. *blin* (gl. tepore), p. 172, v. supra No. 210. The context is: "melior est penitentia breuis reddenda, quam longa et remissa cum tepore mentis, iniqua [leg. in qua] nihil stricte agitur" (xlvii. 8).

269. *dilu* (gl. detestantur), p. 172. Context: "Fructuosa est pænitentia cum tú detestaris uitia, cum enim infirmaris, [non tu detestaris vitia], sed uitia tua té detestantur" (xlvii. 9). Our gloss is the first four letters of a verb in the 3rd pl. pres. indic. act.

270. *do* (gl. prodantur), p. 173. Context: "puplica lamentatione peccata prodantur" (xlvii. 11).

271. *er* (gl. praesummitur), p. 173. Context: "uenia peccatorum presummitur [printed text: præsumatur] ab illo" (xlvii. 11).

These are the first syllables of verbs compounded respectively with the prepositions *do* and *ar*.

272. .i. *bat* uel *crit* (gl. frenesin), p. 174. Context: "De in frenesin uersis" (xlvii. 16). Here 'frenesin' is for 'phrenesin': *bat* is now *bad* 'étourdissement': the word *badou*,[1] which occurs in the phrase *en badou* (curiously like the Prov. *enbada*), is either the plural of, or a derivative from, this word. The Cornish *badus* (gl. lunaticus) comes from a cognate adjective *bad*, which occurs thrice in the plays: tebel seruont a leuer, mar serf ef *bad* y vester, ke the honan ha gura guel 'a bad servant says, if he serves his master stupidly, go thyself and do better,' D. 2283–5; eugh whyleugh thymmo pilat, gothfetheugh ma na veugh *bad* 'Go ye, seek Pilate for me, be sure that ye be not stupid,' R. 1773–4; whet kerghough thymmo pilat yn y geuer del fuef *badt*,[2] y fuf tollys 'Again fetch Pilate to me, as I was stupid regarding him, I was deceived,' R. 1885–7 b. The absence of the usual changes of *t* in Breton (through *d*) to *z*[3] and in Cornish to *s* seems to show that we have here to do with loan-words. Possibly we should connect our *bat* with the Erfurt gloss *batat* 'ginath,' *i.e.* gähnt (Diez, E.W. s.v. *badare*) and the Mid. Br. *bazaillat* baailler, Cath. (Rev. Celt. v. 219).

crit is now *cryd* 'fever,' 'ague,' = O.W. *crit* (gl. timore), Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 392, Ir. *crith* 'a trembling,' *crith-galar* 'fever.' In modern Breton I find only *kridien* 'frisson': in Cornish only *crys*: an houl ny golse y lyw . . . na dor *grys* 'The sun would not have lost his brightness, nor would the earth shake,' D. 3083. A.S. *hridhian*, *hridhe*, and

[1] en badou ra vech darnouet, MJ. 147 a; ezay da holl mat dan badou, Buh. 172; a coezas en badou PB. 114.

[2] Observe the rhyme with *Pilāt*.

[3] See d'Arbois, Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique, iv. 265.

the N.H.G. *ritte* 'fever' (Ed. Müller) are the Teutonic cognates.

273. *gurre* (gl. fulciuntur), p. 176. Context: "ecclesia et regnum a mundialibus constituuntur et fulciuntur" (xlviii. 1). This seems a part of the verb which in Middle Breton is written *gourren* and explained by 'levare,' 'attollere,' 'exaltare,' Cath. It is compounded of the prep. *guor, gur, gour*, Z.[2] 905, and the verb *ren* 'agere,' 'ducere,' Cath. So in Corn. *gor-re.*

274. *occrou* (gl. hirsutis), p. 177.

275. *toreusit* (gl. atriuit), p. 177.

The printed context is: "alios hirsutis serra dentibus attrivit" (xlix. 4).

occrou is the pl. of **ocer*, a loan from, or cognate with, Lat. *âcer.* It occurs compounded with the prep. *ar* in *ar-ocrion* (gl. atrocia), Lux. The ending *-ou*, for the usual plural ending of adjectives *-ion*, is noteworthy. M. Loth reads *ocerou* (which is wrong), and compares *aceruission.*

Prof. Rhŷs thinks that *toreusit* may be identical with W. *torasai*, older **toressit*, from *tori* 'to break.' So M. Loth brings *toreusit* from **torāssit.* The termination *-sit* occurs also in *tinsit* 106[b], and seems the same as that of the Old Welsh preterites quoted by the late Professor Evans (Studies in Cymric Philology, xix [1]), namely *seinnyessyt* 'resonavit,' *pregethyssit* 'praedicavit,' *kewssit* 'invēnit,' *llochessid* 'protexit,' *delyessid* 'tenuit,' *prynessid* 'ēmit,' *llygrassyd* 'corrupit.'

276. *mormi . . . bostol* (gl. bilbina in m. beluína), p. 177. The printed context is: 'alios beluina morsibus detruncando comminuit" (xlix. 4). The gloss is written in the r. margin, with a reference-mark. The end of the former word is cut off in the binding. *Mormi . . .* is an adjective derived from *mormil* 'a sea (*mor*) beast' (Corn. *mor-uil* gl. cetus, W. *morfil*): *mil* is=W. and Ir. *mil*, Gr. *μῆλον*, with the regular Neoceltic weakening of *ē* to *ī*,[2] and *bostol*, better *boestol*, is another adjective derived

[1] Archæologia Cambrensis, April, 1873, p. 152.

[2] This is also found in Ir. *rí* (king) = Lat. *rēx, rēgis*: *síd* 'peace,' cogn. with Lat. *sēdo*: Ir. *síl* (seed), W. *hil*, cogn. with Lat. *sē-men*; Ir. *síric* (silk) = *sēricus*: Ir. *tír*, cogn. with Osc. *tērùm, teerùm*; and as Ascoli (*Due lettere glottologiche,*

from *boest*, W. *bwyst*, Ir. *béist*, all borrowed from Latin *bēstia*.

277. *cise* (gl. anteriore), p. 183. Context: "in cuius (scil. Simonis magi) capite cesaries fuit ab aure ad aurem tonsa anteriore parte" (lii. 3). I think this gloss must stand for something like the Old Welsh *cisemic* 'primus,' Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 407, or Corn. *quesevin* (gl. primas), Mod. W. *cysefin*. But possibly it may be intended for 'tonsa,' and stands for *ciselletic*, the pret. part. pass. of a verb **cisellam*, now *kizella* = 'ciseler.'

278. .i. *inbues* (gl. in bobællo—leg. in bouello, liii. 5), p. 185. Here *in* is the preposition, and *bues* is = W. *buches* 'locus mulgendi vaccas' (Davies) from *buch* (gl. iuuencae) Z. 1055 now *buwch*, Corn *buch*. For the loss of *ch* in inlaut cf. O. Br. *bian* = W. *bychan*, and W. *croen* 'skin' = Br. *crochenn*, Ir. *croccenn*. For the termination, compare (besides *buches*) W. *llynghes* 'classis' and *dauattes* 'grex ovium.'

279. .i. *lis* (gl. sicatorium), p. 185. The context (which reads like a translation of one of the so-called Brehon laws [1]) is as follows: "*De gallinis*. Hiibernenses dicunt: Gallinæ si deuastauerint messem, uineam [!] aut hortulum in ciuitate spæ circumdatum, [quae altitudinem] habet usque ad mentum viri et coronam spinarum habuerit, reddet dominus earum, sin uero, non redet. Si autem foras exierint ultra *sicatorium*, dominus reddet, si aliquid mali fecerint" (liii. 9). The Latin word seems to be for *secatorium, and the gloss is the Mid. Br. *les* 'aula,' 'curia,' now *lez* 'cour,' '*lisière*,' 'bord,' Corn. *les*, *lis*, W. *llys*, Ir. *lis*, *les*. Old Breton examples of *lis* are in the Redon cartulary, p. 874.

466, 467) has recently written, the Ir. *bíth* in *fo-bíth* 'a motivo' (=per via, cfr. il ted. *wegen* e gli usi del sscr. *gati*) descends from $g^{v}\bar{e}ti$ and is cognate with Lat. *bē-t-ere* 'to go.' This suggests that the forms of the Irish verb substantive beginning with *bi*, *bé*, which I have (supra. pp. 233–237) referred to the root *biv* (from $g^{v}iv$), really belong to the root *bē* from $g^{v}\bar{e}$. The British forms beginning with *bwy*, *bi*, supra pp. 237, 238, are much better referred to $\sqrt{bē}$ than $\sqrt{biv}$ for they show no trace of the *v* of the latter root.

[1] Compare also xliii. 5 *De canibus*, xliii. 6 De prima canis culpa non reddenda, and xliii. 8 *De pilacibus* Hibernenses dicunt: Pilax [a cat] si quid mali fecerit nocte, non reddet dominus ejus, in die vero nocens, reddet. Cap. 3 of Book xxxvii. (*de bonis principibus*) also reads like a translation from the Irish.

280. .i. *anscantocion* (gl. insquamosos[b] — MS. in scām mossos), p. 187.

281. .i. *bleocion* (gl. pilosos—MS. pilossos), p. 187. The context is: "Una caro est, quae loxuriæ si [leg. luxuriam non] gignit, hoc est piscium, sed lex docet aliquos pisce inlicitos, ut insquamosos[1] et pilosos et reliqua" (liv. 8).

Here *anscantocion* is the pl. of the adjective *anscantoc* 'not having scales,' from the negative prefix *an* and *scantoc* now *skantek* 'couvert d'écailles.' The subst. *skant* is *skand* in the Catholicon, but the *t* is still kept in *di-scāntaff* 'exsquamare.' Prof. Bugge conjectures that the stem-word may be a Latin **squamidum*, whence a Romance **scando*, represented by Bret. *skant*, as *candela* by *cantoell*.

bleocion is the pl. of *bleoc* supra No. 213.

282. .i. *rod* (gl. eruginem, leg. aeruginem, liv. 10), p. 187. This is the W. *rhwd*, Mid. W. *ryt-lyt* 'ferruginosus' Z.[2] 891, whence we should have expected our gloss to be *rot*, Ir. *rot* 'everything red,' Corm. s.v. *rotta*, *rotaide* Ir. Gl. The Eng. *rust*, O.H.G. and N.H.G. *rost*, are certainly cognate.

283. .i. *air* (gl. stragem, liv. 11), p. 187, is O. Corn. *hair* (gl. clades) Z.[2] 1063, W. *aer* 'slaughter,' Ir. *ár* (gl. strages) Z.[2] 17, which Zeuss connects with *Ver-agri* and Rhŷs with *ἄγρα*. The pl. *airou* (gl. strages) and the cognate adj. *aìrolio(n)* (gl. uim) and the compound *air-maou* occur in the Luxemburg glosses.

284. .i. *coguelt* (gl. laniticium, leg. lanitium, liv. 11). This seems a compound of the prep. *co* and *guelt*, a formation from *guolt* 'coma' supra No. 215. A connection with *guelt*=Corn. *gwels*, W. *gwellt* 'grass,' 'straw,' *gueltiocion*, Lux., is unlikely.

285. .i. *dem guescim* (gl. conflictum).

286. *erseb* (gl. arnubium), p. 187. The context is: "Hieronimus autem dicit in conflictu ad Arnubium" (liv. 13).

[1] cf. cuncta quae *non habent* pinnulas et *squamas* in aquis polluta erunt, Leviticus xi. 12. Wasserschleben gives us 'in scamosos'! Conversely, in xxvii. 10, he prints 'Delamech' for De Lamech. In LIV. 11 'corporum' should be 'porcorum.' Altogether these canons want re-editing. [This note, written in 1881, referred to the first edition. In the second edition (1885) we still have Delamech and corporum]

demguescim is the infinitive of a verb compounded with *dem* = *do* + *am*, Z.² 906, and *guescim* cognate with Corn. *gweskel*, W. *gwasgu*, Ir. *faiscim* 'I squeeze' (faiscis drecht díb il-lestar 'he squeezed a part of them into a vessel,' H. 2, 16, col. 385), and the Mod. Br. *gwaska*, supra No. 181.

erseb is a scribe's mistake for *Erneb*, the Breton form of *Arnobius*, just as *Emrys* is the Welsh form of *Ambrosius*. The occurrence in the same word of *e* as the umlaut not only of *a*, but of *o*, is interesting. See Nos. 6 and 7 supra.

287. *comco* (gl. commestis), p. 187. The printed context has: "de carnibus comestis a lupis" (liv. 14).. The gloss is only the first two syllables of a verb compounded with the prepositions *com* and *co*, Z.² 902, 907. Compare W. *keuedac*, *cyfeddach* 'comessatio,' 'epulae,' Z.² 851.

288. *air* (gl. stragulentur), p. 188. The printed context has rightly: "Aves et animalia cetera, si in retibus *strangulentur*" (liv. 14). Our glossographer thought *stragulentur* connected with *strages* (supra No. 283) and glossed by the first three letters of a verb = W. *aeru*.

289. .i. *centet* (gl. penes temet, liv. 15), p. 188. This is = the prep. *cant* (later *gant*) 'cum' with the suffixed personal pronoun of the 2nd sg. The corresponding form in Mid. Br. is *guenit*, W. *gennyt*, Z.² 686, 685, where the *c* of *cant* has sunk to *g*, and its *t* has undergone nasal infection. See No. 256 supra and compare *er-cent-bidite* Berne No. 33.

290. .i. *edeiunetic* (gl. desideratrix, lv. 1), p. 188. M. Loth reads *edemnetic*, comparing Mid. Br. *ezomec* (egens), Corn. *ethom*, Ir. *adamna* (famine). But his *m* is clearly *iu* in the MS. The gloss is certainly cognate with W. *eiddunedig* 'desideratus,' and may be a scribal error for *eidunetic*, with an active meaning.

291. .i. *cohuditioc* (gl. gilosus, *i.e.* zelosus, lv. 4), p. 190. The last three letters are somewhat blurred. The context is: "De uitiis, que adherent innocentiæ puerorum . . . maledicus, periurus, gilosus, et cetera." I think this gloss must be intended for 'maledicus' not 'gilosus' (see No. 258 supra), and would compare the Corn. *cuhuthudioc* (gl. accusator) Z.² 1081, W. *cyhudded* 'accusation.' M. Loth reads *cohudic*, which is impossible.

292. *lat* (gl. crupulam, leg. crapulam, lx. 2), p. 193. This is the first syllable of some derivative like Ir. *laithirt* (gl. crapula) Ir. Gl. No. 266, from a word *lat* = the Corn. *lad* (gl. liquor), W. *llad* (*llawen gwyr wrth ben llad* 'men are merry over liquor,' Llywarch Hen), Ir. *laith* 'ale.' The Latin *latex* is cognate: cf. Verg. Aen. i. 686, Ov. Met. 13, 653.

293. *co* (gl. auguria, lxiv. 1), p. 197. These are the first two letters of *coilou, coelou* pl. of *coil.* See above, No. 159.

294. *bar* (gl. caragios), p. 197.

295. *prin* (gl. sortilegos), 197.

The printed context is: "Admoneo uos pariter, ut nullus ex uobis karagios et diuinos et sortilegos requirat" (lxiv. 1). *Caragios* is the acc. pl. of *caragius* = Ducange's 'caragus, carajus, sortilegus, praestigiator qui *characteribus* magicis utitur, unde vocis etymon.' Our *bar* (for *barou*?) is probably cognate with Ir. *bar* 'sage' (Corm. Tr. 28) and Lat. *fariolus, hariolus* 'soothsayer,' 'prophet,' root *bhar*, whence also *φάρμακον*.[1] But, according to M. Loth, our *bar* stands for *barcot* (?), pl. of *barc* (?), 'wizard,' from the Low Latin *barcus*, which (he says) means 'impostor.' I only know of BARCUS (*alph.* c *vie* t) est stultus l. laudis creator 33 vgl. bardus 1 laudis Cantor Br., Dief. Novum Glossarium.

prin is the first syllable of some derivative from a compound of *prenn* 'tree,' Corn. and W. *pren*, Ir. *crann*, Lat. *quernus*: compare the W. *coel-brenni* in these phrases from Davies: *dewindabaeth coelbrenni* (gl. sortilegium), *dewin wrth goelbrenni* (gl. sortilegus). I conjecture that our gloss stands for *prinncoiliocou.* See above No. 159.

296. *darleber* (gl. phitonichus, i.e. pythonicus, lxiv. 3, citing Leviticus xx. 27), p. 197. Here *dar* stands for the prepositional prefixes *do-ar-* (compare *dar-guid*, supra No. 26), and *leber* for *leberur* = W. *llafarwr* or *leberiat* = Corn. *leveriat* 'a speaker.'

297. *lim* (gl. acummine, leg. acumine, lxiv. 7), p. 198.

[1] If this be right, the resemblance of the first syllable of *hariolus* to that of *haruspex* (root *ghar*) is accidental, and Curtius, G.E.[5] No. 199, requires correction.

Context: subtiliore sensus acummine. This stands for **limter*, Mid. Br. *lemder* 'acumen' Cath. = W. *llymder* 'acumen,' a derivative from *lim*, now *lemm* = W. *llym* 'acutus,' Corn. *lym*. Hence also the O. Br. *lemhaam* (gl. acuo) Eutych. Z². 1052 (where it is wrongly given as a gloss on 'arguo') and the Cornish participle *kemmys*, 'acutus' P. 160, 1, Cr. 2282.

298. *strum*—(gl. satius), p. 203. The context is: "Satius est nobis neglegentes praemonere . . . quam culpare que sunt facta" (lxvi. 18). I cannot explain this gloss. M. Loth conjectures *es-trom* or *estromach*. In the Berne Vergil (No. 167), fo. 7ᵇ, *strum* seems to gloss 'copia' in the line Castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis, and may possibly be =Ir. *srúaim* (stream), Gr. *ῥεῦμα*.

299. *fan* (gl. uolubilis), p. 203. The context is: "De eo quod omnis iudex volubilis esse in iudicio non debet" (lxvii. 1). See No. 125 supra.

In p. 203, last line, *b* is written over statuere.

300. *am. danica* (gl. in munumentis), p. 206. The context is: "Dicit eum [leg. enim], in *munimentis* tantum saxorum sublimitatem habere inmobilium" (lxvii. 7). We have here apparently a derivative in *-ic*, Z.² 848, from the compound preposition *am-dan* (= *am*+*tan*) 'circum,' which occurs frequently in Welsh, as *am-dan*, *ym-dan* and *dan-ym*, Z.² 674, 675. The pl. ending *-a* is obscure and probably incomplete. Should we read *amdancaiou*, and compare *caiou* (gl. munimenta) Lux.? M. Loth is doubtful whether the gloss is *amdamca* or *amdanica*.

XI. *From the 'Si quis homicidium' Canons.*[1]

301. .i. *guedom* (gl. bidubio, c. vi., Wasserschleben's c. 4), p. 207. *Bidubium* (for *vidubium*, *viduvium ?*) is a "ferramentum . . . quod a quibusdam falcastrum vocatur, quod in falcis similitudine curvum sit," Vita S. Leufredi cited by Ducange. Our *guedom* is = O. Corn. *uiidimm* (gl. lignismus) Z.² 1061. Probably, as Zeuss thought, derived from

[1] Wasserschleben's Bussordnungen, pages 124 to 136.

guid 'arbor,' Corn. *guit*, W. *gwydd*-en, Ir. *fid* (*fidhba* gl. falcastrum), Gaul. *vidu*, A.S. *vudu*. For the termination cf. *tigom* 'naevi' Lux.

302. *deor* (gl. inpigerit, c. xiii., W.'s c. 36), p. 207. The context is: "Si quis alapam inpigerit." Our gloss is the first four letters of some verb compounded with the preposition *do-*. Prof. Bugge proposes to explain *or-* as the beginning of a verb corresponding with W. *g-orddi* 'to impel,' 'to thumb.' Cf. *or(d)*, supra No. 188=W. *gord*.

303. *compri* (gl. conparauerit), p. 208.

304. *cosoin* (gl. consignatum), p. 208.

The context is: "Si quis seruum seruamque uel quamlibet pecodem uel rem aliquam *conparauerit* et cum ipso *consignatum*, si auctorem aut fide iussorem non habuerit de furto se nouerit conponendum" (c. xxiii. W.'s c. 28).

Here *compri* seems the 3rd sg. fut. conj. of a verb like W. *cymharu*, a loan from Lat. *comparo*. The termination *-i* is in Middle Breton *-e*, Z.[2] 519, 520. A like ending in Welsh is mentioned by Evander Evans, who quotes *nodi* 'availed,' *ceri* 'amabat,' *ni ueli* 'non videbat.'[1] But, as M. Ernault says, *compri* may be incomplete and the near relation of *dispriner*, No. 248.

Cosoin is the first two syllables of **cosoinetic*, the pret. part. pass. of a verb borrowed, like W. *cyswyno* 'to acknowledge,' from a low Latin **consegno*, Lat. *consigno*. The first four letters of another form of the same verb occur infra No. 319.

305. .i. *gueltoguat* (gl. fastigium [herbae]), p. 208. The context is: "Si quis animalia uicini sui in herba commisserit intacta et manserint in ea, pro animalia duo, unum scripulum reddat. Si in fastigium [herbae[2]] fueri[n]t capta, pro animalia .iiii. scripulum unum reddat" (xxv., W.'s c. 31). Prof. Bugge conjectures that we have here two glosses, namely *guelt* (gl. herba) and *toguat* (gl. fastigium). The *guelt-* here (like the O. Br. adj. *gueltiocion* 'fenosis,' Lux.) must be connected with the mod. Bret. *geot*, W.

[1] Studies in Cymric Philology, Arch. Cambrensis, April 1874, p. 117.
[2] Sic Wasserschleben.

gwellt 'grass,' 'sward,' Corn. *gwels*, the *toguat* may possibly be=W. *toad* 'covering,' 'roofing,' root *tog*. Or it may be cognate with Ir. *túagaim*, from *túag* (a chopping-axe), and thus mean 'mown.'

306. *adi* (gl. protullerit, var. lec. pertullerit), p. 208. The context is: "Si in messe quantum iurauerit dominus messis cum alio idoneo quidquid dampni protullerit sine dubio restauratur" (xxvi. = Wasserschleben's c. 14). This seems the first two syllables of a verb compounded with the prepositions *at* and *in*.

307. *doit* (gl. sustullerit), p. 208. The context is: "Si quis sustullerit de homine equum aut uacam vel quamlibet pecodem" (xxix. = Wasserschleben's c. 17). This stands for *doith*, and is, like *ar-uuo-art* (gl. fascinauit, MS. Lat. 12021), a *t*-preterite, from the infinitive *doen* 'to bear,' 'to carry' (cf. *dodocetic* gl. inlatam, Lux.). So *deuz* 'venit' = W. *dueth*, and *aez* 'ivit' = W. *aeth* (ex *ag-t). The root of our *doith* (ex **d-oo-t*, *d-ec-t* ?) is *AK*, one of the many related roots mentioned by Curtius G. E. No. 424. In meaning the Greek ἠνέχ-θην and Ch. Slav. *nes-ti* 'tragen' come nearest.

308. .i. *maciat* (gl. poractur, leg. *machiat*, gl. porcator, i.e. porcarius), p. 208. The context is: "Si porci in grade (uel n [i.e. uel glande]) ingressi quotiens capti poractur reddat (xxx. = Wasserschleben's c. 19). This is the W. *meichiad* 'swineherd': cf. *mochyn*, Br. *môc'h*, Corn. *mogh* 'pigs,' Ir. *mucc*, root *MUK*, Curtius G. E. No. 92. Our gloss and the W. *meichiad* point to a root *MAK* or *MANK*. For the termination compare the Old Breton name *Uuinmochiat* Cart. Red., p. 37, *Anbudiat*, ib. 19, and the Middle Breton *dibriat* 'eater,' *quinyat* 'singer' cited Z.² 839.

309. *emgruit* (gl. questionem), p. 209. The context is: "Si quis ingenuus furtum fecerit et tustus [*var. lect.* captus] fuerit, ipse moritur nullus ab eis [*var. lect.* a suis] accipiat[1] [*var. lect.* habeat] questionem" (xxxiv. W.'s c. 21). The glossographer may, Mr. Bradshaw thought, have mistaken 'questionem' for 'quaestum,' and we may, with much pro-

[1] Not in the Orleans manuscript. I have inserted it from the Bigot MS. quoted by Wasserschleben, p. 128, note 8.

bability, equate our gloss with *amgruit* (gl. lucrum) in MS. Lat. 12021. The word seems a compound of the prep. *am, em* and *gruit*, connected or identical with the Mid. Br. *groaet, graet, gret*, Corn. *gruys, grueys, guris*, Z.² 597, the pret. part. passive of *ober* 'facere.' Compare Lat. *pro-fectus* 'profit,' *sine profectu*, Ovid M. 9, 50. M. Loth prefers to compare Ir. *frith* ('has been found') and *frithi* (a waif). In any case *gruit* must be a pret. part. pass.

310. *coso* (gl. consignetur, xxxvi., W.'s c. 23), p. 209 : see above No. 30.

311. *collot* (gl. tributatorio, *var. lect.* tributario, xxxviii.), p. 209. The Latin word means 'a tribute-gatherer' : cf. *tributare* 'tributum exigere,' *tributatio* 'exactio,' Ducange. Our gloss must, therefore, stand for **colloter* = W. *cyllidur* 'tax-gatherer,' a derivative from *collot* = W. *cyllid* 'tribute.' This is a loan from Lat. *collāta* (vectigal, tributum, Ducange), or *collātio* 'a contribution,' 'a gratuity collected for the emperor.'

312. *ar* (gl. conpetiit, *var. lect.* conpetit, conpetere voluerit, xlviii.), p. 209. See above No. 3.

313. *scarat* (gl. diiudicari, lii.), p. 210. Context : si qua causa ante iudicata a nullo permitamus diiudicari. Cognate with *di-scar* (abbastre, Cath.), W. *ysgar* 'separare,' 'dissociare,' Ir. *scarad*, Lith. *skiriù* 'scheide,' and other words cited by Curtius, G.E. No. 76. For other examples of infinitives in *-at* see Z ² 535.

314. *mas* (gl. stagnum *i.e.* stannum), p. 211. The context is: "Si quis ancellam alterius adprehenderit fugientem et a domino suo potuerit euadere stagnum ferrum merito accipiat" (lxvi., W.'s c. 59), the meaning of which I take to be that if any one arrests another's slave-girl who is running away with some chance of escaping, he is entitled to a certain weight of tin or iron. (In another MS. printed by Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, p. 134, we find "si ancella fuit, libras ii merito accipiat, qui capit eam, si servus *III stagni libra* unam accipiat," where, for the figure and words italicised, we should apparently read *stanni libram*.) Here *mas* is = the Old Corn. *mas* (gl. metallum) Z.² 1061, where Zeuss cites the Mid. W. *mas* in *kymeint ar vas tuym* 'aeque

ut ferrum candens,' lit. 'the heated mass.' The corresponding Ir. form is *mass*, acc. sg. *maiss n-oir* 'massam auri,' *Three Middle Irish Homilies*, p. 12, all borrowed from Latin *massa*, as used by Vergil, Aen. viii. 453, and Ovid, M. 11, 112.

315. *arlup* (gl. pedicam), p. 211. Context: "Si quis caballum alterius tullerit et in pedicam ruerit suum proprium reddere precipimus" (lxix., W.'s c. 63). Here, as in Nos. 32, 96, 131 and 266 supra, *p* seems to stand for *þ*, the A.S. sign for *th*, and, if so, our gloss is a compound of the prep. *ar* and *luth*, for *lud*, which is the root of the verb *arlu(das)* gl. proibuit, supra No. 124. As the prep. *ar* has lost initial *p*, Prof. Bugge equates our gloss with Skr. *pari-rodha* 'hemmung, zurückhaltung,' which seems right, save that *ar-* is the equivalent of *puras* rather than of *pari*. M. Loth believes in the *p* of the MS. and compares O'Reilly's *luch* 'prisoner' (!).

316. *er* (gl. capitali), p. 211.

317. *cir* (gl. circo), p. 211.

The (unintelligible) context is: "Si quis uillam uendere capitali in circo et uoluerit seu domum seu ortum potestatem habeat praeter sepes gignunt messes et herbam" (lxx., W.'s c. 64).

Here *er* probably stands for **erpennic* = late Corn. *arbednec* Lhuyd 224, W. *arbennig* 'capitalis,' 'principalis' Davies (Ir. *airchinnech*), from the prep. *ar* and *pennic*, a derivative of *penn* = Ir. *cenn*; and *cir* is for *cirh* borrowed from Latin *circus* as W. *cyrchell*, Ir. *circul*, *cercol*, from Lat. *circulus*.

318. *aam* (gl. nuto), p. 211. Context: "Si quis legitime legis uoluntate patrum nuto filiam [*var. lect.* nuptam filio] iuncxerit" (lxxv.). The glossographer here regards *nuto* as the abl. sg. of *nutus*. The *a* is the preposition used to indicate the ablative, the *am-* is the first syllable of the Old Breton equivalent of Welsh *amnaid* 'nutus,' with which the Old Br. *enmetiam* (gl. innuo) and O.W. *enmeituou* (gl. nutus) Z.[2] 1052, 1056, appear to be unconnected. See, however, Z.[2] 896.

XII. *From the 'Marina Animalia' Canons, commonly headed 'Canones Adamnani.'*

319. *guis* (gl. suilis, *leg.* suilla), p. 212. The context is: "Caro suilis [*var. lect.* suilla] morticinus [*leg.* -nis] cras[sus uel pin]guis ut morticinum quo pinguescunt sues re[futa]nda" (vi.). Here *guis* stands for some adjective derived from *guis* =*gues* Cath., now *gwéz, gwîz,* Corn. *guis* (gl. scroffa 'a sow'), Ir. *feis:*

da sheanainm ar mhuic mhiadhaigh.
féis (*leg.* feis) is mada moirdhiamhair[1]).

gen. iomnocht *feise* .i. croiceann muice 'a sow's skin,' Children of Tuirenn, ed. O'Curry, p. 200. The W. *ban-wes,* which M. Loth compares, is of course *banw-es,* where *-es* (from *-issa*) is the common feminine ending, and *banw* is=Ir. *banbh.*

320. At the end of this piece is the subscription of the scribe: 'Iunobrus scripsit *haec sancta* sinoda dicite anima*m* ei*us* in requiem erit et habitaret in bapo [leg. baradiso?] sine fine.' Of him we may well say, as Siegfried said of Pughe, the Welsh lexicographer, Peace to his stupid ashes!

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[1] Forus focul, cited by O'Reilly s. v. *dreimne.* The couplet above quoted means "two ancient names for a worthy pig, *feis* and *mata* very vast."

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September, 1886.

WHITLEY STOKES.

XV.—REMARKS ON THE OXFORD EDITION OF THE BATTLE OF VENTRY.[1] By STANDISH H. O'GRADY.

THOSE of the following emendations which are preceded by '*MS.*' give the true reading of the Manuscript as ascertained by actual collation. '(*Sic*)' denotes a MS. reading that needs correction.

The one day which was all that I could spare for a visit to Oxford, unfortunately coincided with the periodical closing of the Bodleian Camera for cleaning purposes, so that, having got to work by 10·30 A.M., I was obliged to leave off at 4·0 P.M. These few hours not sufficing for a complete and thorough collation of a text which in many places is more or less defaced, I had to confine myself to such words and passages as were on the face of them most likely to be editorial misreadings. From the orthographical and grammatical point of view the original is exceedingly corrupt, and, the language being quite modern, teems with those peculiar errors which must of necessity baffle a continental scholar. Emendations made upon my own responsibility are distinguished by '*leg.*' prefixed. What proportion of errors so corrected is due to the editor, and what to the scribe, can only be revealed by completing the collation. In this edition quite a new departure has been taken, inasmuch as editorially expanded contractions are not marked by the use of Italics. It would indeed be more correct to call this a retrogression to the old uncritical method of editing which has been so much condemned of late in the *Academy*, Dr. Kuno Meyer himself being among the critics.

The textual emendations and the corrections of errors of

[1] Anecdota Oxoniensia. Mediaeval and Modern Series. Vol. i. part iv. *Cath Finntrága*, edited by Kuno Meyer from the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B 487, a vellum quarto of the fifteenth century.

translation have been kept separate, and the figures refer to the lines of the text as noted in the margin of the printed edition.

Disquisition and illustration have been avoided, except where something of the kind was absolutely needed to avoid obscurity. Indeed, a full rectification of all errors, with the amount of explanation desirable in the interest of scholars having a very limited knowledge of the language, would be quite as bulky and far more tiresome and laborious than the preparation of an entirely new edition. Where the matter appears in columns, the left-hand column gives the reading of the printed edition.

Textual Emendations.

Introduction, p. vii *infra*, in colophon: *tSaidhb* MS. 'thsaidhb.' *sain mhna* MS. 'saí mhna.' *rl.* MS. '&rl'= 'et reliqua.' P. xiii, l. 22, *nirbaš* (vox nihili) leg. 'nir lucht.' l. 24, *oireachus* (nom.) leg. 'oireachuis' (gen.). P. xv *infra*, l. 3 of quatrain, dele *mé*, which is here impossible. No Irish reciter could ever have spoken this line as printed.

Omitting the other excerpts in the Introduction, let us pass at once to the text of

Rawlinson B. 487.

l. 1. *oighe, fianaibh* (sic) leg. 'oidhedh,' 'fiannaibh.' 2. *Duiri duin* (sic) leg. 'Dairi duinn.' 3. *forrlamhas* MS. 'forlam—has.' 4. *imoro* MS. 'o.'=imorro (passim). 9. *Croimgeann* leg. 'Croimgen.' 19. *an adhbar* leg. 'a n-adhbar.' 25. *fiaracht* MS. 'fiar' leg. 'fiarfaigh.' Here Editor, intending to expand the contraction into *fiarfacht*, the T-præt. of *fiarfaighim* 'I ask,' has lengthened it into the abstract n. fem. of the adj. *fiar* 'crooked.' Such an archaic form as *fiarfacht* is, however, inadmissible in a text of this quality unless the *scriptio plena* occurs elsewhere in it. 29. *linmára* MS. 'linmhara.' Here the aspirate over *m* has been mistaken for the long accent over *a*. *taibsemacha* MS. 'taibsamacha' leg. *taidbsecha*. The omission of *d* is due to local pronunciation

(cf. l. 46). 30. *ara bhadhar* (v. nihili) MS. 'arabhadar'=*a rabhadar*. Apart from the printing of a word which does not exist, this shows an entire misconception of the construction of the verb when preceded by the relative pronoun governed by a preposition, and involves an error that would not be perpetrated by the simplest "native" in Ireland or the Highlands at the present day. 31. *curbadh* MS. 'cr*u*bad*ar*.' Here the compendium which denotes *r* preceded or followed (*pro re nata*) by a broad vowel (*a, o, u*), and is placed over the *d*, has been taken for the mark of aspiration, the result being a præt. pass. instead of a 3rd p. pl. præt. act. 32. *cruadhrámadh* MS. 'cr*u*adhramhadh.' *imram* MS. 'imramh.' *togharadh* (sic) leg. 'togartha' (fr. *tograim*). 33. *cubaidh* MS. 'cubhaidh.' The rest of this passage must be given at length:

Edition.—*gur bho cosmhail re ceathaibh gelclu . . ar gormsrothaib no re hael aengeal ar ardchlochaib na srotha cubhracha cneasgeala sin tar eis na laigheang on luathimram corcra . . cadur na longa sin sithi seabchamail int . . . luaimneacha oc imraibh na cuan a coir . . . innas tarb di maclannaib diana digairaidir con . . ti na dilainn.*

MS.—gur bho (leg. *ba*) cosmhail re ceathaibh gelchlumh ar gormsrothaib no re hoael (leg. *hael*) aengheal ar ardchloch*aibh* na srotha cubhracha cneasgeala sin tar eis na laigheang on luathimr*am* co [ru]cad*ar* na longa sin sithi seabchamail (leg. *seabhcamla*) sr*u*thluaimneacha o cimsaibh na cuan a[c] coirimtheacht tar drumcl*ad*aib diana digairaidh (leg. *digaire*) conti na dilainn (leg. *dileann*).

In the above passage the *imthe* of *coirimtheacht* are defaced, and the fourth letter of *conti* is uncertain. This is, however, all one word in the MS., not as printed; and it is probable that a stroke of abbreviation has disappeared from over the final *ti*, in which case leg. *contini* (recte *cointinni*) gen. of *cointinn* s.f. 'strife, controversy.' At any rate *conti* is a *vox nihili*, and it cannot be made to represent *confaidh*, gen. of *confadh* s.m. 'madness, fury, canine rabies,' a word of

frequent occurrence in connection with the sea in its anger.

40. *mardhucann* MS. 'murdhuchann.'

41. Ed.: *ni mochean amh tarrla re freastal no re fritholamh na fairrgi forranaighi fuardoimne sin . i . nert tonn ocus tuili ocus trengaiti ag caitheamh a cainnti ocus a cirgaili ocus accann aircci risna longaib ocus fos nir madh in comhraidh na treabha taibhliucha sin re seastan na slat ag a sreangbhualad ocus re coimbeimnigh na crann le gairbgaethaib ag a cruadbrisedh. Ni raibhi imoro acu-sun ann sin long gan labugud 'na rugaire, gan rangbriseadh 'na ub, gan odugud 'na clar, gan crithnugud 'na tairrngi, gan trotlugud 'na bord, gan brughud 'na brirrlig, gan usce 'na abur, gan foslugud 'na teas, gan tuargain 'na tili, gan tuarcain 'na as, gan impodh 'na crann, gan cruadludhbadh 'na stagh, gan śduaidhleim 'na ruaidhbreid, gan rebadh 'na laigheang, gan locadh a luathśiubal re lananfud muna theagmadh lucht a freastail ocus a fortachta ina focraibh da foiridin.*

MS. ni mochean amh tarrla re freastal no re fritholamh na fairrgi *for*ranaighi fuardoimne sin . i . nert tonn ocus tuili ocus trengaithi ag caitheamh a cainnti ocus a cirghaili ocus a ceannairrce risna longaib ocus fos nir inadh incomhraidh na treabha taibhliucha sin re seastan na slat ag a sreangbhual*adh* ocus re coimbeiminigh na crann le gairbgaeth*aib* ag a cruadbris*eadh*. Ni raibhi . ů . (= *imorro*) acusun ann sin long gan labug*ud*, ná rug*ar* gan rangbriseadh, ná ub gan odug*ud*, ná clar gan crithnugud, ná tairrngi gan trothlug*ud*, ná bord gan brugh*ad*, ná brirrlig gan usce, ná abur gan foslug*ud*, ná teas (leg. *teaghas*) gan tuarcain, ná tili gan tuarcain, ná as (leg. *eas*) gan impodh, ná crann gan cruadludhbadh, ná stagh gan tsduaidhleim (*sic*), ná ruaidhbreid gan rebadh, ná laigheang gan locadh a luathśiub*ail* re lanan*fadh*, muna theagmadh lucht a freastail ocus a *for*tachta ina focraibh da foiridhin.

It would be impossible to give within my available space an adequate idea of the treatment of this passage. Gram-

mar, construction, alliteration, rhythm, are all set at defiance. This will be more apparent in the translation. No more need be said at present than that e.g. the conjunction *ná* 'nor' has throughout been mistaken for *'na*, the amalgamation of prep. *in* with the poss. pron. 3rd p. masc. and fem. sing. Hence every clause in the long sentence has been bisected, and wrong halves joined to make new units. This scribe is very chary in his use of the long accent, the want of which is a great snare to those who have no knowledge of sound and idiom. I have supplied the accent above, *ná*, to emphasize the difference between it and *'na*. The MS. itself needs the following corrections. 42. *tarrla* leg. 'tárla.' 45. *coimbeiminigh* corrected by Editor. 46. *labugud* leg. 'ledhbadh.' 47. *odugud* I take for a phonetic attempt at *óthugud* = *uathugudh* (cf. l. 703), in accordance with the pronunciation of the northern half of Ireland, where *th* has sunk to the office of a mere *litera prolongationis*, instead of representing a very strong aspirate, as in the southern half. 48. *brirrlig* leg. 'birling.' It is as though a careless English scribe should write *brirrig* for *brig*. 50. *Cruadludhbadh* leg. 'cruadhlúbadh.' The scribe has inserted *dh* as a *lit. prolong.* instead of using the accent. 51. *theagmadh* (sic) is impossible after the conj. *muna*, leg. *teagmadh*. 52. *foiridhin* leg. 'fóirithin.' Here, again, local pron. substitutes *dh* for the *th* which appears in southern MSS. because it answers to the pronunciation of those that wrote them. 57. *fana lanṡeolaige* MS. 'fana lanṡeol.' leg. fá n-a lánṡeol*taibh*. 58. *ar in maithinis na n-domhun* MS. 'a rinn maithinis na n-domn*ach*.' This name is corrupt. 59. *sgeilleag* leg. 'sgeilg.' 62. *tharba* MS. 'tharbha.' 63. *docuredh* MS. 'do cu*i*redh.' 65. *domain* MS. 'domuin.' 67. *sluaig* MS. 'shl*uaig*.' 68. *chomhchruinniugud* MS. 'chomchr*uinniugud*.' 73. *tuirrnadar* (sic) leg. 'túrnadar.' *illathacha* phonetic for 'ildath*acha*.' 74. *a m-bhiadha* leg. 'a m-biadha.' 76. *a n-dubhchonn* leg. 'a n-duchann.' 79. *mas ead* MS. 'maiseadh.' 81. *taibart* (very barbarous) MS. 'tab*airt*.' 82. *ceithri* MS. 'ceitri.' 85. *tigerrne* (sic) leg. 'tigerna.' This scribe has a mania for doubling the letter *r*. 92. *iar corrchnoc*, etc., is

quite corrupt. The Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 18,946, a very corrupt one of 1821, throws light on this as well as on several other passages of Dr. Meyer's text. Having in the list of harbours and other places mentioned *corrchnocán na féinne le a ráidhtear cruach mangartain aniu*, it gives our passage thus: *is é áit ina raibh an tan sin ar mullach cruaiche mangartain ina thromchodla.* 94. *cloidhim* (gen. sing.) leg. 'cloidhem' (gen. pl.). 96. *as eadh* MS. 'aseadh.' 98. *dorinnus* (barbarous) leg. 'do rinnes.' *gidh edh* leg. 'gidhedh.' To separate such words as these and *aseadh* (l. 96) is pedantry, such as it would be to write *'t is n't.* 105. *mar* MS. 'inar,' also Add. MS. *agus sinne inár mnáibh*, i.e. prep. *in*+*ár* poss. pr. 1st p. pl., instead of the Editor's prep. *mar*, which makes no sense here. Such a misreading shows that one of the commonest and at the same time most characteristic idioms of the language is unfamiliar to him. 111. *dealbodhmaid* barb. for a respectable MS. of any date; a phonetic attempt at the colloquial future of a derivative verb in *-igim*, i.e. *dealbhoghamaid* and *dealbhoghaimid*, 1st p. pl. fut. of *dealbhaighim* 'I form or fashion,' fr. *dealbh* 'species.' 112. *gairfethid* (expanded by Editor) is too archaic, leg. '*gairfid*,' where, perhaps, he has mistaken an accent over the last *i* for the mark of abbreviation. *beanfed* leg. 'beanfaid.' 114. *mairbhfidhar*, phonetic attempt at a colloquial fut. pass. of *marbhaim* 'I kill,' peculiar to certain districts. 118. *do ghiabha*, barbarous offspring of scribal slovenliness: leg. 'do ghébhaidh,' 'do gheubhaidh,' or 'do gheobhaidh.' *fa rit* leg. 'farit,' recte *farrat.* 122. *fa ris* leg. 'faris,' recte *farrais.* 124. *gusain maidhin* leg. 'gusin maighin.' cf. Notes, p. 72, l. 7. 126. *oirrleac* (no such word) leg. 'oirleach.' 130. *imgan* leg. 'imgoin.' 132. *urrlamha a n-aitheda* leg. 'urlaidhe anaith*nidh*.' 134. *a comrac ar chathbharr* leg. 'a comrac an chathbhairr.' 154. *ni thic* leg. 'ni thic*fadh*.' 156. *da n-dheachair* leg. 'dá n-deachair.' 157. *tuiti* is impossible. 159. *licean* leg. 'licean.' This is only one out of hundreds of cases where ignorance of pronunciation has led the Editor to mistake the accent over the *i*, answering to the dot of the Roman type and

written character, for the long accent. He has discovered a new and alarming method of *mettre les points sur les i*, which affects the Irish reader as e.g. *ïnrïncïble ïmagïnatïon* would an English one. 160. *tabhradh* leg. 'tab*hair*.' *tabhradh* is not the imper. pass., but 3rd p. sing. imper. act., and what is needed here is the 2nd p. imper. act. 167. *urrmaïsneach* leg. 'urmaisneach.' 168. *trio* leg. 'trid.' 169. *arar-teilgedh* is quite inadmissible, leg. (in a text of this sort) 'ar ar teilgedh.' 170. *faisin* leg. 'fai sin.' 174. *co fuideadh* barb., leg. 'co fuigeadh.' 175. *co condeuchainnsi*, dele *co*, leg. 'co n-deachainnsi.' 176. *slanícidhe* leg. 'slaníce.' 180. *a n-gheill*, impossible; leg. 'a n-geill.' 184. *tainic* leg. 'táinic.' 194. *fian* MS. 'fian.' 195. *iaraidh* leg. 'iarraidh.' 200. *treithibh* MS. 'treitibh,' leg. *treitellibh*. Add. MS. reads *ina d-taoiseachaibh troighlethna*. 202. *malachghairbha* barb., leg. 'malagharbha,' as rightly written and pronounced to the present day. 203. *craebghlasa* MS. 'craebhghlasa,' as now pronounced in S. of Ireland. 206. *thulganacha* (sic) leg. 'tulgánacha.' 208. *ar barr* makes no sense, leg. with Add. MS. '*tar bárr*.' 212. *do tharraing* is 3rd p. sing. præt., and not the n. of act., which is needed here: leg. *do tharrang*. 213. *slechtainn* leg. 'slechtfainn.' 214. *treinfer* involves this error, 'salutarunt omnis fortis homo'; MS. 'trein *fir* uili'='omnes fortes homines.' 216. *gurabh* (sic) leg. 'gurab.' 217. *a n-gheill* leg. 'a n-geill.' 219. *slechtain e*, no sense, MS. 'slechtaine.' *fein* leg. 'féin.' 221. *derrna* MS. 'derna.' *da curp am .i. a croicinn* (sic) leg. 'da curp a medhon a croicinn.' Here *.i.* =*edhon*, not in sense but in sound: it is as though one wrote *hꝺ*=*hand* (cf. l. 573). 225. *Dhanann* leg. 'Danann.' 231. *Tuaithe* (gen. sing.) leg. 'tuath' (gen. pl.). 234. *dobh* (no such word), leg. 'dob.' 237. *Daghdha* leg. 'Daghda.' *timsoch dïd* (no such words) leg. 'timsochaid.' 238. *Sith Bhan Finn os Feimeanmuidh* leg. 'sidh na m-ban finn os Feimeanmuigh.' 245. *gura* leg. 'gur.' 247. *a ra bhadar* (impossible) leg. 'a rabhadar.' 251. *sleatha* leg. 'sleagha.' 254. *clomraighi* leg. 'claenraidhe.' 263. *Chnuic an Dois* leg. 'chnuic na n-os' (a very well-known hill in the co. Cork,

called in English *Knocknanoss*). 279. *cromgenn* leg. 'cromgen.' 289. *charaidh* = 'coraidh' (dat. of *cora*, gen. *coradh*, n. f. a weir). The substitution of *a* for *o* in this word is due to local pronunciation only, as in *cas* = 'cos' (a leg), *clach* = 'cloch' (a stone), *már* = 'mór' (great), etc. The editor has here mistaken the word for *carraig* (a rock). 291. *chuipghili* (sic) leg. 'cuipghili.' 298. *chucha* (no such word) leg. 'chuctha.' *béin* MS. 'bém,' leg. '*béim*, as just before in this very line, where *beim* is printed for *béim*. 301. *osneamh* (sic) leg. 'osnadh.' 309. *aencheimh* (sic) leg. 'aen chéim.' 322. *cumthach* (sic) is formed fr. *cumtha* (*cumhtha*) pl. of *cuma* (*cumha*) 'a gift,' which is nonsense here; leg. *cumach* fr. 'cuma' (*cumha*) (grief, sorrow), all well-known words. 324. *ac chur* (sic) leg. 'cur.' 335. *gar* leg. 'gur.' 336. *mochṡolus* (nom.) leg. 'mochṡoluis' (gen.). 343. *tucsead* leg. 'tucsad.' Scribe was confounding with *tug siad*. 347. *tairraing* (sic), barb. and unpronounceable; leg. 'tarrang.' 354. *'gudt feitheamh* MS. 'gud tfeitheamh.' The *t* is phonetically transported and has no grammatical value; leg. 'got feitheamh,' and *dele* apostrophe, which is out of place here. 370. *cairn* (gen.) leg. 'carn' (acc.). 413. *proin* leg. 'próinn.' 414. *fuider* leg. 'fuiger.' 419. *torthocha* barb., leg. 'torthacha.' 422. *na cleanrath asiar*, no such word as *asiar*; leg. 'na claenrátha siar.' 428. *beath* barb., leg. 'beith.' 433. *cuidh* leg. 'cuich.' 440. *dob, ail linne*, dele comma. 452. *anóis* leg. 'anois.' 462. *abair* leg. 'obair' (cf. l. 289). 463. *cean* leg. 'céin.' 466. *fa n-dhenann* leg. 'fa n-denann.' 472. *suil* leg. 'sul.' 479. *móidi* leg. 'móide.' 481. *fearseat* leg. 'fearsat.' *coimneart* (nom.) leg. 'coimnirt' (gen.). 482. *ród* MS. 'rod.' 485. *imhlibh* (sic) no such word; leg. 'imlibh.' *innsi Cirbam .i. mara romoir ruaidh* leg. 'innsi cirb a medhon m. r. r.' (cf. l. 221). 486. *fuinedach* MS. 'fuinedhach.' 487. *mhoir* leg. 'mhóir.' 490. *commhail* (no such word) MS. 'comdhail.' 491. *ana* MS. 'ána.' 498. *a m-bhel* leg. 'a m-bél.' 500. *leadragh* barb., leg. 'leadradh.' 513. *dochuaidh* MS. 'do chuaidh.' 518. *finbel* (wine-mouth) leg. 'finnbhel' (fair-mouth), referring to colour of beard. 522. *fuilfum* (no such word), leg. 'fuileam.' 526. *an m-bhiadh* leg. 'an

m-biadh.' 545. *thucar* leg. 'tucthar.' 554. *taebhtheascaighi* (sic) would in the South of Ireland be written (as there correctly pronounced) *taebhtheascaighthe* (cf. l. 560), part. pass., formed after the manner of derivative verbs in *-igim* from *taebhtheascaim*, and colloquially used instead of the regular form *teasctha*. 555. So *mughaighi*= 'mughaighthe.' 563. *maighslighi* is nonsense, leg. 'móirshléibhe,' a stock expression in the tales. 569. *do fiarfaig* (cf. l. 25). 573. *a medhon*, etc., should have given the key to abbreviation at l. 221. 597. *nach fuil ac fa inncatha aca* leg. 'acfainn catha.' 604. *taiseadh* leg. 'taiseach.' 608. *ar dil arsainnti dibh* leg. 'ar díl ár sainnti díbh.' 612. *lamha* (nom. pl.) leg. 'láimhe' (gen. sing.). 632. *gair acainteach* MS. 'gaira cainteach,' with punctum delens under final *a* of *gaira*. There is no such word as *acainteach*. 637. *ina ra bhadar* again MS. 'inarabhadar,' leg. *ina rabhadar*, as spoken to this day. Editor's reading is quite impossible. 639. leg. 'eachlach úrláir.' 640. *comlann* (nom.) MS. 'com*lainn*' (gen.). 645. *ferrlamha* (sic) leg. 'ferláimhe.' 655. *do dheidhmilid* (dat. sing.) MS. 'do deidhmhil*edaib*' (dat. pl.). 663. *reachtaignedh* (a cpd. subst. in the nom.) MS. 'reacht aign*idh*' (nom. and dep. gen.). 664. *beth* MS. 'bedh,' in mod. orthography, *gér bh'eadh*. 665. *fainmum* (a word which the editor is not to be blamed for omitting to translate) leg. *fá nim um* (recte *im*). 667. *tairgsin* (sic) is not the right word here, leg. 'tairisem.' 669. The full stop at the end of this line shows at once that the structure of the passage has been entirely misunderstood. The sentence ends with *curata*. A new one begins at '*ocus ar n-easbaid.*' 675. *menmneach* barb., leg. 'menmnach.' 679. *ligedh* (3rd p. sing. imper., or præt. pass.), MS. '*ligidh*' (2nd p. pl. imper.), mistranslated accordingly. 681. *lesa ra bhadar* MS. 'les arabhadar' leg. *leis a rabhadar*. 690. *ro machtaighedar* (they contemplated) MS. 'ro innsaighed*ar*' (they attacked). 700. *fuilangthi* barb., leg. 'fulangthi.' The scribe has mixed up the mod. colloq. *fuilingim* with the older *fulangaim* (I suffer). *dilann* (mod. *diolann*) is the pres. of habit of *dílaim*, *díolaim* (I pay, sell, etc.); leg.

dilenn, mod. *dileann*, gen. sing. of *dile* (deluge). 705. *dho* leg. 'do.' 716. *beannacht* (nom.) leg. 'beannachtan,' or 'beannachta,' (gen.). 723. *urrcar* MS. 'urcar.' *gur curtha ais ana bhel*, entirely senseless, so that the translation is a mere guess founded on the context. MS. 'gur *cer*tamais ana bhel.' 724. *aidhche* (sic) leg. 'aighthe.' 743. *geilide* (sic) leg. 'geilte'; *faelcon* (gen. sing.) MS. 'faelc*oin*' (nom. pl.). 760. *einidh* leg. 'einigh.' 761. *doghen* MS. 'do ghen.' 762. *co roistir* will not do. The scribe, mistaking 1st pers. sing. conj. of the deponent verb for a passive, inserted the *t*, which in his time was, as now, characteristic of the latter; leg. *co roiser*. 773. *cinnfedh* (sic) is not the 1st p. sing. fut.; leg. 'cinnfed.' *treasan* leg. 'tresan.' 782. *di na roim* MS. '*dina roim*.' The editor has split *dina*, gen. sing. of *din*, into *di* (prep.) and *ná* (conj.). 782. *taid* (sic) evidently results from scribal carelessness. It cannot be construed here. 787. *inna n-enchath* MS. 'ni nanenchath.' 796. *donti* leg. 'don ti.' 800. *chuididhis* MS. 'chuid*ighis*.' 810. *nochar tana silcur na tragha* MS. 'nochar tā asilcur na tragha,' etc. The editor extends *tā* to *tana* (thin), and translates '*thicker*,' which seems arbitrary. I would read *nochar tiuga silcur ná tragha o n-a fearaib na faenluighi*. 822. *an darna fer no an treasfear*, why separate the one numeral and join the other? 828. *ar is* (where the translation shows that *ar* has been taken for the conjunction of same force as *óir*, *uair*; and *is* for the verb, which is impossible here), MS. 'aris,' which should have the comma after it. The tr. is guesswork. Neither editor nor any one else could parse the text as printed. 833. *fuilt* leg. 'fuilt.' 838. *cedh* leg. 'céd.' 868. *billi* leg. 'builli.' 871. *dighaingach* is coined after the analogy, I presume, of *acfaingeach* fr. *acfaing*, leg. 'dighainn.' 872. *ceartberathach* leg. 'ceartbreathach.' Editor renders '*whose is the birthright*,' a desperate shot at a desperate word, owing, perhaps, to a fancied connection between the syl. *ber* and the verb *berim* (I bring forth). The true reading='*righteous in his judgments*.' 884. *nir becan ni* leg. 'nir bec an ni.' 885. *geamoidche* leg. 'gamoidche.' The first='*gem night*,' which has not much

meaning, and the latter=*'winter's night,'* which is quite intelligible. 887. *do bhan-* leg. 'do bhainfedh,' or 'do bheanfadh.' 888. *bheim* is impossible, leg. 'béim'; *cach im cosnamh an talman*, leg. 'ac imcosnamh na talman.' *Talamh* (earth) is of both genders in the mod. lang., gen. m. *an talaimh*, gen. f. *na talman*. Editor gives the gen. f. with masc. art. 890. *anmainniugud*, a phonetic attempt, which ought to have been explained in the ind. verb.; leg. *anbfainniugud*. In these two forms *bf* (*bhf*) and *m* (*mh*) alike=*w* (approximately), but the scribe disguises the root of the word, which is *fann* (weak). 894. *leidhead*, another barb. arising out of the weakened *th*; leg. 'leithead,' pron. two short syll. 907. *iachtac* leg. 'iachtach.' 914. *ca fear de* leg. 'ca fearrde' (*fear*=vir, *fearr*=melius). 923. *is mor na thu* leg. 'is mó ná thu,' i.e. *major quam tu*, instead of *magnus quam tu* as printed. 932. *acht ge dho* leg. 'acht gidhedh do.' 939. *a bos* leg. 'abhos' (=a bhfus), as common a word as there is in the spoken language. 960. *mhe* leg. 'mé.' 962. *tainic snaithi mo saegal* leg. 'tairnic snáithe mo saegail (cf. l. 1021). Here editor reads a nom. instead of a gen. 970. *ar aengrian* leg. 'araen grian,' quite a diff. meaning. 972. *ealathan na fian Eirenn* is impossible, leg. 'ealathanna fian Eirenn,' which is merely incorrect; recte *ealadhna fiann Eirenn*. 974. *bhean* leg. 'bean.' 976. *fainne* (adj. gen. sing. fem.), leg. 'fanna' (nom. pl. m. and f.). *gos aird* (sic) leg. 'ós áird.' 977. *an choir* leg. 'an chorr' (according to mod. usage, which makes no acc.), or *choirr*, the old acc. *Cor* and *corr* are quite different words, and not interchangeable. *a dha* leg. 'a dá,' *corr* being fem. 979. *dobeiridh-san*, impossible, leg. 'do beiredhsan.' *don chuir ra sineadh*, how would the editor parse this? leg. 'don chuirr a síneadh.' 980. *ar aén* leg. 'araen.' *Ocon fiadh allaid*=*penes* (or *apud*) *cervum agrestem* (for *fiadh*, primarily a *wild animal*, has long been practically restricted to the sig. of *deer*): leg. *on coinfiadh allaid*=*per τὸ κυνοθήριον agreste* (if I may coin a Greek cpd.), i.e. the *fox*, with which we have to do here. 984. *on chonc* is out of the question, leg. 'ón chnoc.' 993. *is trenchainid*, there is no cpd. here, it could not

be construed; leg. 'is trén chainid.' 998. *is edh* MS. 'isedh.' 999. *luinnceadh* (sic) I can make nothing of, whether as to form or meaning, and would read '*luinnceach*.' 1002. *sinnach dhali* (sic) leg. 'sinnach dha li.' 1003. *an teis* (sic), rather leg. 'an t-séis.' 1004. *damh an Droma Leis* MS. 'damhan droma leis' (leg. *damhán*). Editor has here bisected the n. *damhán* and turned the derivative syll. at the end into the def. art. in a place where it is inadmissible. 1008. *doni* MS. 'do ní.' 1013. *mac na mhna* (sic) leg. 'mna.' 1016. *doní tonn thragha* (sic) *re traigh* MS. 'do ní,' and leg. 'tragha.' 1017. *segha* (sic) leg. 'seghda.' 1020. *doní an tonn 'sa traigh is theas* MS. 'do ní an tonnsa traighis theas.' Here the demonstrative particle *sa*=*so* has been taken for *'sa'*, the short colloquial form of *isan*, i.e. the def. art. and prep. *in* combined, while *tráighis*, the relative of *tráighim* (I ebb), has been bisected and its first part turned into a noun, *tráigh* (strand). There then remains *is theas*, which editor gives up. 1022. MS. *misdide mo ghne re feas* leg. 'misde é mo ghne re feas.' *misdide*='misdi dhe,' where the *dh* is merely a colloquial interpolation to avoid hiatus, and has no grammatical signification whatever. This use of *dh* is characteristic of the North. 1024. *donid* MS. 'do níd.' 1025. leg. 'nocha n-fuil.' 1026. *sceil* (sic) but leg. 'sciath.' 1028. *a heóin*, impossible accentuation. 1029. *doni* MS. 'do ni.' 1032. *nochan fuil* MS. 'nocha nfuil.' 1034. *a sciath lóghaidh ro gheis*: this is a very lame line to find in close proximity to an *Excursus on Old Irish Metric*, especially as the MS. reads quite correctly: 'a sciath aloghaidh ro gheis.' The poem being very short, it may be as well to print the whole of it here correctly, and as the language is quite modern, the modern orthography is adopted and accents given. The lines are disposed and pointed according to the Irish usage:

1. Géisidh cuan : árdbhuinne ruadh rinn dhá bhárc :
   bádhadh laoich locha dhá chonn : isedh chaoineas tonn re trácht :
2. Luinnceach corr : a seisceann droma dhá thréan :
   sisi gá buaidhreamh do bhí : sionnach dhá lí ar tí a h-éan :

3. Truagh an t-séis : do ghní damhán droma léis :
   marbh eilit droma sileann : géisidh damh dileann dá h-éis :
4. Truagh an fhaoidh : do ghní an smólach a n-druim chaoin :
   agus ní neamhthruaighe an sgol : do ghní an lon a leitir laoigh :
5. Is saoth liom : bás an laoich ro luidheadh liom :
   mac na mná ó dhoire dhá dhos : bheith anos is tros (?) fá a chionn :
6. Truagh an ghéir : do ghní tonn trágha re tráigh :
   os adbath fear seaghdha saor : saoth liom Cael do dhul na dháil :
7. Truagh an tres : do ghní an tonnsa thráigheas theas :
   mise ro thairnig mo ré : misde é mo ghné re feas :
8. Ceatha troma : do ghníd tonna tulcha léis :
   mise nocha n-fuil mo mhaoin : ó ro mhaoidh an sgiath ro ghéis :
9. Marbh an ghéis : dubhach a heoin dá h-éis :
   mór do ghní domheanma dhamh : an doghra do ghabh an ghéis :
10. Ro báidheadh Cael mac Criomhthuinn : nocha n-fuil mo mhaoin dá éis :
    is mór triath do thuit le a láimh : a sgiath a ló ghéidh do ghéis :

Variants from Egerton 149.

To the Irish reader nothing need be said as to the merits of this MS. To the English reader it is impossible to give an idea of its utter worthlessness, for to compare its orthography and composition with that of the Yellowplush Papers would be a grave injustice to Thackeray's immortal hero, who, at any rate, always makes himself intelligible. Here we have whole sentences consisting of words that do not exist at all, and in many instances no knowledge of the language will suffice even to guess at the meaning. The MS. is of the year 1828, evidently slowly and laboriously written by one altogether unfamiliar with the character, and

(in the absence of evidence other than this) ignorant of the language.

line 2. *fór an domhain mhoir* leg. 'forsan domhan mhór.' Here we have a gen. after a prep. that needs the acc. The most illiterate speaker in Ireland could not make this mistake. The editor is responsible, for the MS. has *domñ.*, so he had his choice. 3. *darbh* MS. 'dar ba' (recte). 10. *do cuireadh* (præt. pass.) MS. 'do cuired*ar*' (3rd p. pl. præt. act.) contraction=*ar* mistaken for aspirate here. 16. *soindireach* MS. 'soinndireach.' 16. *seolda* MS. 'seolta.' 19. *na mórgur.* MS. reads 'na mór .g̃.'=*na mórfhairrge* (of the great sea). This contraction, which is somewhat in the nature of a rebus, is founded upon the names of the letters *r* and *g*, and occurs again at l. 21, where MS. reads *na g̃* (recte *fg̃*), and editor prints *na gur* without italics, note, or comment. *murmhaoiteac* MS. 'mearmhaoiteac[h].' 20. *murdhúbhcach* MS. 'murdhubhac[h],' which is the living word for 'a mermaid,' in some localities at all events. 24. *taoibhf . . . a* MS. 'taoibhfliuc[h]a,' cf. Rawl. l. 44, which ought to have been a guide. 29. *coiméadeadha* (does not exist), MS. 'coiméadtha' (dele *h*). 32. *mac mairne* MS. 'moirne.' 38. *feair* MS. 'feoir.' 43. *Cuan dorn* MS. 'cuan dór' (recte), i.e. the well-known harbour of Glandore in the co. Cork. Here editor has read *dor̃* (*dorn*) for *dór.* 45. *Maoinne* (which is not a name at all) MS. 'máine' (a very common one). 50. *aodha dearg* leg. 'aodh dearg,' i.e. *Hugo Rufus.* The printed text makes it *Hugonis Rufus*, somewhat of a false concord. 59. *seánchoill* MS. 'seañchoill,' in which *dele* one *n.* *Seanchoill* means *Old-wood*, while *seánchoill=Johanniswald.* 60. *begh* MS. 'beg.' 63. *landara* MS. 'eandara.' 67. *iar soin* MS. 'iar soiñ,' both wrong, leg. *iar soin.* 68. *adubert* MS. 'adubt,' should be extended *adubairt* in so modern a text. 70. *sinn nár mnáibh* ought to have prevented the serious misreading at l. 105 of Rawl. 71. *triur .i.* MS. 'triur .ī.' should have presented no difficulty: leg. *triur inghean.* 73. *dealbhochámh*, a truly portentous figment of the scribe. Any editor, however, who lets such a thing pass must divide the blame: leg. *dealbhócham.* 74. *fánuis* (sic) leg. 'sanaise.' 75. *sluaidh* (pl.)

MS. 'sluadh' (sing.) leg. *sluagh*. 77. *ceathar* MS. 'ceathrar' = *four persons*. 78. *teassadh* MS. 'teaš' = *teacht*. 81. *claoidhimh* MS. 'cl*aoidheam*h.' 85. *níorbh fusaide* MS. 'níor bhfusaide.' 100. *agus an t-śleigh*, etc., gives no sense whatever as printed. MS. 'agus an t-śleigh na láimh dheis agus tug buille don craoisicc dionnsaighe (sic) builg na lúithrighe,' etc. The '*na* shows that the editor mistook the genitive of the def. art. f. sing. for *in* (prep.)+*a* pos. pron., and 'lúithrighe' (gen.) for *lúithrigh* (dat.). Here the *th* is inserted as a *lit. prolong.*, the correct form being *lúireach* (lorica). 103. *comhurtha* leg. 'comrac.' 108. *boi* is too archaic for this text, and is, besides, grammatically impossible here: MS. 'b*a*,' which is right. 110. *iomusa* leg. 'iomthúsa.' 112. *dé* MS. 'dē'=*duine*. As printed, the text runs thus: 'it was Finn's constant custom whenever he despatched any gods whatsoever to collect intelligence,' etc. Substitute 'any *man*' (hominem), and you have the reading of the MS. *dá* leg. 'da*no*.' 113. *for* MS. 'f̄'=féin. 114. *go ni feárr de a m-blas* MS. 'go mfeárrde a m-blas.' 116. *mar a rá bhadar* MS. 'mar a rábhadar,' right, but *dele* accent. 124. *bróg na righthe*='the shoe of the wrists,' a curious *nomen loci*: leg. *brugh righ*, a well-known little town and railway station in the co. Limerick, called in English *Bruree*='the king's fort.' 134. *chugham* is the southern colloquial form of the prep. *co* with pron. 1st p. sing., *recte* 'chugam': leg. *chum*, 3rd p. sing. præt. act. of *cumaim* (I form, fashion). 138. *agus ram* MS. 'ead*r*am.' 144. *biadh*, impossible here: MS. 'b*udh*.' 145. *fearra* leg. 'feárrde.' 150. *me* MS. 'mé.' 151. *treasī* (sic) leg. 'trasna,' colloquial form of *tarsna*. 154. *t-amh* (does not exist) MS. 'tug*a*mh,' a local form of the præt. pass. of *tugaim* (I give), leg. *tugadh*. 162. *bha* MS. 'b*a*.' 163. *corán* leg. 'coradh,' gen. of *cora* (a weir). *corán* is an illspelt *corrán* (sickle). 174. *freagrós* leg. 'forfógras,' cf. l. 184. 175. *mumain* MS. 'mumh—.' Editor expands contraction into dat. instead of gen. 178. *a g-caith ná nách tabhrain* MS. is defective here: leg. 'a gcath ná [a g-comlann] nach tabharfainn.' 182. *biadh* MS. 'b*adh*.' 183. *da* MS. 'do.' 190. *dana* leg. 'dána.'

193. *seimhar a dhó*, what does *seimhar* mean? MS. 'séimh ar a dhó.' 200. *diombaoidheach* barb., leg. 'diombuidheach.' 220. *ro tháibsigheadh* leg. 'ro taidhbsigheadh' (præt. pass.). 221. *a muini ghil* MS. 'a munighil,' leg. 'a muiníl' (pl. of *muineál* 'neck'). 223. *nim* MS. 'nimh.' 233. *anmhaith* MS. 'an mhaith.' 238. *do chómhghearadur caráigeacha* leg. 'do chomhgháireadar carraigeacha' (colloq. pl. of *carraig*). 239. *dheanách* leg. 'dhéanach.' 244. *agus é beo* MS. 'agus é fein beo,' which quite alters the sense. Here we have another rebus in the form of $\frac{n}{e}$, with a long accent over *e*, which being read off gives *é fé n* (=*é* under *n*) =é féin. 271. *ar an gabhan* MS. 'ar angabhan,' leg. *ar angabhan*[*n*]. 279. *cómhrach* MS. 'cómhr̄' leg. *comhrac*. 293. *nior hasduigh* leg. 'níor theasdaigh.' 296. *córuidhe* (sic) leg. 'córaide.' 297. *an tí do mharbh t'athar* i.e. 'is qui occidit *tui patris*' for 'he that killed thy father.' leg. *t'athair*. 307. *d'órduig* MS. 'd'órduig an t-árdrigh,' which alters the sense. 309. *thádhaih* MS. 'thádhaigh,' which is quite bad enough: leg. *thaidhg*, gen. of *tadhg* (Teigue pr. n.). 325. *do chuireadh* (3rd p. sing. præt. of habit) MS. 'do chuiread*ar*' (3rd p. pl. præt.). 332. *tángadh* (no such word) leg 'tánac.' 334. *smuain* (2nd p. sing. imperat. of *smuainim* 'I consider, muse') gives no sense here: MS. reads $\frac{m}{s}$, i.e. '*m* ar *s*' (=*m* upon *s*) = *imreas*. *iorusbail* MS. 'iorusb*a*,' meant for 'uireasba.' 336. *éadhaime* MS. 'éad*ru*ime,' recte *éadtruime* (lightness). Here again the *r* abbreviation has been mistaken for the aspirate. 372. *nó go g-cinneamh ar* leg. 'nó go g-cinneabh air'; this is the O.I. fut. *cinniub*. 378. *trómúlla tiogh*, unintelligible but for context: leg. 'trommhullach tighe.' 391. *carann Fiachradh* leg. 'carnn fiachrach.' 395. *cnoc báinleacach ba choir* MS. 'bachoir,' tr.: *a hill abounding with white flagstones and acorns*, i.e. covered with oaks. Here *bachoir* (gen. of *bachar*) has been split into a verb and an adj. which give no sense. 400. *do bhraoin ghil na fola* (sic) is impossible, since it is certain that drops of blood are not white, therefore leg. 'do bhraonghail na fola,' i.e. [filled] *with the dripping of blood*. 401. *madh nach* MS. 'm̄n̄'=*muna*. 410. *ruaidhne* leg. 'ruainne.' 414. *a mhais* leg. 'a mháis.' 419. *ar cómh-*

radh leg. 'an comhrádh.' 422. *ní bh-fuil gnó da bh-faidso-ghuigheacht* MS. 'bh-faidsg̃uidheacht,' leg. *ní fuil gnó dá bh-faidsgéaluidheacht*, i.e., 'there is no use in making a long story about them.' The *g̃* has a dot over the middle of the –, and this Editor has taken for an aspirate. He does not anywhere translate or explain the word which he thus arrives at. 424. *lánmharbh* (adj.) MS. 'lánmharb*hadh*' (præt. pass.). 432. *rádharc dé* (the sight of God) MS. 'dē,' leg. 'radharc d*uine*' (the sight of man). 434. *tuille* (sic) is nonsense here, leg. *tuile* (a flood).

The editor prints several extracts from other MSS., and in these also he discards the use of italics in extending contractions; neither does he translate them. The omission of the greater part of the Introduction and Notes, as well as of the Excursus and (so-called) Index Verborum in their entirety, would have left space for such a translation. *Aided Finn* I have not collated with the Bodleian MS. Laud 610, from which it is printed, but a hasty glance at the version in Eg. 1782, of which Editor professes to give the principal variants, discloses a not unimportant oversight at the very beginning, i.e. Eg. 1782 reads 'for easb*aid* ona muir,' where the printed text (l. 4) has only *for easbaid*. Again, in *ros raenadh* (l. 74) Editor has wrongly divided *rosraenadh* (as I suppose it to stand in his MS.), taking *s* to be the infixed pronoun instead of the first letter of the verb; leg. *ro sraenadh*, where Eg. reads *ro sráinedh*.

Let us now turn to the Translation, of which only a few of the more prominent errors are here set to rights.

Introduction.

The Editor gives a précis of the colophon, not a translation; and this is not surprising, since the printed text contains a misreading which involves a false concord of some magnitude. It runs thus: 'written by *Finnlaech O Cathasaigh* for Sabia, daughter of Teigue O'Malley, i.e. a sage of a woman in respect of wisdom, hospitality, chastity, et reliqua.' The editor's introduction of 'O *Ch*athasaig'

into an English sentence shows that he is as yet unfamiliar with the regimen of the patronymics with *o* and *mac*. A parallel case would be the rendering of *per Æneam periit Dido* by 'it was through Æneam that Dido perished.' p. xvi, l. 4, 'He takes a leap *on his* [own] *lance*.' This is not a case of suicide, but leg. 'he took a leap *with the shaft of* his spear.' p. xvi, l. 18, 'and if they were good news, *he would better enjoy* telling them himself,' leg. 'and if it were good news he [the messenger] had, *it would taste all the better* [to the people] for being published by [Finn] himself.' p. xviii, l. 8, 'above the *ground* of the harbour,' leg. 'over the *edge* of the bay.' Confusion between *oir* 'edge' and *úir* 'earth, mould.' p. xviii, l. 12, 'there *never was* known noble or ignoble among us'—then of whom could they consist? leg. 'there *is* [in this strait] no distinction between gentle and simple of us.' p. xviii, l. 14, 'that is of equal nobility as we are' is not English. p. xviii, l. 15, 'I shall form a *slender front* with my own battalions and a *broad back*,' leg. 'I will form my battalions with a *narrow front* and *an extended rear*.' p. xviii, l. 16, 'let none of you redden his *arm* but *against* a prince or chief *at first*, for when the chief *has fallen*, the better will his people follow him,' leg. 'let none of you redden his *hand* but *upon* a p. or ch. *to begin with*, for when the chief *shall fly*, his people will be all the more likely to follow him.' Here the reading of this dreadful Eg. 149 ('*thuitfios*') is nonsense, and must be emendated to '*theithfios*.' p. xviii, l. 23, 'nobody ever went from me to fight *whom* I did not know would return safely' is not English. Apart from this, leg. 'none ever went from me into fight or fray but I knew whether he would return in safety [or not].' p. xviii, l. 36, 'made a victorious cast with his *golden spear*.' In this clause the spear is not mentioned, and *órchruinn* is ignorantly written for *úrchruinn*. leg. 'he made an *accurate* and successful *cast*.' p. xix, l. 17, 'C. M., whose hand was good, if only his words and his deeds had not . . . . . .' leg. 'and that man's hand was good, had it not been that he so greatly suffered his evil words and his deeds'=*had he not so greatly given way to his bad tongue and*

his violent temper. Here *foilg* (leg. 'fuilg') is 3rd p. sing. præt. of *fuilgim*, a colloquial form of *fulangaim* (I suffer). p. xix, l. 20, 'a small apple or a *great whetstone might have stood* on the top of each hair of his,' leg. 'a little apple or a *big sloe would have stuck* upon the end of each individual hair of him.' This is a stock phrase in the tales, which is here condensed, the hearers being supposed to know all about it. The idea is, that when the divine *afflatus* of combat came upon the hero, his hair bristled to the extent that if a sack of apples or of sloes had been emptied over him, not one would have reached the ground. There was a technical name for this paroxysm, '*riastradh*.' p. xix, l. 32, 'there were more *of* their dead than *of* their living,' leg. 'their living were more than their dead.' Slight as the difference may seem to be, the editor's version suffices to show that he misunderstands the construction. Here the prep. in *dá* is not *do*=*de*, *di*, but *do* itself. p. xx, l. 31, 'and *he* [Fergus] *went* through the length of Erinn, and especially to the house of T. N.' leg. 'and *people were discoursing of* these hostings throughout all Ireland, but especially in the house of T. N.' Fergus did not go at all, he was on board the ship. The fact is the editor has no conception of the construction or even of the vocables of this sentence. *Bhadhus* (recte *bháthas*, and hence in some MSS. bhás), and later *bhiothas*, are præt. pass. of verb subst. (of which the pres. pass. is *atáthar*, fut. *beidhtear*, and part. necess. *beithte*). That is to say, the form is passive, the meaning simply impersonal, answering to that of French and German verbs with *on* and *mann*. *Teacht tar* is a metaphorical expression of the same order as *discurrere*, *transcurrere*, and has the same meaning as the latter except that it does not imply the notion of haste. The equivalent of the colloquial English '*I often heard tell of him*' is, '*is minic a chualadh teacht tairis*.'

Rawl. B. 487.

l. 19. 'And this was the cause thereof,' leg. 'and this was the cause they had [for so doing],' quite a different constr.

29. 'proud *henchmen*' leg. 'glittering *retinues*.' The Editor throughout renders '*teaghlach*' by '*henchman*,' than which nothing can be more incorrect. The word is derived from *teagh* (house) and means *household*, from the reader's household to that of the Queen, and no well-regulated household is entirely made up of "henchmen." As well might the word '*regiment*' be rendered by '*drummers*' or '*captains*.'

33. so that the white-skinned foamy streams behind the ships from the quick rowing were like the *white-plumed froth on blue rivers*, or like the white chalk on high stones, so that . . . . those ships over the billowy main and over the big great-crested slow blue waves.

leg. so that those foaming white-skinned eddies in the wake of the galleys from the swift rowing were as *showers of white feathers upon black streams*, or as pure whitewash upon high castles, and those ships made hawk-like torrent-like bounds from the shores of the harbours, rolling as they passed over the impetuous angry surges of the deluge uproar, i.e. over the great-waved main and the huge big-crested billows sullen and black.

The four dots in the printed text are scarcely a fair equivalent for what has been omitted. The use of *cloch* (a stone) to denote a *castle* is well known. *Gorm* here means *black*, not *blue*, just as *fear gorm* means a *negro*, not a *blue* man. Of course it does not mean absolute jet black.

41. There was no welcome forsooth to him who got the service and the attendance of that angry, cold and deep sea, with the force of the waves and of the tide, and of the strong blasts consuming their . . . . and . . . . against the vessels, *nor was the babbling of those . . . . pleasant*, with the creaking of

leg. no cause for congratulation had those whose lot it was to meet and make head against that fierce and cold-deep sea, such was the force of waves and rushing current and mighty blast plying their speech, their fury and their turbulence against the ships. *Moreover those wet-sided habitations* (i.e. vessels) *were no*

the ropes that were lashed into strings, and with the buffeting of the masts by the fierce winds that shivered them severely. There was not amongst them a vessel that was not shaken in its ribs, that was not .... broken its gear, ... in its board, shaken in its sails, rotten in its side, bruised in its ...., without water in its hold, ripped open in its ...., shattered in its ...., overturned in its mast, severely bent in its stays .... in its red canvas, lacerated in its boats, stopped in its swift career by the full gust of the storm, if the people of assistance and help near them had not come to aid it.

suitable place for converse, by reason of the yards that were being flogged by ropes, of the crashing together of the masts with the heavy squalls that shivered them. There was not there of them a ship that was not belaboured, nor a rudder that was not carried away, nor a prow that was not partly knocked off, nor a plank that was not started, nor a nail that was not loosened, nor a gunwale that was not stove in, nor a galley that was not making water, nor timbers that did not gape, nor a craft that was not pounded, nor a deck that was not pounded, nor a vessel that was not put about, nor a mast that did not buckle, nor a stay that was not swinging in bights, nor tanned canvas that was not split, nor a launch that did not refuse to keep her swift course by stress of storm, save where people that could help and lend them a hand chanced to come across them and succour them.

I translate '*them*' instead of '*it*' at the end, because in this MS., as in many others, *ḟ=bf* (*bhf*) at times, and the closing words seem naturally to apply to all the vessels mentioned. This passage is here rendered as literally as is compatible with its being understood at all. There are a few doubtful words in it, thanks to the scribe, and that he was a man of no care or accuracy is shown by the repetition of "*tuarcain*" (to pound, batter), which tautology is out of all character in a tale of this kind. 53. 'weak-

ness *on* the heroes' is good Hiberno-colloquial English, but quite inadmissible here. 57. 'the *slanting* full-sailing ships,' leg. 'the ships *under their* full sails = in full sail.' Here *fána* of the MS., which is *fá* (prep.) and *n-a* (poss. pr. 3rd p. pl. with prosthetic *n* to avoid hiatus) has been taken for the pl. of a supposed adj. *fán* (sloping). *Fán* is a noun masc., meaning "*a slope, a steep declivity,*" and its deriv. adj. is *fánach*, pl. *fánacha*. This error creating a necessity for a second adj., the contracted *seol-* has been lengthened into *seolaige*, intended for pl. of a supposed adj. *seolach*, of which, however, it would be the gen. fem. sing.; while in reality it represents *seoltaibh* (dat. pl.) or *seolta* (acc. pl.) of *seol* (a sail). We have not space to enter into the uses of *fán;* I will only say that neither it nor its adj. can possibly be made to apply to the *heeling over* of a ship, or to a ship at all except in e.g. *long le fán*, a vessel going, let us say, over the Falls of Niagara. Instead of *fá n-a* some may prefer to read *fá na* (prep. and pl. art.): the matter is indifferent. 58. 'on the goodly island of the worlds,' cf. emend. to text. 61. 'senseless,' leg. 'irrational.' 76. 'dark conceits,' leg. 'melodies.' 86. 'Henchmen' again, and passim. These should be pensioned off. 105. '*for thou knowest that it is not right* for thee to redden thy arms on us, and we women,' leg. 'for thou hast worthier objects upon which to redden thy weapons,' etc., that is the sense; so far as a lit. tr. is possible it is this, 'for thou hast a direction in which it would be more just,' etc. Get up uses of *eolus* (knowledge). 107. 'and none of us *loves thee* less than the other,' leg. 'and none of us [three] *loves the other* [two] the less on that account.' Not the same thing at all. 109. 'make a stand against,' leg. 'reach, get up to.' 111. 'from the stalks of . . . . and from the top of watercress,' leg. 'of (=*de, ex*) occult stalks (=stalks of secret virtue) and of the leaves of watercress.' 118. 'shall obtain the same *as thou*,' leg. 'shall have the same *along with thee*.' It is evident from the printing of '*fa rit*' that the expression is not understood, leg. *farrat*, also *farrais* and *farró* or *farrú* for *fa ris* and *fa riu* elsewhere in this text.

These forms are not explained in the grammars so far as I know. 147. 'had been true to me,' leg. 'would [but] keep good faith with me.' 151. 'the day of fighting together with thee has come for me,' is an abuse of the literal in translation, which, so far from conveying an idea of the translator's intimate knowledge of the language, does quite the reverse, while to the future learner it cannot but be a stumbling-block. Compare this: '*il se brûla la cervelle*,' tr. '*he burned himself the brain.*' Is it not better to render '*he blew his brains out*'? Reverse the process, and try '*il souffla ses cervelles dehors.*' The Irish *lá bágha* (not *badha*)= '*a day of battle*,' and its force is that of the Scotch '*a day in hairst*'; consequently render *the time has come for me to do a day's fighting for you*,' or, '*to lend you a hand*,' and so forth. 154. 'it is not he at all, O high king, and if it had been he that has come, it is not for thy people that he comes.' This is not English, apart from any question of translation. The king asks: 'is it Oscar that is yonder?' Glas answers: 'it is by no means he, O high king; and were it he, [then] such of thy people as have escaped would not have escaped.' Leg. in text *agus dá m-badh é, a d-táinic as dod mhuintirsi ní thiocfadh*, according to mod. orthog. Here, amongst other mistakes, prep. *as* has been mistaken for the logical copula *as*. We may fairly say of this bit: *vir autem quidam tetendit arcum, in incertum sagittam dirigens.* 178. 'there is a friend of mine with the fleet,' leg. 'I have a friend on board the fleet.' This shows that the translator does not know the difference between '*atá cara agam*' and '*atá cara liom.*' The subtleties of the Irish prepositions are, amongst others, an everlasting snare to our continental friends. 189. 'hast thou got tidings . . . . .?' This is not a question, but an exclamatory assertion. 191. 'if they would preserve our lives,' leg. 'if they should find (or catch, or overtake) us alive.' 197. 'ten times twenty fists of a man in height'—truly a tall fellow. He "shrinks in the washing," however, for leg. 'a score and ten fists of man.' 200. 'and the fierce heroes attacked each other *in their* firm-sided, *rough-skinned*, broad-footed, *strong-tailed* . . . . . that

were *strong below.*' Here the idiom, not reproducible in English or in German, baffles the editor. It is something akin to the Fr., e.g. '*il se battit en héros,*' which one would not like to render '*he fought in hero.*' Our passage should run thus: 'then those fierce warriors attacked each other, *proving themselves* champions tough of rib, *cruel as the wave,* broad of foot, *of manly vigour, solidly planted.*' *Tárr* (n. fem.) does not mean either *back* or *tail,* but *belly,* and in a certain category of ideas, the lower part of it (cf. uses of *inguen*). *Táirrgheal* is a frequent ep. of the salmon. Cf. the first salmon you meet, and mark which is the whiter, his belly or his back. In 3 Ir. Gl. p. 78, *fo a tháirr* is most expressive and concise, representing the "haughty leper" on his belly along the cow's back. '*Broad-footed*' and '*strong-foundationed*' mean that it was not easy to knock them down. 221. 'of his body forsooth, to wit, of his skin,' leg. 'of his body in the midst of his skin.' 237. 'and [he will] gather the Tuatha De Danand to us,' leg. 'and the T. D. D. will gather together to us,' with verb in pl. 244. 'leman' must retire with 'henchmen.' 251. 'heavy,' leg. 'bulky.' 256. *dele* 'the salmon-leap, etc.,' which is out of O'D. Sup. and should not appear in the text, or indeed in the book at all. 273. 'arise' is wrong here, it means simply 'go.' 277. 'announce battle from them,' leg. 'for them.' 287. 'Oscar of the great routs.' Editor must surely see that this cannot be so. There is a defect in the MS. here, and the verb is missing, but the phrase occurs in full at l. 477 and Eg. l. 240; leg. 'Oscar made a desperate charge.' 288. 'through a narrow thin rock,' leg. 'through a close narrow weir.' 292. 'wild hacking,' leg. 'distortion' or 'disfigurement.' 311. 'like [that of] fifty horses at a thunderstroke and at the shaking of the strand,' leg. 'like [that caused by] fifty horses pounding the shore like thunder and making it tremble.' 316. 'between them,' leg. 'among.' 338. 'they did not let go of one another,' leg. 'they did not retreat from.' 346. 'for he was a good swimmer and . . . .' leg. 'for his own swimming and diving were good.' 371. 'a cairn of byrnies,' leg. 'a spoil-heap.' Editor's 'cairn of

byrnies of their accoutrements' is what is commonly called 'a bull'; you might as well say "made a heap of hats of their clothes." 390. 'never did the Fian let a man challenge them to fight for a longer time without answering, than him, and it was a hard thing for them to cast lots when no answer had come forth,' leg. 'the Fiann had never seen approach them to demand battle a man whom they more grudged to meet than this one, and they resolved to cast lots after having shirked the taking up of his challenge.' 409. 'though your *fame goes* along with the kingship of Ulster,' leg. 'though your *expectation does not* attach to the kingship of Ulster' (which is as close as English admits of), i.e. 'though none of you be heir apparent of Ulster [as I am].' 414. 'food or eating shall not pass over my lips even for the wrongs [done] to you.' This stultifies the whole passage. After 'lips,' leg. 'to spite you.' The phrase is very idiomatic, cf. the common saying, '*ar mhaithe leis féin ghnídheann an cat crónán.*' 439. 'What have ye set out for?' leg. 'What has started you?' Here 3rd p. præt. act. followed by acc. pron. has been mistaken for 2nd p. pl. neut. 534. 'so that they were one thousand and twenty on the place,' leg. 'that by morning he was thirty hundred strong.' Eg. 149 reads 'he had three thousand men on the morrow morning.' Here '*maidin*' has been mistaken for '*maigin.*' 342. 'to the bosom of battle,' leg. 'just before a battle.' 549. 'and all the youths that accompanied them (?) were near Cairbre there,' leg. 'and it was the youths of Ulster that were most numerous along with C. there.' For *uili* of the text leg. *Ulad.* 566. 'Seven equal days,' leg. 'seven summer's days.' cf. *gamlí* (a winter's day). 571. 'how it comes that ye go against the king of the world and do not redden your arms or many weapons upon him.' Here 'how it comes that ye go' is not English. leg. 'how ye venture to attack the k. of the w. since no arms or weapons of any kind redden upon him.' i.e. 'since he is invulnerable.' 597. [that] there cannot be a youth of them capable of fighting,' leg. 'that they have not strength to give me battle.' 608. 'we should not give them

our old (accustomed) satisfaction,' leg. 'we should not catch (get hold of) as many of them as would satisfy our lust (i.e. of slaughter). 617. This passage is all wrong, but let this suffice, i.e. 623. 'There is none of you that is better than the other, said Fergus. Do now, said Oisin, let forth a vehement thundering noise against the foreigner.' leg. 'no one of you is better than another, said F. There will be now, said O., hurling himself like a thunderbolt against the foreigner.' 663. 'now it was . . . . with the son of the k. of N. to turn from the slaughter.' This is one of those highly condensed forms of expression common in Irish. We must render 'now it was a law of nature to the k. of N.'s not to turn from the slaughter, but though it was so,' etc. Here *recht aignidh* (cf. Zeuss s.v. *aicned*)=the common word *geas* (prohibition, *taboo*). 690. 'contemplated,' leg. 'attacked.' 712. 'antediluvial,' a good word, should replace 'antediluvian,' but has not done so as yet. *Dile* (deluge) is used in the gen. as a mere intensitive, and cannot well be rendered in English. cf. such English colloquial vulgarisms as 'a *thundering* fine day,' 'a *blooming* fog,' 'an *awfully* nice girl,' etc., ad lib. Not that *dileann* is a vulgarism, for it is not so outrageously misapplied. 749. 'broadsword,' leg. 'blade-sword.' 939. 'I shall take possession of the great world in the east . . . . whereas ye have fallen side by side,' leg. 'for I will take possession of the whole world (both) in the east and on this hither side [of the sea] (i.e. in the west, for he was speaking in Ireland) since ye have fallen,' etc. 975. 'the weak . . . . ,' leg. 'the feeble utterances.' 984. 'from one pass,' leg. 'hill.' 992. 'Small is the want for me,' leg. 'little wonder is it for me.' 995. leg. the harbour moans. Rinn da barc is a high red surge. 999. angry was the crane. 1002. the fox of two colours. 1006. The mighty (not "*antediluvial*") stag. 1016. The ebbing wave. 1018. that Cael is gone with him. 1020. which this wave makes that is ebbing in the south. 1022. this line will not bear lit. tr., it means 'on account of this my appearance can scarcely be recognized.' 1026. since the shield that gave forth the sound has broken.

1028. '*his* birds after *him*,' leg. *her*. *Der* Schwan will not do in English.

The foregoing corrections and suggestions are but a very modest instalment of what might have been made, and the Editor's Notes and Ind. Verb. must be treated very much more briefly still.

Notes.

77. this "emendation" is wrong. 154. Ditto. 298. yes, and there is a word '*ben*' meaning 'a woman,' which is just as suitable here. 631. This little excursus on proverbs is altogether out of place here. 680. *tréchissi*, cf. Zeuss for *cissib*='cincinnis.' In place of 'heavier than a salted pig of ten . . . . . every one of them,' leg. 'heavier than a pig [of iron] of ten heats [of the furnace] was every one of them.' *tinne* ='chalybs,' Zeuss. *Brudamna*=*bruthdamna*, *bruth*='heat,' *damna*=the *materies* or making of a thing. *Bruthdamna*, then, =as much metal as makes a heat or charge for a furnace. 'Head-pieces' does not convey the meaning, leg. 'end-pieces.' 690. Not at all, the MS. has *iñsaighedar*. 734. It is also noteworthy that the correction is as much astray as the text, leg. 'then the *elements* of the upper regions responded to them as they joined battle' (not the *beings*), and this they did by furnishing their respective omens of all sorts. 736. When a man accidentally jumps or falls into a lake and is drowned, he is not in English said to 'make a wrong leap.' 864. It is well not to be too aggressive. O'Curry's "statement," said here to be "wrong" is, on the contrary, quite right. Dr. Meyer's note is based upon the assumption that *tuag* has but one meaning, that of 'axe.' Yet Zeuss gives *tuag nime* ='arcus cœli,' where *tuag*=*stuag*. See also O'B. Crowe's *Táin Bó Fráich* and O'Cl. gloss. The *tuaga* upon which Dr. Meyer relies (he could not have selected a worse passage) are clasps, hooks, fastenings, and so on. 1036. Dr. Meyer writes 'this is the stereotype close of most of the tales, etc.' *Stereotyped* is the word, the other belongs to the literature of shop windows, e.g. 'a first *quality* hat.' Correct also his translation of the last line of the text, and

read 'thus far then the B. of V.' instead of 'so this is the B. of V. to here,' which, if it be English at all, is at all events not worthy of the Clarendon Press.

The 'Excursus on Irish Metric' having been glanced at already, we come to the

INDEX VERBORUM,

which indeed is something of an ambitious heading for this little contribution. *Abur*, for this I have read *adbar*, as the scribe elsewhere writes *a* for *ad*, cf. *labugud* infra. Eg. 149 *adhbha*, which agrees well enough with *treabha* and *teaghas*. *Airnem* is merely *airtnem* (fr. *art*, 'stone') ill-spelt. No connection with *áirne*, 'a sloe.' *Aladbennach*. This word does not occur in the text, leg. 'aladbreac,' a cpd. of two synonymous adjj. for rhythm's sake, and emphasis; cf. the every-day expression *go mórmhór* = 'especially,' 'above all.' *Anairt* is the bandle-cloth, not *anart*, and the Editor misconstrues the quotation fr. LL. p. 256. leg. *imscing lin anairtgil*, where *anairt* is undeclined as being the first part of a cpd. adj. agreeing with *lin*. He gives the very word immediately after. *Bilar* is the spoken word now, and was in the scribe's time too, apparently. *Brirlech* does not occur. *Buinne* is not primarily a wave, nor a wave at all except figuratively. It means a 'spouting' or 'squirting forth,' hence *buinneach* 'diarrhœa.' *Ceal* is not a joint, in the text leg. *Cael* I should say. *Ciarach* leg. 'ciorach.' *ciar* is 'a comb,' not *ciar*. *Comhacht*, 'power, force,' in Eg. 149 '*comhacht mhaith do mhuintir T. m. N.*='a strong force of T. m. N.'s people.' *Fét* leg. *fet*, quite short, mod. *fead*. *Fulracht* is not 'blood-shed' but 'blood,' 'gore,' 'carnage,' a noun of quantity. *Labugud*='leadhbadh' (to beat, flog) from *leadhb* n.f. (a strip or thong or patch of old leather), the *ugud* merely represents the Northern pron. of final *-adh* in verbs. Some dictt. give only *léab*, as pron. in some parts, the Scottish dictt. have *leób*. *Liamhnughudh* is 'to assign a woman to a man,' 'to mention her name in connection with his.' *Mínén* means a '*smooth* bird'; a '*small* bird' is *minén*. *Rugaire*. The MS. reads

'rug*ur*' or 'rug*ar*,' plainly. I take it as the English word *rudder*, which, becoming *rudhar*, was then indifferently written *rughar* (cf. *ragarc* for *radarc* in this MS.). *Sanaisi* is a gen. and has no connection with *sonas*. Very common in these tales. *Scál* is not a 'shriek' but a 'hero.' *sgol* has been written *scal* on account of the scribe's pronunciation (cf. *clach*, etc.); as the metre shows. *Snáithe* 'a thread,' tr. 'my life's thread is spun out.' *Ub* has nothing to do with O'R.'s *um* 'harness,' which is simply a misspelling for *ughaim*, 'harness,' especially the 'traces,' present pl. (in Munster at any rate) *ughamthacha* (cf. *ubh. i. dias cloidhimh*). *Urlair*. Dr. Meyer asks 'can this mean *a swift mare*?' The word occurs in a sentence where it must of necessity be a gen., how then can it have to do with *láir* (a mare), the nom. of a n. fem., of which the gen. is *lárach*? *Urláir* is the gen. of a n. masc. *úrlár* (floor of a house), and the *echlach úrláir* is a mounted messenger belonging to the *teaghlach* (household), the *teachtaire siubhail*, with whom he is coupled here, being a foot messenger.

What has been said above will not, I trust, be thought too severe; something of the kind appeared to be called for in the interest not only of the future learner, but of the Editor himself. A little diffidence is not unwholesome, and from beginning to end of the book there is not a word tending to disarm criticism, on the contrary the tone is throughout quite magisterial.

XVI.—ON THE DERIVATIONS OF 'CAD,' 'LUTHER,' 'TED.' By Hensleigh Wedgwood, M.A.

Prof. Skeat recognizes that the O.E. *skellum*, Du. and G. *schelm*, 'a rogue, villain, worthless fellow,' derives its opprobrious signification from the sense of a dead carcase, carrion, pestilence. "Es stinkt wie ein Schelm" is quoted by Sanders from Frisch. The substances which offend us most by their disgusting smell, as carrion or excrement, are naturally taken as types to express moral disgust and detestation. So in Fr. *carogne* is used to express vehement loathing, in

which sense it is repeatedly applied by George Dandin to his odious unfaithful wife: "Celtæ," says Kilian, "quod fœtet cadaveris modo dicunt *caronia*, et hominem nihili, indignum qui in ullo sit numero, vulgo vocant *carognia*, tanquam cadaver beluæ alicujus ejectum, a vitiorum fœtore." *Ket*, in the dialect of Craven, is 'carrion'; *ketty* 'putrid, stinking' (Atkinson). *Ket* 'carrion, filth'; hence a term of reproach, a slut, an untidy person (Halliwell). With these analogies before us, it is not easy to see why we should go further afield for the explanation of the familiar *cad* 'a blackguard,' than the Lincolnshire *cad* 'carrion.' Yet Skeat, with these considerations fully before him, simply ignores the relation between the two significations, and, without a hint of the reasons which make him reject, in the case of *cad*, the identical metaphor which he admits as perfectly satisfactory in the case of *skellum*, *schelm*, he sticks to his proposition that *cad* is the same word with the Sc. *cadie* ('a young fellow,' used in a ludicrous way—Jamieson). He explains the abusive sense of the term by quoting from a work published in 1882: "The *cadies*, an interesting class of people, who acted both as commissionnaires and watchmen, at times lent a hand to the hangman in the discharge of his duty." "A *cadie*," continues Skeat, "who became assistant-hangman lent his name to reproach."

But is it true as a matter of fact that the name of *cadie*, like E. *cad*, was ever used as a term of reprobation? Jamieson gives no hint of such an application of the term, and Skeat brings no evidence to supply the link, without which his explanation remains an instance of that guesswork he so frequently condemns in other etymologers.

The truth seems to be that *cad* is a mere variant of the O.E. *quad*, *quade*, *qued*, 'evil, bad'; the devil, as the evil one par excellence. Halliwell quotes from the Harleian MS.:

> Namly an eyre that ys a *qued*
> That desyreth hys fadrys ded.

That is to say, the heir who desires his father's death is a *cad*.

The special application to the Devil is seen in Robert of Gloucester, 314, 20:

Hii bytoke þe *qued* her soul;

where the version in the notes has

Hure soules by toke they to the fende.

It is in this sense probably that the word *cad* must be understood when applied to a familiar spirit in the passage quoted by Skeat. "Unhappy marriages," Osborne says, "must needs render their sleep unquiet, that have one of those *cads* or familiars still knocking over their pillow." The Church regarded all intercourse with familiar spirits as unlawful, and the spirits themselves as belonging to the class of demons or devils. Hence may perhaps be explained Luther's *verkadern* 'to bewitch' (Sanders, in v. Köth).

The same variation between an initial *k* and *qu* is found in the way of spelling the continental equivalents of our *cad*, *ket* 'carrion.' Du. *kaet*, *quaet*, *keet*, eluvies, lutum, stercus, merda, sordes, Ger. *kaat*. Kilian. *Kaet-haen* 'hoopoe,' a bird supposed to nest in human excrement. O.H.G. *quât*, M.H.G. *kot*, *kadt* (Sanders), E. Fris. *quad* (Brem. Wört. in v. Gaut) 'excrement, mud, filth.' There can be little doubt that the Gr. κακος 'bad,' bears the same relation to the widely-spread root *cack*, that the O.E. *quad*, Du. *quaed* 'bad,' does to the foregoing terms, signifying 'excrement, filth.' The same interchange of *qu* and *c* is shown in the O.E. *quodling* for *codling*, *quoddle* for *coddle*.

There is yet another word in O.E. exactly synonymous with *quade* or *quede*, which may be accounted for on the same principle, viz. *luther*, *lither*, 'pestilent, wicked, bad, ill.' Skeat quotes from Piers Plowman the wish expressed by a wafer-maker that the Pope's bull had power to cure the pestilence, and that it would "letten this *luther* air and lechen the sick," i.e. hinder or put a stop to this pestilential air and cure the sick. The word was frequently joined with *quede* in a tautological expression (R.G. 414. 1)—

Wyllam þe rede kyng, of wan we habbeþ ysed
Bylevede here in Engelond *lupere* evere and *qued*.

And so in the Owl and Nightingale, 1137. *Luther* laws, bad laws.—R.G. Now as we have explained the sense of *quade, quede*, as fundamentally signifying offensive to the smell, from E. *cad* 'carrion,' G. *quad, kadt, koth* 'excrement,' so we may suppose that *luther* acquired the meaning of offensive to the moral sense, from an equivalent of the G. *Luder* 'carrion.' *Es stinkt wie Luder* 'it stinks like carrion.'—Sanders. It is not improbably connected with Breton *loudour* 'disgusting, dirty'; *louz* 'dirty, and, figuratively, impure, obscene, infamous.' As *louz* is also used as a name of the badger, the fundamental meaning of the word is probably stinking. He stinks like a badger.

To Ted. Prof. Skeat, in his reply to my criticism on his etymology of *ted*, does not seem conscious of a material variation in his view as to the origin of the word from that which he gave in his Dictionary. In this last he asserts (by the symbol —) that it is directly derived or borrowed from the Icel. *teðja* 'to spread manure,' from *taðr* 'manure.' But in his reply he charges me with overlooking facts which certainly seem to point to quite a different explanation. "If Mr. Wedgwood will consult the Icelandic Dictionary once more," he says, "he will find that, in the closest possible connection with *taðr* 'manure,' is the Icel. *taða* 'hay from the well-manured home-field,' as Vigfusson explains it. Such is, of course, the true sense of *taða*, but Mr. Magnusson informs me that it also simply means 'hay.' In fact, Vigfusson at once proceeds to give the derivative *töðuverk*, the making hay in the field, which, of course, carries with it the sense of making hay in general, and is simply 'ted-work.' The connection of the verb *to ted* with the Icel. *taða* 'hay,' is surely obvious; and if we connect it with *taða*, we must needs connect it with *taðr*." It is to be regretted that he does not explicitly inform us what he supposes the precise nature of the connection to be. From his insisting on the use of *taða* in the sense of 'hay,' and his assertion that *töðuverk* is simply 'ted-work,' I can only understand him to mean that *ted*, signifying the essential operation in making hay, is immediately derived from Icel. *taða* 'hay,' instead of from *teðja* 'to spread manure,' as asserted in the Dictionary.

Now my contention is that the E. *ted* is not derived either from Icel. *teðja* 'to spread manure,' or *taðа* 'hay,' but that it is the E. representative of the verbal form from whence the Icel. *taðr* 'dung, manure,' with its derivatives *taðа* and *teðja*, is itself derived. *Teðja* only signifies 'to spread' in as far as that idea is involved in the sense of spreading manure. It is not applied to the spreading of anything else. It has, moreover, its exact counterpart or descendant in E. (as Skeat himself informs us) in the shape of the provincial *tathe*, Lowland Sc. *taid* 'to manure.' *To ted*, on the other hand, is never applied to manure, being confined, I believe, to the two agricultural operations of spreading the mown grass and laying out the flax in the field to dry. It is the undoubted equivalent of the Gr. *zetten*, which in different districts is specially applied to these two operations, and also in so much more general a sense that it is impossible to suppose a derivation from a form not found in German corresponding to the Icel. *taðr* 'manure.'

That there is a radical connection between G. *zetten* or E. *ted* and Icel. *taðr* I do not deny, but I believe it to be very different from that supposed by Skeat. The ultimate source of all these forms I take to be a representation of the sound made by the rattling fall of something in small portions, whether liquid or otherwise, as in Swiss *zättern*, to sound like a violent shower on a hard surface; *zöttern*, *züttern* 'to let fall in small portions'; Bav. and Swiss *zetten*, *zetteln* 'to let fall in a scattered way, to drop, to spill, to ted hay or flax.' Low G. *toddeln* 'to fall in small portions,' as corn from a hole in a sack (Danneil). From this fundamental idea it would seem that the signification of Icel. *taðr* 'dung of animals,' is to be explained in the same way that we speak of the droppings of a horse. *Teðja* 'to dung,' is especially said of horses (Jonsson). The primary sense of *taðr* is 'the dung of animals.' The idea of manure to be spread on the land is a secondary application, and consequently can have nothing to do with the formation of the word.

XVII.—THE ORIGIN OF THE AUGMENT. By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.

The origin of the augment in the Indo-European verb still remains a mystery. From the time of Bopp solution after solution has been attempted, but without success. The explanations that have been put forward have either sinned against phonetic laws or have made assumptions that are devoid of foundation. The progress that has now been made, however, in determining the phonology of the older Aryan languages, more especially as regards the vowels, and the light that has been thrown upon the formation of Aryan grammar by the application to it of the theory of assimilation, have so cleared the ground that the time has come for proposing another, and, as I hope, more satisfactory solution of the problem. It is this which will form the subject of the present paper.

Buttmann and Pott (see *Et. Forschungen* ii. 73), have suggested that the augment may be a sort of broken reduplication. As *ἐζήτηκα* to *ἐζήτησα*, so was it assumed that *ἐγείρω* or *ὄκνος* might stand for **γε-γείρω* or **κόκνος* (cf. Brugman in Curtius' *Studien*, vii. pp. 213 *sq.*). Bopp put forward two theories. His first was that the augment was identical with the privative *ἀ*. *Achorayam*, for example, meant originally "I am not stealing now," that is, "I was stealing." It is hardly necessary to discuss this theory. The proper form of the privative particle is *ἀν-* (*n̥*), the nasal reappearing before a vowel, while the vowel of the augment, as we learn from Greek, is *ε* and not *α* or *n̥*. Bopp's second theory was adopted by Schleicher and Curtius. This makes the augment a demonstrative *a* "that," which in combination with the verbal stem had the meaning of the German *damals* or *da*. But both the demonstrative and its meaning are figments. There was a demonstrative *a* in Old Basque, but there is no proof that there was any such in the Parent-Aryan. Moreover, the augment requires *ε* and not *α*. Hoefer proposed to see in the augment the Teutonic *ga*, *ge-*, but this

would presuppose the loss of an initial guttural, contrary to the phonetic laws of Sanskrit and Greek. Benfey also thought of the German *ge-*, and suggested for the augment an instrumental case of a pronominal stem *a*, while Scherer identified it with a particle *a*, to which he gave the signification "in the neighbourhood of." But these theories fall upon the same rock as the second theory of Bopp. The particle *a* is non-existent, and the vowel of the augment is ε. As for the old theory of Buttmann, we now know that the initial consonants of Greek and Sanskrit cannot be disposed of so easily as he imagined.

There are two facts connected with the augment which we must bear in mind before we proceed to investigate its origin. The first of these is that its vowel is ε, like the vowel of the reduplication, before the latter was assimilated to the vowel of the root in words like *tutupa*, *tutudi*. The second is that the augment appears only in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Armenian. Consequently, while on the one hand it must have been a possession of the Parent-Speech, since it is found in the Indian and European branches of the Aryan family alike, on the other hand it could not have been an inseparable companion of the past tenses. We must explain the fact that whereas some of the Indo-European languages retain the augment, others have discarded it, in the same way that we explain a similar fact in regard to the first person singular of the Active Present. The Parent-Speech must have had the option either of prefixing or of dropping the syllable. While some of the derived languages preferred the augmented form, others preferred the unaugmented form; hence the difference between Greek, Armenian, Zend and Sanskrit on the one side and the remaining Indo-European languages on the other.

In Greek we can trace the gradual disappearance of the augment through phonetic decay, helped no doubt by the action of analogy. In Homer and Hêrodotos forms with and without the augment stand side by side. What has happened in Greek may well have happened in the Parent-Speech. Here, too, phonetic decay brought about the loss of the

augment in certain forms which in some of the derived languages became the type and norm after which all other similar forms were fashioned. On the other hand, languages like Greek which preserved the augmented syllable, would have assimilated the forms which had lost the augment to those which still preserved it.[1]

Now in Greek there are certain cases in which the augment cannot be distinguished from the reduplication. *Ἤγον* (Skr. *āgam*) for *ἔ-αγον*, or *ὦρτο* for *ἔ-ορτο*, cannot be distinguished from the reduplicated perfects *ἦχα* for *ἔ-αγα* or the Vedic *āra* (for *ε-ορα*). In fact, this must always have been originally the rule when the verbal stem began with a vowel. In the Parent-Speech the reduplicated syllable of a root, the initial of which was a vowel, must always have been the syllable *ε*. It is possible that it was in these roots or stems that the loss of the augment first commenced; it is, I think, more than probable that we have to see in them the origin of the augment itself.

The analogy of the vocalic stems was followed by the consonantal stems; this is the theory I suggest to account for the origin of the augment. The augment, in short, is simply the reduplicated syllable of the vocalic stems extended by analogy to other verbal stems as well.

In the case of the vocalic stems it characterized the perfect as well as the imperfect and the aorists. In the consonantal stems, however, this was impossible; the initial consonant of the reduplicated syllable was too firmly established in them to be eliminated, and consequently the tense, which was distinguished by it, retained its primitive form. But no obstacle stood in the way of differentiating from the perfect the imperfect and the so-called "strong" aorists (in which I see old imperfects of the contracted or weakened stem) by prefixing to them what we now term the augment. The extension of the augmented syllable to them from the perfect

[1] It is of course quite possible that besides the forms which had lost the augment through phonetic decay, there were also forms which came down from the older period when the augment did not as yet exist, and which therefore never possessed it.

would first have taken place in verbs which began with a vowel; from the imperfect and the aorist of the vocalic stems it would subsequently have spread to those of the consonantal stems. In this way, we could best explain why augmented and unaugmented forms stood side by side in the Parent-Speech.

A reduplicated perfect like *ἐ-αγα*, then, would first have given rise to imperfects and aorists like *ἐ-αγομ* and *ἐ-αγη*; and then to other imperfects and aorists like *ἐ-φερομ* and *ἐφερη*. The sigmatic aorist would naturally be adapted to the pattern of the other aorists.

My hypothesis gets rid of an imaginary particle *ε*, which cannot otherwise be discovered in the Indo-European languages, as well as the anomaly of a flectional prefix. It also brings the reduplicated syllable of one of the past tenses into a relation with the augmented syllable of the other past tenses which syntactical propriety would seem to require. I may add that if the augment were originally an independent particle, it is difficult to understand how its addition to a verbal form could have given to the latter the idea of past time, since unaugmented forms existed with precisely the same past signification; and also that there is no more reason why the reduplication should not have been differentiated to express the different grammatical relations of the perfect and the imperfect, than that it should have been differentiated to express a perfect in *δέδωκα* and a present in *διδωμι*. That there is no inherent incompatibility between the reduplication and an aorist is shown by the reduplicated aorists of Greek.

My hypothesis is, then, that in the Parent Indo-European verb the reduplicated syllable of the perfect of vocalic stems was extended to the other past tenses, which had previously been without a prefix; that from the vocalic stems it passed to the consonantal stems (where the other past tenses had either been without a prefix or had possessed the ordinary reduplication), a means being thus provided for differentiating the perfect from the imperfect or aorist; and that subsequently what had now become the augment *ε* was dropped in many cases through the action of phonetic decay. It is very possible that this action was assisted by the fact that

imperfect or aoristic forms still survived in consonantal stems which down to the epoch of Indo-European separation had not received the augmental prefix.

XVIII.—ON THE PLACE OF SANSKRT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARYAN SPEECH IN INDIA. By J. Boxwell, H.M. Bengal Civil Service.

The question of the place of Sanskrt in the development of Aryan speech in India has been prominently put forward by Dr Hoernle and Mr. Grierson in the introduction to their new Bihari Dictionary. This work has been deservedly well reviewed in Germany; but, strangely, their answer to this interesting question has not been noticed. The subject has often been touched incidentally, but never, so far as I know, fully investigated. Hoernle and Grierson give their opinion with much confidence, but no evidence. Their verdict is: "The Sanskrit was only a literary language, but never a spoken one, in the sense of a vernacular." And again, "The Gauḍians, or modern vernaculars of North India, are not descended from the Sanskrit in any true sense whatever."

I hope to be able to show good reasons for affirming the contradictory of both of these propositions. I must first say what ground-work of fact there is for the theory against which I contend.

The ancient Aryan of India has no ethnic or territorial name, like 'Gaelic,' 'English,' 'Latin.' We call the language of the Vedas 'Vedic,' as we call that of Homer 'Homeric.' Sanskrt means 'perfected,' and at the time when it was first used as the proper name of a language, that language was not a living vernacular. Most of the extant classical Sanskrt literature was composed in a language not spoken as a vernacular at the time. Grammar was cultivated early, and the standard of composition fixed. The fatal facility for compounding words soon led to an artificial style; and Sandhi, which at first was a natural process of assimilation in the mouths of men, was elaborated

so as to justify Whitney's sentence: "The whole may be called so far an artificial literature, as it is written in a phonetic form, which can never have been a truly vernacular and living one." But Hoernle and Grierson have extended universally to the language what is true of the literature alone. They have without reason gone beyond what Weber and Whitney have taught us. The unlucky name 'Sanskrt' led to the wrong diagnosis. The case is one of arrested development, not of imitative manufacture.

To show clearly what the theory is against which I contend, I shall quote at length the passages which state it.

Introduction, page 34: "The Sanskrit was only a literary language, but never a spoken one in the sense of a vernacular."

Note to page 34: "Indian grammarians, when speaking of the Vedic language *technically*, do not call it Sanskrit, but *chhandas*. The former is their technical term for the scholastic language elaborated on the lines of the Vedic. At the time of Pāṇini the Vedic language was called *chhandas*, while the vernacular language of his time, which formed the groundwork of what we now call Sanskrit, was simply designated by the general term *bhāṣā*. The latter term therefore does not show, as some appear to think, that Sanskrit itself was a vernacular language. It may be well perhaps, to prevent any misconception of the theory set forth in this chapter, to state distinctly that we use the term *Sanskrit* exclusively in its strict and accurate sense as denoting the scholastic language, elaborated (to follow a convenient tradition) by Pāṇini." "Probably Pāṇini is only the most prominent representative of what was really a line of grammarians, that gradually accomplished the elaboration of Sanskrit, by eliminating from the vernacular all more decayed forms in favour of less decayed ones preserved in the Vedic, by preferring of two optional forms, that which happened to be favoured by the Vedic, and by other such or similar processes."

Page 36: "There is however notwithstanding a sense in which Sanskrit may be said to be the source of the modern

vernaculars, to which their words may be ultimately traced up through the Prākrits. For Sanskrit, though not older than the oldest known Prākrit, and though not in the direct line of descent of the Gauḍians, yet in the main conserves a form of the Indian Aryan language, which is older than the oldest Prākrit, and the direct source of the latter, namely the Vedic; and for the present purpose Sanskrit thus affords a convenient means of carrying up the historical investigation of the origin of modern words to its legitimate conclusion."

I shall try to show that the Aryan of India was, like any other spoken language, through the whole of the long Vedic period, growing into Sanskrt; and, secondly, that a language phonetically and grammatically identical with classical Sanskrt stands between Vedic on one hand, and the Prākrts and modern Gauḍians on the other, and is the direct source of the latter.

A few preliminary cautions are necessary. A verbal and a real question are closely intertwined. The verbal question concerns the name *Sanskṛt*, its date, and application. But the thing existed long before the name. The real question concerns a form of speech recognized by well-known marks, and now called classical Sanskrt. To say that Sanskrt "denotes the scholastic language elaborated by Pāṇini" is to beg the whole of this question. Professor Max Müller says, on the metrical laws of the Rg Veda, "The object of the Prātiçākhya is to register all the facts which possess a phonetic interest." The burden of proof is on any man who denies that Pāṇini's action was to register grammatical facts.

There is no sharp division between Sanskrt and the Vedic language. There is an enormous distance between an old hymn of the Rg Veda, and a poem of Kālidāsa; but this distance is so bridged over as to leave no wide gap anywhere. A sort of palæontological table could be made, and indeed is partly made in Whitney's grammar, showing the successive disappearance of old and appearance of new forms. The process of phonetic decay is seen at work already in the earliest hymns, as all down the course of Greek, Latin, and

English. It is supplemented by periphrastic regeneration, new formation on analogy, and the like. It is by these processes that Vedic grows into Sanskrt. A table will show this clearly.

TABLE I.—PHONETIC DECAY.

	Old Form.	Decayed Form.	
Indo-European.	*ekuo*	*açwa*	Vedic and Sanskrt.
	ghen	*han*	
	gher	*har*	
	ghimo.	*hima*	
Early Vedic.	*grabh*	*grah*	Late Vedic and Sanskrt.
	rudh	*ruh*	
	rabh	*labh*	
	raghu	*laghu*	
	rip	*lip*	
	spaç	*paç*	
	çcand.	*cand*	
Vedic and Sanskrt.	*nârt*	*nat*	Sanskrt.
	bhartā	*bhaṭṭa*	
	megha.	*meh*	Hindi.
	gabhīra	*gahir*	
	brāhmaṇa	*bāmhan*	
	kathayati	*kahe*	
Sanskrt.	*paṭh*	*paṛh*	
	prahara	*pahar*	
	kāyastha	*kāyath*	
	lohakāra.	*lohār*	

Some of these changes are paralleled only in the Western languages: *ekuo* : *açwa* :: *caballus* : *cheval* :: *bucca* : *bouche.* Others are found throughout the whole course of Indian linguistic history: *ghimo* : *hima* :: *grabh* : *grah* :: *gabhīra* : *gahir.* This process, called by Hoernle 'reduction,' is one of the commonest. It seems to have attacked the language most virulently in the fall from Sanskrt to Prākrt; but, as is here seen, was actively at work from the earliest recorded time. The displacement of *r* by *l* is most frequent in very early times. It is seen in the change from Indo-European to Greek and Latin: *Raghu* : *laghu* :: *rip* : *lip* : λίπα :: *rukma* : *lu(c)na.* In later Indian times *r*, *l*, and *n* represent each other dialectically, or rather *r* and *l*, and *l* and *n*, in pairs.

The loss of a consonant from a conjunct group, as in *çcand—cand* is very common between Sanskrt and the moderns, as Sanskrt *sthira*, Hindi *thir* 'firm.' One of the most noteworthy of all is the loss of *r* accompanied by cerebralization, as *nart—naṭ*. Our inclination towards cerebrals is one of the best-established characteristics of Sanskrt as distinguished from Vedic, and of the moderns as distinguished from the ancient language.

The root *spaç* deserves particular notice. The Rg Veda has a perfect, an aorist, and a causal from the full form *spaç*. The present stem is already weakened to *paç*. Sanskrt acknowledges *paç*, but retains as an adjective meaning 'clear,' the old past passive participle *spaṣṭa*. This *spaṣṭa* has come as a tatsama into Bengali, and is often heard in the weakened form *paṣṭa*.

It is inconceivable that grammarians should two thousand years ago have invented a language showing all the symptoms of natural development, which are only now being recognized and classified.

TABLE II.—PERIPHRASTIC REGENERATION.

Old Italic (unknown),		replaced by	Latin	*amatus est*
,,	,,	,,	,,	*amamini.*
Latin	*amabo*	,,	French	*j'aimerai.*
Vedic and Sanskrt	*kariṣyami*	,,	Sanskrt	*kartāsmi.*
	uvāca	,,	,,	*uktavān asmi.*
	(unknown)	,,	,,	*bodhayām cakāra.*
	,,	,,	,,	*bodhayām āsa.*
	,,	,,	,,	*bodhayām babhūva.*
Sanskrt	*akathayat*	,,	Bengali	*kahiyācchila.*
,,	*kathyate*	,,	,,	*kahā jāe.*

Table II. teaches nearly the same lesson as Table I. To invent the use of *kartāsmi* or *ghaṭitavān* with tense-meaning may seem more within the grammarian's reach; but, first, it is a departure from, not an approach to Vedic practice; and, secondly, the similar expressions, 'I shall go,' 'ich bin gewesen,' 'j'ai aimé,' 'giyacchilām,' are all the work of the

people acting by instinct. It would be rash to assume that Sanskrt is a solitary and very difficult exception, rather than an easy example of a world-wide rule.

If then Sanskrt is affected and works like all vernacular languages, it can only be because it was in its day a real vernacular.

But the case is still stronger. Vedic has a complete subjunctive mood; great numbers of words unknown to classical Sanskrt; different meanings of words used in both periods; and a very different infinitive mood. Conversely, very many of the commonest Sanskrt words are unknown to Vedic of any period. Classical Sanskrt has lost all the subjunctive mood except a few fossil expressions. It makes the optative do duty for it. The Vedic infinitive is very like the Homeric, not strongly differentiated from the verbal noun; used in many cases from many forms; while the Sanskrt infinitive is a single case of a single form, the accusative of the form in *-tu*. This point is most instructive. We see Sanskrt as it were divided from Vedic by both Latin and Homeric Greek. In Homer and the Rg Veda we hardly know whether the word is a verb or a verbal noun. Vedic *jīvase, dāmane, karman* (locative), *bharadhyai, attave, hantos, pītaye, dātum*, correspond to Homeric *στῆσαι, δόμεναι, δόμεν, φέρεσθαι, ὀρχηστυῖ, ἐδήτυος, πόσιος, βρωτὺν. Πόσιος καὶ ἐδήτυος* differ only in case from *pītaye attave* of the Rg Veda. Some of these forms are called infinitives, and some not; and it is very hard to draw the line. Attic Greek comes next, and Latin follows with more specialized forms, particularly the supines. And Sanskrt is lowest in the scale with one infinitive, the form in *-tum*.

In the meanings of words also there is a gradual change from the Rg Veda down to classical Sanskrt. In the Rg Veda *hastin* is an adjective, from *hasta* 'hand.' *Mrgas hastī* 'the beast with the hand' denotes the elephant. In classical Sanskrt *hastin* has become a substantive with the fixed meaning 'elephant'; and from the Sanskrt all the moderns have *hāthī* 'elephant.' The argument is here two-fold, and is the same as that which proves *singularis* to have been

spoken in late Latin, as a substantive, meaning 'wild boar.' In early Latin *singularis* is an adjective, and means 'solitary.' In French *sanglier* means 'wild boar.' We know that *singularis* does occur in late Latin with the meaning 'wild boar.' The modern French word proves that it was a real word in the vernacular of the time.

In the Rg Veda *candra* is an adjective and means 'bright.' *Mās* means moon, for which *candramas* 'bright moon' or 'bright measurer,' is also used. In Sanskrt *candra* has become a substantive with the fixed meaning 'moon,' from which all the moderns have *cānd* 'moon.'

In the Rg Veda a famous river of the Panjāb is the Çutudrī. In the Mahābhārata this has become by "Volks-etymologie" (Grassmann) *Çatadrū* 'hundred-channel,' from which comes the modern *Satlaj*.

These words have already carried us well into the second part of the argument, the intermediate position of Sanskrt between Vedic and the later vernaculars.

In the Rg Veda *grabh* means 'to take.' Already the word has suffered from phonetic decay, and some tenses show the form *grah*. In Sanskrt the process of wearing *bh* down to *h* has been completed, and the root appears throughout as *grah*, which again gives rise to Pālī, Prākrt and modern forms. With the help of Beames's grammar this series comes out—

Vedic.	Sanskrt.	Pālī.	Prākrt.	Modern.
gṛbhṇāti.	*gṛhṇāti.*	*ganhati.*	*genhai.*	*gah; ginh.*

The argument is seen best in the tables, but a few words of explanation are necessary. 'Vedic' as applied to a word has not always precisely the same meaning. *Açwa* 'horse,' common to the whole 'Vedic' and Sanskrt period; *stṛbhis* 'with stars,' found only in the hymns of the Rg Veda; *bhavāsi* subjunctive of *bhū* confined to the Vedic period; and *laghu* 'light,' common to late Vedic and Sanskrt, are all Vedic in somewhat different senses. No cross-section at any place will divide the Vedic language from Sanskrt, because the change is gradual, and takes place at different times with different words.

TABLE III.—VEDIC DIFFERENT FROM THE SANSKRT AND MODERN MEANING OF THE SAME WORD.

Vedic.	Sanskrt.	Modern.
candra, bright.	moon.	moon (*cānd*).
patra, wing.	leaf, letter.	leaf, letter (*pattā*).
pāraya, to transport.	to be able.	to be able (*pārite*).
prastara, straw bed.	stone.	stone (*patthar*).
puṣkara, lotus.	pond.	pond (*pokhar*).
uṣṭra, buffalo.	camel.	camel (*ūnṭh*).
dāsa, barbarian, demon.	slave.	maid-servant (*dāsī*).
rakta, coloured.	red-colour, blood.	blood (*rakat*).
kṣatriya, lord.	man of military caste.	man of military caste (*chattrī*).
citra, clear	variegated, picture.	chintz (*cīṭ*).

In this list *candra* begins to mean 'moon' before the close of the Vedic period. *Patra* continues to mean 'wing,' but acquires the additional meanings in Sanskrt. As many words change both form and meaning in the passage from Vedic to classical Sanskrt, this table leads up to the next. In the Rg Veda *rikh* alone occurs, meaning 'to scratch.' In the Atharva Veda the form *likh* appears, still meaning 'to scratch.' Later *likh* means 'to write.'

TABLE IV.—SANSKRT INTERMEDIATE BETWEEN VEDIC AND MODERN FORM.

Vedic.	Sanskrt.	Modern.	English.
raghu	*laghu*	*haluk*	light.
rikh	*likh*	*likh*	write.
rip	*lip*	*līp, lep*	smear.
rabh	*labh*	*le*	take.
aram	*alam*	*alankār*	ornament.
kurkura	*kukkura*	*kūkur*	dog.

This short list has some points of special interest. In the Rg Veda *raghu* is an adjective and means 'swift.' In classical Sanskrt *Raghu* has become a proper name of a hero, ancestor of Rāma. *Laghu* appears in late Vedic and is the only form in classical Sanskrt. Hoernle derives *laghu, laghuka, lahuka,*

haluk, and quotes a Prākrt *haluam*. The history of *rikh* recalls that of γραφ. *Kurkura* 'dog,' is found in Atharva Veda. The Sanskrt assimilation is noteworthy.

Aram in the Rg Veda means 'ready,' and is frequently used in conjunction with *kar* 'to mate.' In Sanskrt it becomes *alam*, and the substantive *alankāra* 'ornament,' is a common Bengali tatsama.

One remarkable word comes under this class. The ancient root *rudh* 'to grow,' appears in the Rg Veda also in the decayed form *ruh*, from which comes the regular causative *rohaya*, the only form found in the Vedas. Classical Sanskrt forms a new causative *ropaya* on the analogy of *sthāpaya*. The Sanskrt *ropaya* 'to cause to grow,' is ancestor of the modern *rop* applied every day to the planting of rice.

TABLE V.—THE SAME IDEA EXPRESSED BY THE SAME WORD IN THE MODERNS AND IN SANSKRT, AND BY A DIFFERENT WORD IN VEDIC.

Vedic.	Sanskrt.	Modern.	English.
star	*tārā*	*tārā*	star.
candra	*ujjwala*	*ujjal*	bright.
asi	*asi*		
	khaḍga	*khaṛag*	sword.
açwa	*açwa*		
	ghoṭaka	*ghoṛa*	horse.
swasr	*swasr*		
	bhaginī	*bahin*	sister.
ayas	*ayas*		
	lohaka	*lohā*	iron.
hiraṇya	*hiraṇya*		
	suvarṇaka	*sonā*	gold.
Paruṣṇī	*Irāvatī*	*Rāvī*	the river Rāvī.

It is unnecessary to lengthen this list, as it runs into the next, which is still more important and serves the same purpose. Naturally the Vedic words are old Indo-European, while the later Sanskrt is often merely Indian, as *bhaginī*, *ghoṭaka*.

TABLE VI.—MODERNS REPRESENT SANSKRT WITHOUT VEDIC TO CORRESPOND.

Sanskrt.	Modern.	English.
kathay	*kah*	to say.
paṭh	*paṛh*	to read.
ḍimba	*ḍim*	egg.
vaṭa	*baṭ*	ficus Indica.
pippala	*pīpal*	ficus religiosa.
āmra	*ām*	mango.
kadala	*kelā*	plantain.
kharjūra	*khejur*	date-palm.
nārikela	*narayal*	cocoanut-palm.
tāla	*tāl*	Palmyra-palm.
tāmra	*tām*	copper.
jala	*jal*	water.
pānīya	*pānī*	water.
ghaṭaka	*gharā*	pitcher.
tāmbulika	*tāmulī*	betel-seller.
sūtradhāra	*chūtār*	carpenter.
lohakāra	*lohār*	blacksmith.
carmakāra	*camār*	leather-worker.
ṭanka, *ṭankika*	*ṭākā*	a coin.
ṭhakkura	*ṭhākūr*	deity.
cumba	*cumā*	kiss.
ranga	*rang*	colour.
kṣaṇa	(*ta-*)*khan*	instant.
gaja	*gaj*	elephant.
cur, *cora*	*cor*	thief.
kāyastha	*kāyath*	writer.
nayana	*nain*	eye.
prahara	*pahar*	watch.
ālaya	*āl*	dwelling.
ḍhakka	*dhāk*	big drum.
Çālagrāma	*Sālīgrām*	sacred stone.
taila	*tel*	oil.
maṭha	*maṭh*	religious house.
kāka	*kawā*	crow.
bhramara	*bhaũr*	large bee or beetle.
kroça	*kos*	two miles.

These tables tell their own tale, but it may be as well to repeat the argument. The verb *kah* 'to say,' is heard thousands of times every day all over North India. The verb *kathay* is quite common in classical Sanskrt. Phonetically *kahe* 'he says,' represents Sanskrt *kathayati* 'he says.' *Kathay* with all its family is post-Vedic. As the ancestor of *kah* it was good vernacular. It is therefore a firmly established instance of a word undoubtedly post-Vedic Sanskrt, and undoubtedly the vernacular ancestor of a large group of modern words. There are hundreds of words in the same position. The argument from Table III. is similar. *Patra* is Sanskrt for 'a leaf.' It is a phonetic ancestor of *pattā*, common Hindustānī for 'leaf,' and must thus have been used in the vernacular of the day. But in the sense of 'leaf' it is post-Vedic. Therefore the Aryan of India passed through the Sanskrt stage on its way to become a modern vernacular.

As most Latin words are the same for the 800 years between Livius Andronicus and Justinian; so most old Aryan words are the same for the whole Vedic and Sanskrt period. And as many French words fail to mark the difference between later and earlier Latin; so many modern Aryan words fail to mark the difference between Sanskrt and Vedic. As the difference between *praidād* and *prædā* is lost in French *proie*; so the difference between *çṛṇudhi*, *çṛṇuhi*, and *çṛṇu* is lost in Hindi *sun*. But just as French *un*, *bon*, *public*, declare that they come directly from *unus*, *bonus*, *publicus*, and not from *oinos*, *duonus*, *poplicus*; so Hindi *likh* 'to write,' declares that it comes directly from Sanskrt *likh* 'to write,' and not from early Vedic *rikh* 'to scratch,' nor even from late Vedic *likh* 'to scratch.' *Naṭī* 'dancing-girl,' declares that it comes directly, not from the early form *nart* 'to dance,' both Vedic and Sanskrt, but from the late form *naṭ*, which is found only in post-Vedic Sanskrt.

An artificial element is not denied in Sanskrt, any more than in English, or any other language. As the people turned *Çutudrī* into *Çatadrū* to get a meaning, so did etymologists, learned or unlearned, split *vidhava* into *vi-dhava*,

on the analogy of *vi-grīva* or *vi-jana*; invent *dhava* 'man'; and finally make the wonderful *sadhavā* 'woman whose husband is alive.' So also degraded *Asura* produced *Sura* 'god.' Already in Vedic times something had been done, not quite like this, but on the way to it. Real *diti* (1) 'confinement,' produced *aditi* (2) 'boundlessness,' personified as *Aditi* (3), mother of the *Aditya* (4); or perhaps *āditya* (3) personified *Aditya* (4), called up *Aditi* (5) to be their mother; whence *Diti* (6) personified antithesis of *Aditi*. But it is not only in India or among pandits that such things happen. *Karfunkel, Billy Ruffian, Sir Roger Dowlas, seamstress, il's*; scores of well-known words prove that analogy and striving after meaning, make much of our language, vernacular and literary indiscriminately. There is nothing in the influence of grammarians or learned men, any more than in that of stupid or ignorant men, to deprive a language of its vernacular character. 'Asparagus' is now good vernacular English. 'Sparrowgrass' is vulgar, not because it imports wrong meaning, or is made on false analogy, but because the people whose speech is the standard reject it. But 'sparrowgrass' was once good English, as 'Jerusalem artichoke' is now, though both parts of the expression involve a mistake.

In fact, the more the study of words advances, the more various do both results and methods appear. Much that was once thought well-preserved original of the earliest age, turns out under closer examination to be restoration on analogy, good or bad. We have to admit that all the languages we know, both vernacular and in literature, are full of faults of a kind that used to be thought evidence of a very exceptional agency.

Dr. Hoernle believes he can explain some difficult Hindi words by Vedic as distinguished from Sanskrt forms. By a long and intricate path he traces several Hindi pronouns to the Vedic pronoun *ivat*: and the common *marnā* to Vedic *mara*, contrasted with Sanskrt *mriya*. The dictionary contains a few Vedic references; and beyond doubt Prākrt *devehī* and *kahehi* show either survival or revival of Vedic

devebhis, and the imperatives in *-hi*. Hoernle and Grierson do not expressly base their theory on these cases. In one passage in his grammar Hoernle speaks of forms preserved in Vedic, but 'lost' in classical Sanskrt. This implies that classical Sanskrt was a real vernacular, where alone words can be 'lost,' that is, fall out of use in common speech.

But these cases must be considered. A literature, however great and however popular it may be, is still but an imperfect record of the speech of the day. If *īvat*, *marate*, *devebhis*, and various imperatives in *-hi* were spoken down to the age immediately preceding the earliest Prākrt, the fact that they are not found in our Sanskrt record goes no way to prove that Sanskrt was not a good vernacular. The number of words of this kind is very small. They may have fallen out of fashion. The grammarians may have had something to do with putting them out of fashion. It may be a mere accident that they are not in our earliest Sanskrt record, and this may have prevented their occurring in later Sanskrt literature.

But whatever the reason may be, they furnish no evidence that Vedic as distinguished from Sanskrt was the stage of the vernacular which immediately preceded the Prākrt. Only one of them looks more ancient than the common Sanskrt form, the imperative in *-hi*. But even in the earliest Vedic times this *-hi* was absent from all *a*-stems. Therefore Prākrt *kahehi* is a mistaken revival on the analogy of *āpnuhi*. It does not prove that Vedic *çṛṇuhi* survived to the Sanskrt age. *Mriyate*, *devais*, and *iyat* are equally Vedic and perhaps equally old, with *marate*, *devebhis*, and *īvat*. That *īvat* and *marate* are not found in our Sanskrt record is something like the fact that *ax* and *afeard* would not be found in the record of English of our own time.

At the same time it is very doubtful that Hindi *mar* casts back to Vedic *marate*. The commonest form of the root *mr* is *mar*; of *kr* is *kar*: of *dhr* is *dhar*; seen in *maraṇa*, *martya*; *karaṇa*, *karman*, *kartr*; *dharman*, *dhartṛ*. Hindi *mar*, *kar*, *dhar*, are all far more likely to be new formations from the root apparent in all these common words, than a survival of

Vedic forms. It should be remembered that Hindi *dhar* has no Vedic *dhara* to rest on.

These stray references to the Vedas have no bearing on the question. Either Sanskrt was a real stratum of old Indian; in which case every medieval and modern Aryan word had a Sanskrt ancestor, whether such ancestor can be found in our record or not: or Sanskrt was not such a language-stratum. It was a mere grammarians' museum of casts of old forms, no one of which could have been the parent of a modern word, any more than a Crystal Palace plaster megatherium could have been the parent of a sloth. The character of the differences between Sanskrt and Vedic proves that Sanskrt grew naturally out of Vedic. The character of the likeness between the moderns and Sanskrt proves that the moderns grew naturally out of Sanskrt. The word-witnesses to the intermediate position of Sanskrt between Vedic and later vernaculars are very many. As soon as they have made good their own right to this place, they bring in with them to the same place both the very large group of words which are alike in Vedic and Sanskrt, and also the very small group of words of Vedic form not found in our Sanskrt record. That is to say, as soon as the words represented by *kathayati* and *ghoṭaka* have established the position of post-Vedic Sanskrt, as a vernacular, they secure a place in the same Sanskrt vernacular for the very large class of words represented by *agni*, and for the very small and doubtful class of words represented by *marate*.

It cannot be too strongly insisted on that the question is linguistic, and not literary. It has nothing to do with style, or with the date of any composition, or the use of the name Sanskrt. It concerns single words as they are used in speaking. Sanskrt, like Latin, lasted as a learned language for ages after even the Prākrts had ceased to be vernacular. This in no way indicates that a language grammatically and phonetically identical with that of the Mahābhārata did not form a stratum of the vernacular, intermediate between Vedic and the moderns.

A few sentences taken from different periods of the language will put this in a clear light.

I. *Divas rukmas urucaksās ud eti*
Dūrearthas taranis bhrājamānas.
Nūnam janās sūrïena prasūtās
Ayan arthāni kṛṇavan apānsi.
—R.V. vii. 63.

"The jewel of the sky rises, far-seeing, pressing on to distant goal, swift, blazing. Now should men, awakened by the sun, seek their goals, do their work."

This verse is taken from one of the 'madhyama' or oldest books of the Rg Veda. Every word is very ancient. The most remarkable are the subjunctives *ayan* (*eant*) and *kṛṇavan* lost in classical Sanskrt.

II. *Kankatas na kankatas, athā satīnakankatas;*
Duau iti pluṣī iti ni adṛṣṭās alipsata.
—R. V. i. 191.

"The scorpion is not a scorpion, nor the water-snake (a water-snake). Both poisonous worms, as I call them, the unseen (worms) have been covered over."

This is a verse from the end of the first book, where, as well as in the tenth book, late hymns are collected, very like, or even the same as the Atharvan songs. This one is a spell against noxious vermin. The ancient root *rip* 'to smear,' is here *lip*, as in Sanskrt and in the moderns. *Pluṣī* also appears for an earlier *pruṣī*. The metre and sandhi are Vedic, though late. In every respect this verse is far on the way from the earliest Vedic in the direction of classical Sanskrt.

III. *Kumbhyām mâgre bibharāsi; sa yadā tām ativardhai atha karṣum khātwā tasyām mā bibharāsi; sa yadā tām ativardhai atha mā samudram abhyavahārasi. Tarhi vai atinaṣṭro bhavitāsmi.*
—*Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Schleicher's Chrestomathie.

"First put me into a jar: when I grow too big for it, dig a ditch and put me into it. When I grow too big for it, take me away to the sea. Then I shall be out of reach of harm."

The language is still Vedic, and has many points in common with that of the Rg Veda, the subjunctives *bibharāsi* and *ativardhai*, and the accusative *mā*. On the other hand the future *bhavitāsmi* indicates approach to classical Sanskṛt.

IV. *Tasmād bhayaughān mahato majjantam mām viçeṣatah*
Trātum arhasi; kartāsmi kṛte pratikṛtam tava.
Mahābhārata, Schleicher's Chrestomathie.

"Therefore plunging, as I am, into great floods of fear, thou art especially bound to save me. That done, I will reward thee."

The peculiar force of *prati* 'in return,' is found in a large number of modern tatsamas. *Kartāsmi* advances towards the modern periphrastic tenses. The second line of this *çloka* is remarkably contrasted with Vedic usage, and consonant with the modern.

V. *Vane vicaratām teṣām ekam jagrāha pakṣinam.*
—Nala.

"From among them as they wandered in the wood he caught one bird."

Here *ekam pakṣinam* 'one bird' or 'a bird,' comes rather near the indefinite article, seen more clearly in the next sentence.

VI. *Kapotarājah kathayati "aham ekadā dakṣināraṇye carann apaçyam. Eko vṛddhavyāghrah snātah kuçahastah sarastīre brūte 'bho! bho!'"*
—*Hitopadeça.*

The king of the pigeons says, "One day walking in the southern wood I beheld. An old tiger after bathing, with kuça-grass in his hand, on the bank of a lake, says bho! bho!"

This is written in a very simple style, and might easily be good vernacular. The word-witnesses of the first order, post-Vedic ancestors of common modern words, are *kathayati*, altogether post-Vedic, and *ekadā* and *ekas*, post-Vedic in this indefinite-article sense. *Dakṣiṇa* in the sense of 'south,' *araṇya* 'forest,' are of all but the highest antiquity. *Vyāghra*, *kuça*, *tīra*, are not in the Rg Veda; nor the past-participle *snātah*, nor does *vrddha* in the Rg Veda mean 'old.' The other words are common to the earliest Vedic and the latest Sanskṛt. The passage therefore, whatever its date, is a good specimen of the kind of language which as a vernacular came after Vedic and before the Prākṛts.

VII. *Tena vihārah kārayitum ārabdhas. Tatra karapatra-vidāryamānastambhasya kiyaddūrasphaṭitasya kāṣṭha-khaṇḍadwayamadhye kīlakah sūtradhārena sthāpitas.*

—*Hitopadeça.*

"He began to build a temple. Thereupon a carpenter put a wedge in between the two parts of the log which was being cut asunder with a saw, and had been to a certain extent split open."

This is an example of paṇḍit's artificial style, and is at the same time an excuse for, and an argument against, the theory of paṇḍit-made Sanskṛt. Of the eleven words, three are monstrous compounds, hard enough to read, impossible to speak. But the elements are good vernacular, and Hindi has incorporated so much of the material, that the whole, passive construction and all, could be turned into the vernacular of to-day with hardly a change of one stem.

VIII. *Kauno ek bāmhan rahal; oke dui beṭā rahalaī. U bāmhan kauno jagya karai lagal: o me ek machari kai kām paral: tab u duno beṭauwan se kahales kī, beṭā!*

—Folklore, from Hoernle's Grammar.

"There was a certain brāhman. He had two sons. That brāhman began to make a sacrifice. For it he wanted a fish. Then he said to the two sons, 'my Sons!'"

Here *ek*, occurring twice as indefinite article, and *kahales*, come straight from the *eka* and *kathay* of No. VI. *Kām*

and *paral* come from late meanings of *karman* and *pat*. This latter root changes somewhat in this way:

(*a*) Rg Veda (like *πέτομαι*) 'to fly, to move quickly.'

(*b*) Sanskṛt (like *πίπτω*) 'to fall.'

(*c*) Moderns, 1st, 'to fall,' but becoming obsolete and requiring another word to help; 2nd, 'to fall out,' 'to happen.'

Karman is, 1st, work done; 2nd, work to be done; 3rd, need. *Kām paral* 'need occurred.'

IX. *Takhan Cūhar Māl kahait chathinhi je hamarā ghar mẽ nahĩ māe, nahĩ bahīn nahĩ istrī; takhan hamarā saũ kī laibai ojah inām? Takhan bole lagali naṭin, "rāti ham sūtal chalahu appan sirrī mẽ, sapanā mẽ dekhali je toharā ghar me ek candrahār chahu; se inām dah. Takhan candrahār āni del, je ham corī kai loilahũ keolā gaṛh saũ."*

Then said Chuhar Mal, "In my house there is no mother nor sister nor wife. How therefore canst thou expect any present from me?" The *naṭin* replied, "Last night I saw in a dream in my tent, that in thy house there is a necklace. Give me that as a present." Then he brought the necklace, saying, "I stole this from Fort Keolā."

This passage, together with the rather free translation, is taken from the "Song of King Salhes" in Grierson's Maithili Chrestomathy. Most of the words, represented by *māe* (*mātṛ*), *rāti* (*rātrī*), *sapanā* (*svapna*), come from old Indian, that is the same throughout the whole Vedic and Sanskṛt period. Some, like *chalahũ*, can with some difficulty be traced to Sanskrt sources. *Takhan* 'then' occurring four times, *kahait* 'saying,' *bahīn* 'sister,' *naṭin* 'woman of the *Naṭ* or dancing caste,' *ek* 'a' indefinite article, *candrahār* 'necklace,' and *corī* 'theft' bear witness to the post-Vedic Sanskrt from which this modern Maithili is derived.

We can now see that Vedic and Sanskrt are not two languages, but one; and that Vedic itself comprehends not one stage of the language but many. Classical Sanskrt is to be contrasted or compared, not with Vedic as a whole, but with

any one stage of Vedic. That is, in grammar and phonetic it constitutes a stage succeeding the last stage of what is called Vedic. If the great grammarians had lived and worked in the Brāhmaṇa time, the language of the Brāhmaṇas would probably have become stereotyped as the learned language for all succeeding ages. But the Indo-Aryan advanced another stage, lost its subjunctive mood, and suffered certain other changes, and the language of the Mahābhārata became the standard.

The extract from the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa is most important for my present purpose. If the language of the Mahābhārata had an ethnic or territorial name; if for example the word 'Aryan' had lasted as the name of the people, and then grown into use as the name of their language, as in the case of the English; there can be no doubt that the language of the Mahābhārata and the language of the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa would be included under the same name; just as the language of Shakespeare and the language of Chaucer are included under the same name. To refuse to call the language of the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa 'Sanskrt' is something like refusing to call the architecture of a cathedral 'Early English,' because at the time when the cathedral was built the term 'Early English' was unknown.

As Whitney says, in all classical Sanskrt literature, "there is of linguistic history, next to nothing, but only a history of style." That is to say, the Indo-Aryan reached the Sanskrt stage naturally, by the ordinary course of development. This stage became stereotyped for learned and literary purposes, and is still as much used in India as Latin is in Europe.

Whatever claim the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads have to be composed in the vernacular of the time, the Epic parts of the Mahābhārata have still better. They are certainly the successors of the heroic songs in the seventh book of the Rg Veda in praise of Sudās, and of the Bharatas.

Luckily, Hoernle and Grierson have told us what they suppose to have been the method of the 'elaboration' or 'creation' of Sanskrt: and it may safely be set aside as impossible.

"A line of grammarians" "gradually accomplished the

elaboration of Sanskrt by eliminating from the vernacular all more decayed forms in favour of less decayed ones preserved in the Vedic, by preferring of two optional forms that which happened to be favoured by the Vedic, and by other such or similar processes."

Now this is evidently an effort of despair. If any more reasonable or intelligible account could have been given, Hoernle and Grierson would have given it. This fails at every point. A nation of Pāṇinis could never have raised any Apabhraṁsa to the linguistic condition of Sanskṛt. The grammarians, instead of imitating Vedic, are careful to point out where Sanskṛt has left Vedic behind. The decayed forms are not eliminated, but are there, plain to be seen. And the pairs of optional forms are most numerous in the Vedas; "the older the richer" being the rule for grammar. In fact if the grammarians exercised any such influence, it was probably in the opposite direction. Of two optional forms found in the Vedic they favoured one—*devais* versus *devebhis*, *dadhmas* versus *dadhmasi*. But they most likely did nothing more than confirm what was already a popular decision.

Their rules, also, contain numerous exceptions. These exceptions are hard facts which unwilling *paṇḍits* have to admit. Sanskṛt is full of the irregularity which proves it to be a great natural product, subject to all the thousand influences which act on the speech of a great people. In phonetic, grammar, vocabulary, and meaning, the words of Sanskrt are exactly where tradition places them, between Vedic and the Prākrts. Vedic grammar is far fuller and richer; so that no difficulty can arise from the complexity of Sanskrt Grammar. That the vernacular fell from (say) the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa stage to the Pālī stage; and that paṇḍits then lifted it to the Sanskrt stage, between the two, is incredible.

The dictionary, though only reaching the word *ag'mānī*, contains matter enough to refute its own theory.

Akath 'unutterable' is described as "properly a future participle passive, Sanskrt *akathyah*, Pālī *akathyo*, Prākrt

akattho." But the whole of the family of words is post-Vedic.

"*Ākan* 'to listen,' Sanskrt *ākarn.*" *Karṇa* 'ear,' is Vedic and Sanskrt. *Ā-karṇay* 'to give ear to,' is post-Vedic Sanskrt, and must have been well used in the vernacular to give rise to *ākan.*

"*Akhat* lit. 'uncrushed,' hence 'whole grain,' Vedic *akṣatas*, Sanskrt *akṣatam.*"

Now here we have the theory flatly contradicted by its authors. *Kṣan* is an ancient root 'to hurt,' making a past-passive participle *kṣata*, from which comes *akṣata* 'uninjured'—all Vedic. From *akṣata*, Sanskrt makes a substantive *akṣatam* 'whole grain, parched'; a result not unlike Greek *ἀμάραντος*. Indeed the series Vedic *akṣata*, participle, 'uninjured'; Sanskrt *akṣatam*, substantive, 'whole grain'; modern *akhat*, substantive, 'whole grain,' would make an admirable addition to my Table No. III.

"*Akamit*, tadbhava 'suddenly,' perhaps a corruption of Sanskrt *akasmāt.*" And then *akasmāt* is given in its place as a tatsama.

These words proclaim that post-Vedic Sanskrt is in the direct line of their ancestry.

The double argument may be summed up thus: Classical Sanskrt is distinguished from Vedic by ten chief characteristics.

(1) Disappearance of the Subjunctive Mood.
(2) „ „ Vedic infinitives.
(3) „ „ certain case-and-person-endings.
(4) „ „ old root-forms.
(5) „ „ old words.
(6) „ „ old meanings.
(7) Appearance of new periphrastic formations.
(8) „ „ usages (genitive absolute).
(9) „ „ meanings.
(10) „ „ words.

Every one of these changes can show a very large number of examples. Phenomena of this kind occur nowhere except in the natural development of vernacular speech. Therefore these changes form a strong cumulative proof that Sanskrt

grew out of Vedic by natural development. Secondly, by a vast number of instances Sanskrt declares itself to be in phonetic, in grammar, in vocabulary, and in meanings of words, intermediate between Vedic and the later vernaculars.

There is no difficulty in accounting for the genesis of the theory of which Hoernle and Grierson are such emphatic exponents. At one time Çakuntalā was thought to be a chef-d'œuvre of an Æschylean age. Now Kālidāsa has been brought down to a late date A.D.

Then the claim of the epics and codes of law to a very ancient date in their present form was successfully challenged. Moreover, the Prākrts were found well advanced in the third century B.C. The reaction was inevitable. If Sanskrt literature is so late; if Prākrt is so early; and if Sanskrt means 'kunstlich' 'artificial'; the Sanskrt language must follow the literature into the limbo of shams. But this reasoning is over-hasty. We know that the Mahābhārata has been quadrupled by successive additions; while the Code of Manu has been altered, cut to pieces and put together again. The very fact that Sanskrt became stereotyped for literary purposes makes it impossible for us to give it a chronology. What we can say with certainty is this. The phonetic and grammatical condition of Sanskrt fits a time, later than the Vedas, earlier than the earliest Prākrt, about the fourth or fifth century B.C. The epic portions of the Mahābhārata may be as old as this time. But the important fact is that Sanskrt literature of whatever date conserves for us a language, which is not Vedic, but both later in time and more advanced in development than the Vedic; and which exhibits a special connexion with the later vernaculars.

I hope that I have brought some evidence to show that Sanskrt is not more artificial than other languages which possess a great literature; that it grew like them, and flourished; and in its turn gave place, like Latin, to its own children: while, again, like Latin, it holds a place as a learned language over a wider area than its children cover as vernaculars.

XIX.—THE PRIMITIVE HOME OF THE ARYANS.

By the Rev. Prof. Sayce, M.A., President.

Before discussing the special question which I propose to treat of this evening, I must say a few words in explanation of what I mean by the term "Aryans." When the researches of Von Schlegel and Bopp, of Rask and Grimm, and of the other founders of scientific philology, had led to the discovery of a closely-related family of languages all emanating from the same source and binding together the continents of Europe and Asia, it was natural to jump to the conclusion that the speakers of these languages were also bound together by the common ties of race. It was assumed that as the Englishman and the Hindu spoke languages that were derived from the same origin, so too the blood that flowed in their veins was derived from the same ancestry. The fair-complexioned European and the dark-skinned native of India were, it was believed, proved by the evidence of language to be alike descended from the same primæval parents. A little reflection, however, showed that such an assumption was groundless. There are numberless historical instances which demonstrate that language and race are by no means synonymous terms. Members of the same race may speak unrelated languages, and the same language may be spoken by unrelated races. The Jews have adopted the languages spoken in the manifold countries to which they have migrated, and in certain districts have even come to imagine that an older form of Spanish is the sacred tongue of their forefathers, while modern English in the United States has become the mother-tongue of the white European, the black-skinned negro, and the aboriginal Red Indian. As I insisted many years ago, language is a test of social contact only, not of race. It may throw light on the past relations of tribes and peoples one to another; the light that it throws on the origin of race is little more than a

will-o'-the-wisp. At the most, similarity of speech can raise a presumption only in favour of similarity of race. We may perhaps argue from it that one race has at some period of its existence intermarried with another; to infer more than this is to go beyond the strict testimony of our facts. The evidence of language may be a useful ally to the historian; the ethnologist has generally found it a snare and a deception.

We may therefore lay down at the outset that to confound a linguistic family with an ethnological family is an error which has introduced untold mischief both into science and into politics, and which the scientific philologist is bound to do his utmost to refute and drive away. We may talk about an Indo-European family of speech; an Indo-European family in the racial sense of the word has never existed. The ancestors of the Hindus were not necessarily the same as the ancestors of the Englishman; and if anthropology can show that the Hindu differs from the Englishman in the form of his skull and the colour of his skin or hair, it is quite certain that they were not the same. If the Hindu speaks a language allied to that of the Englishman, it proves merely that at some time or other he or his forefathers have been in social contact with those whose language belonged to the Indo-European family of speech.

But it is allowed on all hands that the languages of the Indo-European family presuppose a common parent-speech. I am not now going to discuss the question as to whether this parent-speech was as uniform as literary English, or whether, as I believe, it was already divided into dialects at the earliest period to which our knowledge of it can extend; certain it is that this parent-speech once existed and was spoken in some corner of the world. From hence it was carried by migrating bands to other parts of the globe, and so branched off into the various languages of the Indo-European group.

Did all the speakers of the parent-language belong to the same race, and consequently were all the migrating bands related in blood and ancestry? Analogy would suggest

a negative answer to this question. But analogy would also suggest that although the speakers of the parent-language were probably not all of the same race, the great majority of them were. They must have lived together in a district of limited extent in an age when the world was not thickly populated, and when the relations between different communities of mankind were hostile rather than the reverse. An examination of the parent-language, moreover, goes to show that its speakers were on a low level of civilization; that, in fact, they had not as yet emerged from the age of stone, while the country they inhabited was cold and inhospitable, and therefore not favourable to frequent intercourse with others. Such strangers as they had among them would be—at all events for the most part—slaves or wives captured in war.

Now it is just the speakers of the primitive Indo-European language whom I propose to call Aryans, following herein the example of Dr. Karl Penka. Strictly speaking, the term is inexact, since the word *Árya* is derived from the early literature of those whom neither Dr. Penka nor myself would regard as the true representatives of the Aryan race; but it has the advantage of being short as well as of being sufficiently indefinite in signification to allow of its being appropriated to a new use. By Aryans, accordingly, I mean the speakers of the parent Indo-European language, the majority of whom, if not all of them, belonged to the same race.

What was this race, or rather what were the physiological characteristics which we must assign to the members of it? The answer to this question depends in great measure upon the answer we give to another question; what, namely, was the locality from which they spread, carrying with them the seeds of Indo-European speech?

Until recently this question would have been answered without hesitation. The cradle of the Aryan race and of the Indo-European languages was, it was agreed, some part of Central Asia, most probably the slopes of the Hindu-Kush. Not only the course of modern emigration, but the course of

historical development, has been from the east to the west: "ex oriente lux," and the germs of religion and culture have alike been derived by modern Europe from the Oriental world. Here, according to the Hebrew Scriptures, were the rivers that watered the first habitation of the human race; here, too, was erected that Babylonian tower which caused the dispersion of mankind and the diversity of languages. The impressions derived from the teaching of theology were confirmed by the first discoveries of Comparative Philology. Comparative Philology owes its origin to what has been termed the discovery of Sanskrit; it was the comparison of Sanskrit with the languages of the west that enabled the pioneers of linguistic science to lay the foundations of their new study. And not only Comparative Philology, but Comparative Mythology, Comparative Religion, and Comparative Law owed their first start to the study of Sanskrit literature. What wonder that the age and importance of this literature should have been exaggerated, and at the same time the importance also of the language in which this literature was enshrined? The uninstructed public began to believe that Sanskrit was the mother of all the languages they spoke, thus taking the place of the Hebrew of an earlier time; and the instructed few assiduously taught that it was the elder-sister of the Indo-European dialects, and the norm and type to which they should all conform. Sanskrit grammar, it was assumed, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, must be the most faithful existing representative of the grammar of the parent-speech, Sanskrit phonology the pattern of which the Greek or Latin alphabet was but the degenerated copy. If we would know the vowel-system of the primitive Indo-European language, we must keep our eyes well fixed on that of Sanskrit.

There was yet another reason which raised the Sanskrit language to this high place of honour. Vedic Sanskrit had been analyzed and classified by the Hindu grammarians as no other language had hitherto been, not even the language of the Old Testament. The early grammarians of India had patiently worked out its phonetic system, and had resolved

its words into a limited number of *dhâtus* or roots. In the process they had elaborated a whole philosophy of speech, and had made the discovery that the grammar and vocabulary of their language were alike built up upon those *dhâtus* by the help of certain syllables or sounds. When the European founders of Comparative Philology began their work, they thus found not only a language ready at hand for them, but a complete philosophy of that language as well. It was not so much Vedic Sanskrit with which they had to compare the languages of ancient Europe as Vedic Sanskrit analyzed and expounded by the Hindu grammarians. We need not be surprised, therefore, if Bopp adopted the system of the latter, adapting their nomenclature only to western needs. The *dhâtu* became a root, the *pratyaya* a suffix, but the system itself remained unchanged. The words not only of Sanskrit, but also of those languages with which Sanskrit was compared, were formed of roots, bases, and suffixes, and the root was that which had seemed to the Hindu grammarian the simplest phonetic element in an allied group of words. Here, indeed, the Hindu grammarian had been content to let the matter rest; not so, however, the more practical Western, who went on to conclude that the root had once been a living word to which the suffixes had been attached by a species of agglutination. It is true that this manner of envisaging Oriental philosophy in Western thought brought confusion into the conception of a base or stem, but the difficulty was obviated by allowing the original meaning of a base gradually to drop out of sight. Meanwhile the admiration of the European philologist for the labours of his Hindu predecessor continued unabated, and necessarily reacted on the language upon which the Hindu had worked. Comparative Philology could not be so unnatural a child as to refuse to the language to which it owed its birth all the honours that belong to the head of the family. Sanskrit was the most exact representative of the parent-speech attainable, and must form the standard by which all investigations into Indo-European grammar and vocabulary should be judged.

It was reasonable to conclude that if Sanskrit represented more faithfully than the other Indo-European languages that parent-speech which they presupposed, its original speakers must have lived nearer to the cradle of the parent-speech than the speakers of the other languages of the Indo-European family. The European languages which had transformed the monotonous *alpha* of the parent-tongue into three short vowels were obviously further removed from the locality in which the parent-tongue had been spoken than was the language of the Veda in which the *alpha* alone appeared. Comparative Philology thus seemed triumphantly to confirm the old belief in the Asiatic origin, if not of all mankind, at all events of that portion of the human race to which the comparative philologists themselves belonged.

One difficulty only stood in the way of this conclusion, and it was easily removed. A comparison of the names of objects common to the eastern and western branches of the Indo-European family showed that the speakers of the parent-language must have lived in a cold region. But the Veda itself explained the difficulty by indicating that the Aryan invaders of India had entered it from the cold and mountainous districts of the north-west, and indeed that they had never penetrated very far into the burning plains of the south. What was wanting to complete the explanation was furnished by the sacred books of Zoroastrian Iran. The language and contents of these books were beginning to attract the special notice of scholars, while the intimate relationship between their language and that of the Veda had already forced itself upon the attention of the philologist. The exaggerated ideas of the antiquity of the Veda which had been inherited from an earlier generation of Sanskrit students influenced also the students of the Avesta, and an age and value were assigned to the latter which subsequent researches have not tended to justify. The result was an assumption that in the Vendidâd it was possible to discover a trustworthy tradition of the first home and older migrations, not only of the Iranians themselves, but of the Indo-Europeans in general. The poets of the Veda were believed

to be nearer to this first home both in time and place than any other members of the Indo-European stock, and a comparison between the language they used and that of the Avesta proved that the Vedic Hindus and the Avestan Iranians must have lived together long after their separation from the rest of their brethren. Now the Vendidád pointed to the slopes of the Hindu-Kush and the neighbourhood of the Oxus and Jaxartes as the soil in which "the seed of the Aryans" was first sown. From hence it was therefore assumed the various members of the family branched off, the larger body finding their way to the inhospitable regions of northern Europe, while the Indo-Iranians still lingered in the vicinity of their primæval home.

The evidence of this theory, which sees in the Hindu-Kush the first starting-point of the Indo-European clans, is derived entirely, it must be remembered, from the Vendidád. Unfortunately the Vendidád refers only to supposed migrations on the part of the ancestors of the Persians themselves, and still more unfortunately the tradition believed to be embodied in it has been shown by Bréal to be late and worthless. "Airyana-vaêjo," the first seed-plot of the Aryans, may have been near the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, but if so we must find some other testimony for it than that of the Vendidád.

This other testimony is the supposed fact that Sanskrit phonology and grammar represent more faithfully the phonology and grammar of the parent-speech than is the case with any other Indo-European language, and that consequently Sanskrit is separated from the parent-speech by a shorter interval of space and time than any other member of the Indo-European stock. There is no other testimony forthcoming upon which the Asiatic origin of the Indo-European stock can be made to rest.

The admission of this origin involves the further admission that the majority of the stock migrated into Europe. There were two roads by which they could have made their way into the west. They might have marched northward of the Caspian, across the Ural mountains and the frozen and

cheerless steppes of Russia, or southward of the Caspian and the Caucasus, through Armenia and Asia Minor. The existence of Indo-European languages like those of modern Armenia and of the Ossetes or Iron was believed to indicate that this easier and more reasonable *route* had been followed, more especially as the language of the Ossetes is a Persian dialect, while Armenian was considered also to belong to the Iranian family. Indeed it is difficult to understand how swarm after swarm of emigrants could have poured westward through so uninviting a country as that to the north of the Caspian. The migrations of barbarous hordes are usually made in search of food, and this would have been found to the south rather than to the north of the Caspian Sea.

Nevertheless I pointed out as far back as 1873—long before I recognized the real significance of the fact—that this could not have been the *route* adopted by the migrating Aryans. The Cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria make it quite plain that between the Kurdish mountains on the east and the Halys on the west there were no Aryans in the days of the Assyrian Empire. The numerous proper names belonging to this district, with one or two doubtful exceptions, show no traces of an Aryan origin. It is not until we reach the Medic tribes on the eastern side of Kurdistan that we meet with names of an Aryan stamp. The fact has been placed in a still clearer light by the decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van. They show that as late as 640 B.C. there were as yet no Aryans—or rather no Aryan-speaking population—in Armenia. The migration of Aryan-speaking tribes into Armenia and the Caucasus belonged, as the classical writers affirm, to the historic and not to the prehistoric age.

To Dr. Latham belongs the credit of first questioning the hypothesis of the Asiatic origin of the Aryans and of suggesting instead of it that their primitive cradle was Europe, upon the ground that as Europe was the chief seat of the Aryan-speaking population, it was reasonable to suppose that it had been also their original seat. But Dr. Latham had already been anticipated by a writer who had approached

the question from an artistic and not a scientific point of view. As early as 1842 the late Lord Lytton had thus expressed himself in his novel of "Zanoni": "The pure Greeks, the Hellenes, whose origin has bewildered your dreaming scholars, were of the same great family as the Norman tribe born to be lords of the universe, and in no land on earth to become hewers of wood. Even the dim traditions of the learned, which bring the sons of Hellas from the vast and undetermined territory of Northern Thrace to be the victors of the pastoral Pelasgi and the founders of the line of demigods; which assign to a population bronzed beneath the suns of the South, the blue-eyed Minerva and the yellow-haired Achilles (physical characteristics of the North); which introduce among a pastoral people warlike aristocracies and limited monarchies—the feudalism of the classic time; even these might serve to trace them back to the same regions whence in later times the Norman warriors broke on the dull and savage hordes of the Celt and became the Greeks of the Christian world." Here the historical instinct of the novelist had recognized that the pure Greeks of the classical epoch found their only true parallel in the Northmen of a later date, whatever may be thought of the truth of his description of the Kelts as "dull and savage hordes."

The theory of Dr. Latham and Lord Lytton has been accepted by the anthropologists of to-day, and it is more and more commending itself to comparative philologists. Works like those of Poesche, Penka, and Otto Schrader, written as they are from different points of view, all converge to the same conclusion that the Aryan race had its cradle in Eastern or Central Europe. Poesche would derive it from the Rokitno marshes of Russia, where it became permanently albinoised by the climatic conditions of the locality, like the fauna and flora that still exist there; Penka believes that it must be identified with the dolichocephalic race of Engis and Canstatt in the palæolithic age, though the centre from which it dispersed in the later neolithic period was Scandinavia, that is to say, Denmark and the southern portion of Sweden and Norway; while Schrader has remorselessly swept away the idyllic

picture of early Aryan life in Asia conjured up by Pictet, and shown that the records of the parent-language when rigorously questioned set before us a community barbarous and miserable, with nothing better than stone weapons to protect itself from the attacks of wild beasts or the skins of animals to ward off the cold blasts of a northern climate. Where this climate was situated is indicated by the fact that the European Aryans were acquainted with the beech, and the beech does not grow eastward of a line drawn from Königsberg to the Crimea. Their further acquaintance with the eel and the salmon shows that we must not look to the possible beech-groves of Central Asia, since the eel and the salmon are not found in the Caspian and the adjacent rivers.

While Anthropology and Linguistic Palæontology were thus passing their verdict on the old story of the Asiatic origin of the Aryan race, Comparative Philology was also arriving at the same conclusion. We have seen that the only valid evidence on the philological side put forward on behalf of the old view was the supposed superiority of Sanskrit as a representative of the parent-speech. As long as the Sanskrit *a* was believed to be more original than the corresponding three short vowels of the European tongues, it was reasonable to maintain that the home of the parent-speech should be sought in the highlands of Asia rather than in Europe. But the conclusion was reversed as soon as it was discovered that the converse was the real fact, and that the vocalic system of the European languages more faithfully reflects that of the parent-speech than the vocalic system of India. During the last ten years a revolution has taken place in the study of Indo-European Comparative Philology, one part of which may be described as consisting in the dethronement of Sanskrit. In the hands not only of the Neo-grammarians, but even of a scholar like Fick, Greek has taken the prominent place in philological research formerly occupied by Sanskrit. Greek, rather than Sanskrit, is appealed to in questions relating to primitive Indo-European phonology or the primitive Indo-European verb. The standard of comparison has become Greek rather than Sanskrit. Fashions change, and it is

probable that the Keltic languages may hereafter dethrone Greek as Greek has dethroned Sanskrit, while it is not impossible that the Keltic languages may in their turn be dethroned by Armenian; but one thing is now clear, and that is that the primacy can never again be given to the Aryan languages that have developed on Asiatic soil. The single support furnished to the Asiatic theory by Comparative Philology has been removed from it for ever.

There is, however, an argument which may be appealed to by the advocates of the old hypothesis, and which, therefore, it is necessary not to pass over. This is the argument derived from the linguistic position of Armenian. Armenian was long regarded as belonging to the Iranian branch of the Aryan family, and writers like Friedrich Müller still view it in this light. But against this opinion stands the fatal and conclusive objection that the vocalic system is that of Europe and not of Asia. It possesses the European *ă*, *ĕ*, and *ŏ*, not the uniform *ă* of the Asiatic tongues. If its verb shows traces of an augment like the verb of Sanskrit or Old Persian, this no more proves it to be of Asiatic origin than does the augment of the Greek verb. In fact the supposed Iranianisms of Armenian can be explained in great measure, as Hübschmann has made clear, by the long-continued influence upon it of Persian and such Persianised dialects as those of the Kurds. The Ossetes show how far to the north-west the Persianised dialects extended. But Armenian itself came from the west. As I have stated, the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions has proved that as late as B.C. 640 at least, there was no Aryan language in the country afterwards known as Armenia, and according to the express testimony of the Greek historians the Armenians were "a colony" of the Phrygians, a testimony which is confirmed by a comparison of Armenian with the scanty relics of the Phrygian language. The Phrygians, again, as we learn from the classical writers, as well as from the researches of archæology and philology, were originally a Thracian tribe, which, like the other Aryan inhabitants of Asia Minor, not excluding the Greeks, must have wandered from Europe into the neighbouring East. So far as our

present evidence goes, we may acquiesce in the belief in a Thraco-Phrygian family of speech, of which Armenian is the modern representative, and which may have stood in the same relation to Greek that the Keltic tongues stood to the dialects of ancient Italy.

As this is not an anthropological Institute, I need not discuss what are the physiological characteristics of the pure Aryans or the exact limitations of their original seat. It is enough to point out that Comparative Philology, in its present advanced phase, not only does not offer any objection to the conclusions of anthropology as to the European position of this seat, but that it is in complete harmony with them. Only let us not confound the objects and subject-matter of the two sciences. Comparative Philology knows of languages alone, not of their speakers. It is probable, nay pretty certain, that the majority of those who now speak Aryan languages are not of pure Aryan blood. It is equally probable that this was already the case at the time to which our oldest historical monuments in Europe reach back. But this does not affect the question as to the first starting-point of the Aryan languages and the primæval home of those whose language was their common parent. We have seen reasons for identifying the latter with that particular portion of the white race which we have termed Aryan, and we have seen further reason for believing that just as Anthropology traces back the Aryan race to northern Europe, so too Comparative Philology tends to trace the primitive Aryan language to the same locality. What now remains for Comparative Philology is to utilize the conclusion, and determine how far the grammar and vocabulary of the several Aryan languages have been affected by foreign influences the further they have wandered from their first home. Mr. Wharton has analyzed the vocabulary of Ancient Greek and pointed out that out of 2833 words only 1580 admit of a probable Indo-European etymology, while 641 can be shown to be loan-words, leaving 612 still unexplained. What he has done in the case of Greek must be done in the case of other languages of the Aryan stock. Like the Normans of a later age, the pre-

historic Aryan emigrants can have formed an upper caste only among the populations they subdued and in course of time must have tended to become absorbed into the older race. Their languages remained, but interpenetrated by foreign influences. If Scandinavia were really the earliest cradle of the Aryan family, it is in the languages and mythology of Scandinavia that we shall find preserved the purest forms of Indo-European speech and belief, and in them we shall find a test whereby to determine the extent of foreign admixture in Sanskrit or Greek, in Latin or Keltic.

XX.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT.

BEFORE submitting to your notice the following Notes, I wish to say that such of them as refer to Anglo-Indian words are taken from Colonel Yule's excellent work entitled 'Hobson-Jobson,' where further information will be found.

Amaze. It is nowhere recorded that the verb 'to amaze' occurs in Anglo-Saxon. Murray's earliest quotation of the pp. *amased* is from the Ancren Riwle. However, the same pp., spelt *amasod*, occurs in Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier, p. 137, l. 23; where we find 'heortléas and earh, *ámasod* and ámarod, mihtléas and áfæred,' i.e. 'faint-hearted and timid, amazed and troubled, weak and frightened.' I may add that *ámarod* is unrecorded also.

Artichoke. The earliest quotation in Murray is for 1531, where the spelling is *archekokks*, pl.; and is given only at second-hand, from a MS. account-book quoted in Notes and Queries. The following quotation, though a little later, has better authority, and gives nearly the modern spelling. In the Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, ed. Madden, 1831, p. 33, under the date July, 1537, we find: "Item, geuen to a *seruante* of my Lady Weston bringing Artichok*es* to my lad*es* grace, viij *d.*"

Atone. The etymology of this word, from *at* and *one*, is well known; and Murray shews that it arose from such phrases as *to be at one, to set at one*, or *to make at one.* I think I can go a step further back. The idiom is due to

Anglo-French, and is, in fact, a translation. I find the phrase—"il ne peusent *estre a un*," i.e. they could not be at one, could not agree; said of Henry II. and Beket. See Le Livere de Reis de Angleterre, ed. Glover (Rolls Series), p. 220, l. 8. I wish to suggest that many English phrases are probably mere translations from the French.

Botargo. I wish to make a correction in the notice of this word in my paper read on Nov. 6, 1885 (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1885–6, p. 284). Devic (Supp. to Littré) shews that the Ital. *botargo* is of Arabic origin; from the Arab. *butarkhah*, with the same sense. The Arab. word is thought to be composed of the Coptic indef. art. *bu*, and the Gk. τάριχος, dried fish (Journal des Savants, Jan. 1848, p. 45).

Cannibal. I have followed the account in Trench's Study of Words, which says that *Cannibal* is a corruption of *Caribal*, a Carib, and that Columbus uses the pl. *Caribales* to denote the Caribs. It is, however, no corruption, but only a dialectal variation; and, as a fact, Columbus describes the Caribs as *Canibales* also. See the excellent letter by Mr. Trumbull in Notes and Queries, 5 S. iv. 171. I understand Mr. Trumbull to imply also, that another legitimate form of the word is precisely *Caliban*, as in Shakespeare.

Canoe. The spelling in Hackluyt's Voyages, iii. 646, is *canoa*; and in R. Eden's Books on America, ed. Arber, p. 66, we find a mention of "lighters or small boats, which they [the natives of Hispaniola or Hayti] call *canoas*." This was printed in 1555, and is probably the earliest use of the word in English. Eden translates from Peter Martyr, whose book, in Spanish, was printed in 1511. There can be no doubt that the Span. *canoa* was borrowed from the language of Hayti, otherwise called Hispaniola or St. Domingo. Our present spelling of the word is really French; for in a French translation of Acosta's Natural History of the Indies, bk. viii. c. 18, I find "*canoes* ou barques." Modern F. has turned *canoe* into *canot*. We adopted the spelling *canoe* before 1740; for Pineda's Span. Dict. has: "*Canoa*, a boat all of a piece, called a *canoe*: *Indian*." The G. *Kahn*, a boat, is a totally different word, though the accidental resemblance is curious.

Carminative, expelling wind from the body. (F.—L.) Richardson gives a quotation from Arbuthnot, On Aliments, ch. 5; also from Swift's poem of Strephon and Chloe, where the following line occurs—"*Carminative* and diuretic;" the date of this poem is 1731. It is from the F. *carminatif*, which Cotgrave explains by 'wind-voiding, wind-dissolving, . . . also flesh-taming.' The Low Lat. *carminatiuus*, cited by Ducange, is of later date than Cotgrave's Dictionary. Littré gives the derivation from Lat. *carminare*, to card wool, which Richardson further explains by 'to cleanse from gross parts'; and such is doubtless the sense intended. Mahn's Webster also gives the same explanation. The etymology is accordingly, from the Lat. *carmen* (stem *carmini-*), a card for wool, from the rare verb *carere*, to card, which is also the source of E. *card*, vb., and Lat. *carduus*, a thistle. It is remarkable that the latest edition of Ogilvie's Dictionary derives *carminative* from the Low Lat. *carminare*, supposed to mean 'to charm,' because such a remedy acts suddenly, as a *charm*. This is not a good guess, because it gives no good sense; and this *carminare* properly means 'to compose verses.' It is not meant that *carminatives* compose verses, or that they charm the patient; the sense intended is that of ridding or expelling, which is merely a figurative use of the verb *carminare* that was first mentioned.

Chaudron, entrails. (F.) Macb. iv. 1. 33. The *r* is inserted by confusion with F. *chaudron*, a caldron. From O.F. *chaudun*, older forms *caudun*, *caldun*, entrails (Godefroy). Cf. G. *Kauldaunen*, entrails; M.L.G. *Kaldune*. Thought to be of Celt. origin; cf. W. *coluddion*, entrails, pl. of *coludd*; Irish *caolan*, pl. *caolain*. But Mr. Mayhew suggests that O.F. *caldun* meant 'cooked entrails'; from a Lat. **calidonem*, from *calidus*. Cf. Span. *caldo de tripas*, tripe-broth; Polish *kalduny*, pl. entrails. If so, *caldron* is really related.

Cheat. I have given the usual explanation of this, viz. from the M.E. *chete*, an escheat. The following quotation, kindly sent to me by a correspondent, puts the etymology in a very clear light: "They call this art by a new found name, calling themselves *chetors*, and the dice *cheaters*,

borrowing the term from among our lawyers, with whom all such casuals as fall unto the lord at the holding his leetes, as waifs, strays, and such like, be called *chetes*, as are accustomably said to be *escheted* to the lord's use."—A Manifest detection of the moste vyle and detestable use of Diceplay; pr. in vol. xxix. of Percy Society's publications (1851), p. 17.

Cheeta, Cheetah, a kind of leopard. (Hind.—Skt.) From Hind. *chítá*, the cheetah, lit. 'the spotted.' From the Skt. *chitraka*, a cheeta; formed with the suffix *-ka* from *chitra*, spotted, variegated, orig. 'visible.' Again, *chitra* is formed with the suffix *-ra* from *chit*, to perceive, to know. See *Cheeta* in Yule. The word *chintz* is from the same root.

Cheroot, a cigar. (Tamil.) Colonel Yule tells us that this word is the Tamil *shuruttu*, a roll (of tobacco). He gives several examples of the use of the word in the last century.

Chutny, a kind of hot relish. From Hind. *chatni*, the same (Yule).

Cobra. In correction of my note on this word in Phil. Soc. Trans., 1885, p. 289, I have to say that the Port. phrase is *cobra de capello*, snake with a hood. See Dr. Chance's remarks in Notes and Queries, 7 S. ii. 205.

Colleen, a girl (Irish). Irish *cailin*, a girl; dimin. of *caile*, a country-woman. So also in Scotch Gaelic.

Cowry. I have given the usual derivation, from the Hind. *kauri*, with the cerebral r. Col. Yule shews that another Hind. form of the word is *kaudí*, and the Marathi form is *kavadi*; and all these are from the Skt. *kaparda*, which Benfey explains as 'a small shell used as a coin, a cowrie;' also called *kapardaka* and *kapardiká*.

Creel. In correction of my note on this word in Phil. Soc. Trans., 1885, p. 290, I have to say that the right word is *criol*, though the mod. Gaelic has only the dimin. form *craidhleag*. The O.Irish *criol*, a chest, a coffer (Windisch), is the same word. See Notes and Queries, 7 S. iii. 44, where it is explained that the use of *dh* in *craidhleag* is merely orthographical, to shew that the preceding *ai* is a diphthong. In the Prompt. Parv. it is spelt *crelle*.

Curry, a relish; hence, a seasoned dish. Col. Yule remarks that the word is Tamil; from the Tamil *kari*, sauce. The Canarese form *karil* was that adopted by the Portuguese, and is still in use in Goa. I find that Vieyra's Port. Dict. gives the word *caril*, 'the juice of tamarinds'; this is clearly what Col. Yule calls 'the ordinary tamarind curry of S. India.'

I have given the word as Persian; this is entirely wrong.

Dacoit, a robber. From the Hind. d*akait*, a robber belonging to an armed gang (Yule).

Daze. I have said that the E. *daze* is of Scand. origin. In an article in Notes and Queries, 6 S. viii. 365, I was told that it is obviously borrowed from the O.F. *daser*, which is given by Godefroy and La Curne de Sainte-Palaye with precisely the sense of the E. word. I was also told that the evidence for a Scand. origin, as given by me, is hardly sufficient. After re-examining the question, I see no reason for altering my opinion. The O.F. *daser* and M.E. *dasen* are certainly the same word, but there is no reason why one form should be borrowed from the other. Certainly the O.F. word was not borrowed from us; and if the Scand. word could find its way into French, much more easily could it find its way into English, which notoriously abounds with words of Scand. origin. I conclude that the M.E. *dasen* and the O.F. *daser* are alike of Scand. origin, and it would only have obscured the facts to have mixed up the E. word with the F. *daser*, which there was no need to mention. Mätzner, like myself, simply mentions the Scand. words, and leaves the F. *daser* alone. On the other hand, I admit that I hardly said enough in support of the Scand. origin, when I refer to the Icel. *dasask*, to be exhausted, and the Swed. *dasa*, to lie idle. There is, however, further evidence, as may be seen by consulting Mätzner and others. The Icel. pp. *dasaðr*, exhausted by cold, answers fairly well to the E. pp. *dased* as used by Hampole. The M.E. *dasiberd*, a stupid fellow, can be explained from the Icel. *dasi*, a lazy fellow, to which the M.E. *berd* (beard) has been added. The M.E. *dastard*, a stupid fellow (in later E. a coward), is formed

(with suffix *-ard*) from the Icel. *dæst-r*, exhausted. If we now turn to Aasen's Norweg. Dict., we come closer to the sense of the E. word. He gives Norw. *dasa*, to grow faint, *dæsa*, to grow faint, to be exhausted with cold or wet; *dæst*, pp. faint, tired out; *dæseveder*, 'dazing weather' (as we might say), said of frost and bad weather, which exhausts animals. Rietz gives the prov. Swed. *dasa*, to lie idle, and cites the Danish dialectal words *dase*, to lie idle, lounge about, *dasse*, to flirt; also Swed. dial. *daseri*, unchastity; *dasig*, sluggish; *daska*, to be slow, go slowly; with further illustrations. I think there is quite enough evidence to shew that the E. *dased* was derived from a Scand. word meaning exhausted by cold or wet, tired out, faint, whence the secondary sense of sluggish or stupid. The exact relationship (if any) between *daze*, *dizzy*, and *doze* is not easy to determine. See Koolman's E. Friesic Dict., s.v. *dösen*; Bremen Wörterbuch, s.v. *dösig*, etc.

Dich. "Much good *dich* thy good heart, Apemantus"; Timon, i. 2. 73. It may be remembered that Dr. Morris explains *dich* as being a corruption of *dit*, i.e. fill; and, in fact, *dit your* would easily turn into *dich your*. Dr. Schmidt, however, holds to Nares' explanation, viz. that *dich* is a corruption of *do it*; and does not even hint at any difficulty. Curiously enough, Nares gives no examples of the phrase. Yet I believe that Nares is quite right; that the phrase was common; and that *do it* was really turned into *dit* in pronunciation, although we should have expected it to turn into *do't*. In any case, *dich* is a corruption of *dit*, evidently due to the frequent use of *dit* with the words *ye*, *you*, or *your* following. The only real question is, are we to take *dit* in the sense of 'fill, stop up,' as in Early English, or does it stand for *do it*? Here the evidence is altogether in favour of the latter hypothesis.

In reading Dekker's Works (ed. 1873), I have come across three examples of the phrase, and I strongly suspect it was common. Thus, in his Satiro-mastix (Works, i. 204), Sir Quintilian, addressing a widow, says: "And much good do't thy good heart, faire widdow, them." Here the concluding "them" means "as regards them"; i.e. as regards the expen-

the Icel. *þruma*, to rattle (whence E. *thrum*, as upon a piano), and the Dan. *drumme*, to make a booming noise, to boom, and Dan. *drum*, a booming sound. Nevertheless, I suspect it will be found that *drum* was actually suggested by the E. *drone* and the Du. *trommel* being confused. Of course, too, the Icel. *þruma*, Dan. *drumme*, and Du. *trommel* are all from the same imitative Teutonic root THROM; whilst *drone* is from a similar imitative Teut. root, well seen in Goth. *drunjus*, a noise.

Fake, to steal. This is a well-known cant word, to be found in the Slang Dictionary. Like several other such words, it is probably Dutch. It corresponds to Mid. Du. *facken*, 'to catch, or to gripe,' recorded by Hexham. Curiously enough, this verb answers precisely to the A.S. *facian*, to try to acquire, to wish to get, a word employed by King Alfred. The verb perhaps originally meant 'to enclose,' and is closely connected with Du. *vak*, A.S. *fæc*, G. *Fach*, a word of rather widely extended meaning. The G. *Fach* means 'partition, compartment, department;' the O.H.G. *fah* has the older sense of 'enclosure, wall;' the A.S. *fæc* means 'a space, interval.' See *Fach* in Kluge, and *fak* in Koolman.

Fandango, a Spanish dance. (Span.) The account of this word in Mahn's Webster is copied nearly word for word from Pegge. Dr. Pegge, in his Anonymiana, century viii. § 30, ed. 1818 [written about 1780?], says: "The *Fandango*, a dance occurring [i.e. mentioned] in Swinburne's Travels, is not found in the Spanish Dictionary. It was brought from Guinea by the Negroes into the West Indies, and thence into Spain." He gives us no authority for this statement, and it is difficult to know whence he obtained it. Mahn, in Webster, says: "It was brought, *together with its name*, from Guinea, by the Negroes into the West Indies," etc. This is bolder still, though not impossible. Swinburne's Travels in Spain appeared in 1779, though there may have been an earlier edition. However, I wish to point out that Pegge is partly mistaken; for it occurs in a Spanish dictionary printed in 1740, viz. that by Pineda. He gives: "*Fandango*, a

dance used in the *West Indies*." I cannot trace the word any further. Pegge is probably right in saying that the word came from the West Indies. Whether it was originally African, I cannot say.

Fat. Kluge gives further light upon this word in his articles on *fett* and *feist* in his German Etym. Dict., and at p. 96, l. 1 of his Nominale Stammbildungslehre (Halle, 1886). The G. *fett* seems to have been merely borrowed from Low German at a comparatively late date. The G. *feist* really means fattened, and is an old pp., viz. the same as O.H.G. *feizit*, pp. of *feizan*, to fatten, from the adj. *feiz* or *veiz*, fat. The Icel. word is *feitr*. In the same way, he takes A.S. *fætt* (for it appears sometimes with a doubled *t*) to be a pp., though the word when spelt with one *t* may nevertheless, I suppose, be a mere adjective. However, he is right in marking the vowel of the A.S. word as long. Ettmüller does the same. In Bosworth's Dictionary, the accent is omitted. All the Teut. forms answer to a theoretical Goth. adj. **faits*, or to a pp. **faitiths*, derived from **faits*. I see no reason why it may not be further connected, as in Schade and in my Dict., with the Gk. *πίων*, and Skt. *pîvan*, fat.

Fever. I have given *fever* as a word of French origin; but this is not right, as it was certainly derived immediately from Latin. The A.S. form is *fefer* or *fefor*, occurring in Matt. viii. 15, Luke iv. 38, John iv. 52; and very common in the A.S. Leechdoms. Indeed, we even have the derivative *fever-few*, A.S. *fefer-fuge*, from the Lat. *febrifuga*, fever-dispelling; proving beyond doubt that the word was well established before the Conquest.

Flannel. This form is corrupt, the provincial E. *flannen* being more correct. I find mention of a certain "John Eavens, badger [huckster] of *flanen*," in an extract from the sessions records of Wenlock, Aug. 9, 1652; printed in Miss Burne's Shropshire Folk-lore, p. 480. This is a useful piece of evidence.

Fool, in the phr. *gooseberry fool*. Mahn tells us that this is derived from the F. *fouler*, to trample on, hence, to crush. I believe that this is a mere guess, and that there is no evidence

for it. It is quite as likely that it was a sort of slang name, made in imitation of *trifle*. Ben Jonson mentions it; we find "your *fools*, your flawns;" Sad Shepherd, Act i. sc. 2 (not sc. 7, as in Richardson). But Florio, in 1598, explains the Ital. *Mantiglia* by 'a kind of clouted creame, called a *foole* or a *trifle* in English.'

Freestone. This word occurs in Shakespeare, in the compound *freestone-coloured*, As You Like It, iv. 3. 25. And much earlier, spelt *frestane*, in Weber's Met. Rom. iii. 118. I have had some difficulty in tracing its etymology. The difficulties lie in ascertaining whether the form is correct or corrupt; and again, in finding out what is the meaning of *free*, if it be correct. This difficulty existed long ago, for I remember meeting with the spelling *frieze-stone*, though I forget where, as if the derivation were from *stone* suitable for making a *frieze*. In Johnson's Dictionary, two contradictory reasons for the name are given. The former is, because it can be dug up freely in any direction, which makes no good sense; and the latter, because it can be cut or wrought freely in any direction, which is practically right. The difficulty is entirely solved by observing that the word is a mere translation from the French *franche pierre*. Cotgrave, as usual, gives us the correct answer. He gives: '*Pierre franche*, the (soft white) freestone'; and further explains the F. *franc* by 'without any fault or ill quality.' Littré has: '*Pierre franche*, pierre parfaite dans son espèce, qui n'a ni la mollesse du moellon, ni la dureté du caillou,' i.e. a stone perfect in its kind, having neither the softness of a soft stone, nor the hardness of flint. We may thus understand *free* to mean of excellent quality, without flaw, easily wrought in any direction. I may add that the expression *fraunche piers*, meaning 'stones of excellent quality,' occurs in the English Allit. Romance of Alexander, l. 4356: and the expression *precious piers*, i.e. precious stones, in l. 5270 of the same.

Hayriff, Hairiff, or **Cleavers,** a plant; *Galium aparine*. (E.) For this word, see Britten and Holland's Plant-names (E. D. S.), and Mätzner, s.v. *hairif*, p. 399. It is the A.S. *hege-rife*, in the Glossary to vol. iii. of the A.S. Leechdoms.

Here *hege-rife* means 'hedge'; what *rife* means, I cannot certainly say. But comparison with the Lowl. Sc. *wauk-rife*, wakeful, *cauld-rife*, chilly, and *wast-rife*, wasteful or prodigal, suggests that *-rife* is the usual E. *rife*, abundant, used as a suffix precisely as we use *-ful* (=*full*). If so, then *hege-rife* is 'hedge-abundant,' that which grows abundantly in the hedges; and, in fact, it is exceedingly common in hedges everywhere. Dr. Prior, Plant-names, s.v. *Goose-heiriffe*, calls it *hedge-reeve*. This is a false name of his own invention, as shewn s.v. *hariff*, where he derives it (quite wrongly) from A.S. *réfa* (reeve) and actually confuses this still further with *réafa*, a robber; 'because it plucks wool from passing sheep.' It is all wrong.

Hayward, a hedge-warden. (E.) Mätzner gives numerous examples, s.v. *haiward*, p. 399. *Hay* means 'hedge,' but it is not derived from A.S. *haga*, as said in Ogilvie, for this answers to E. *haw*. Neither is it from the F. *haie*, a hedge, though this is the cognate F. word (of German origin). The right A.S. corresponding form is *hege*, which see in Bosworth. Note the *three* A.S. words, viz. *haga*, E. *haw*; *hege*, E. *hay-* (in *hayward*); and *hecg*, E. *hedge*. The A.S. nominative *hecg* does not occur, but there is such a word, though it is not given in the Dictionaries. It was a feminine sb., with genitive and dat. *hecge*. The gen. occurs, spelt *hegge*, in the phrase "æt þære lange *hegge* ænde," i.e. at the long hedge's end; Cartularium Saxonicum, ed. Birch, i. 339. The dat. occurs, spelt *hegge*, in the A.S. Chron., an. 547 (Laud MS.). The most interesting point about the word *hayward* is its survival in the surname *Howard*, where the vowel-change is due to the influence of the succeeding *w*; just as *styward* is now *steward*. The fact of the equivalence of *Howard* and *Hayward* was proved in Notes and Queries, 6 S. v. 94, by a correspondent who investigated the registers of St. Paul's Parish, Bedford, and found the name of *Hayward*, with the variant spellings *Heyward*, *Hogward*, *Heward*, and *Howard*, all the same family. The form *Hogward* is here probably due to popular etymology. Even *Heywood* may be the same name. Mr. Bardsley, in his Book on Surnames,

takes *Howard* to be a variant of *Harvard* or *Hereward*, which requires a far more violent change of form.

Hedge; see *Hayward* (above).

Hernshaw. Godefroy gives examples of the sing. *herouncel*, occurring in the Liber Custumarum, i. 304 (14 Edw. II.), and of the pl. *heroncaulx* in an account dated 1330.

Hidalgo, a Spanish nobleman. Todd quotes "an *hidalgo*, a gentleman of Spain," from Terry's Voyage to the East Indies, 1655, p. 169. The account in Pineda's Span. Dict., 1740, gives the correct etymology. He says: "*Hidalgo*, formerly *fidalgo*, and sometimes called *hijo d'algo* . . that is, the Son of something, or a Son to whom his Father had something to leave, that is, Honour and Estate." And Minsheu's Span. Dict., 1623, has: "*Hidalgo*, a gentleman, the sonne of a man of some worth." The full form is *hijo d'algo*, and, still earlier, *fijo d'algo*, i.e. 'son of something'; where *fijo* is from Lat. acc. *filium*, son; *d'* is the Lat. prep. *de*; and *algo*, somewhat, something, represents Lat. **aliquum*, put for *aliquem*, acc. of *aliquis*, some one.

Holt. Kluge shews, in his G. Dict., s.v. *Holz*, that *holt* is not only cognate with the O.Irish *caill* or *coill*, a wood, as I have said, but also with the O.Slav. *klada*, a beam, wood, and the Gk. *κλάδ-ος*, a branch. The Russian word is *koloda*, a log of wood.

Hurry. I derive this, as Wedgwood does, from the imitative word to *hurr*, a Scand. word meaning to whirr or whiz. I suggest that this *hurr* is a mere variant of *whirr*. I now find that Nares actually gives the verb to *whurry*, with the sense of 'hurry'; with two examples. This clinches the etymology.

Jane, a kind of fustian. Todd quotes the spelling "*jeyne* fustian" from the Talbot Accounts, 1580. In 1589 we find mention of "*gene* fustian"; H. Hall, Society in the Elizabethan Age, p. 210. Two etymologies have been suggested: (1) from the town of Genoa; (2) from that of Jena. I hold the latter to be impossible. Genoa is spelt *Gene* in Hearne's Glossary to Rob. of Brunne, and Chaucer has *iane*, a coin of Genoa. In the Libell of Englisch Policye

(1436), l. 336, Genoa is spelt *Jene*; and the ships of Genoa are said to bring to England cloths of gold and silk.

Lancepesade, Lanceprisado, the lowest officer of foot, one who is under the corporal. The etymology is correctly given in Nares and in the Dictt., but is insufficiently explained. The passage that best explains it is in Turner's Pallas Armata, p. 219, quoted by Grose, Milit. Antiq. i. 262, and in the Notes to Dekker, ed. 1873, iii. 371. The word was borrowed from French, and is given as *lancepessade* in Cotgrave, who explains it by 'lancepesado, the meanest officer in a foot-company.' The French form was, in turn, borrowed from the Ital. *lanciaspezzata* or *spezzata lancia*; Florio explains the latter by 'a demi-lance, a light horseman.' In English the word was evidently thought to be Spanish; hence it was turned into *lancepesado*, as if taken from Span. *lanza pesada*, heavy lance, though this gave little sense. This being unsatisfactory, popular etymology also turned it into *lanza-presado* or *prisado*, as if it had to do with Span. *presa*, a grip, clutch, seizure. We also find *lancepersado* in the play of Sir Thomas Wyatt, in Dekker's Works, 1873, iii. 95; see further in Nares. Now the Ital. *spezzata* means shivered, broken, splintered, being the fem. pp. of *spezzare*, to shiver to pieces, lit. to dis-piece; from Lat. *dis-*, prefix, and the Ital. *pezza*, a piece, the same word as our *piece*. Hence the sense is a dis-pieced lance, a shivered lance, or demi-lance. As applied to a soldier, it meant one who had been a captain of horse, but had broken his lance and lost his horse; such a one was admitted into a foot-regiment, at first as equal in rank with the captain of foot, but ere long was degraded, and considered as equal in rank with a corporal, till at last the *lancepesade* was further degraded, and ranked as being but a little better than an ordinary foot-soldier. All this is fully explained in the note referred to. The substance of this note is quoted by Nares from Grose, but it is well worth while to draw attention to the original passage in Turner. Besides which, none of the Dictt. explain the etymology of the Ital. pp. *spezzata*.

Launch, a particular kind of long-boat. Such is the

definition in Todd's Johnson; I find no early example of the use of the word. The dictionaries assume that it is derived from the verb to *launch*, but I believe it to be of Span. origin. The Spanish word is *lancha*, which Pineda (1740) explains as 'the pinnace of a ship.' That the word is Spanish seems to be proved by the numerous derivatives in that language. Neuman and Baretti give *lancha*, barge, lighter, long boat, launch; *lancha de socorro*, life-boat; *lanchada*, a lighter full of goods, boat-load; *lanchon*, a lighter; *lanchonero*, a lighter-man; *lancion*, a kind of guardship in India. Vieyra's Port. Dict. gives *lancha*, the pinnace of a ship; *lanchara*, a ship so called. I offer a wild guess that *lancha* may be a corruption of *lorcha*, a small kind of vessel used in the China coasting trade; and that both words are of Asiatic origin. See *Lorcha* in Yule's Glossary.

Lay-figure, in painting. The etymology of *lay* in this compound was given by Mr. Wedgwood in Notes and Queries, 5 S. v. 436. The original word was *lay-man*, as in Bailey's Dict., ed. 1735; and this word was used by Dryden in his translation of Du Fresnoy's Art of Painting, § 220, written in 1694. The passage from Dryden is quoted in Richardson. The word *layman* is precisely the Du. *leeman*, a layman, a lay-figure; and Mr. Wedgwood is doubtless right in explaining it as being contracted from *lede-man*, i.e. man or figure made with joints. Thus Sewel's Du. Dict. gives *leden*, joints, pl. of *lid*, a joint; *ledekant*, a camp-bed, i.e. bed made with joints for folding up; *ledezetter*, a joint-setter, bone-setter. The loss of *d* between two *e*'s is a distinguishing mark of Dutch; and may be instanced in *teêr*, for *teeder*, tender, *weêr* for *weder*, weather, *Neêrland* for *Nederland*, Netherland. The Du. *lid*, a joint, is cognate with A.S. *liδ*, a limb, joint, G. *glied* (= *ge-lied*), Goth. *lithus*, a limb. The word *easel* is also of Dutch origin, and seems to have been borrowed about the same time.

Mandilion, a soldier's cloak. (Ital.–Span.–Arab.–Lat.) It was once rather common. Nares gives seven examples, the most interesting being one from Chapman's Homer, bk. x. 120. The etymology is given in Mahn's Webster; but, in his

usual confused way, he does not tell us whether it is French, Italian, or Spanish. The form is, however, Italian, as Nares says. Florio, ed. 1598, gives Ital. *mandiglione*, 'a mandillion, a souldiers iacket.' But it has no root in Italian, and all that is Italian about it is the suffix *-one*. The rest is borrowed from the Span. *mandil*, a coarse apron, which undoubtedly had also the sense of 'mandilion,' though the Dictionaries omit it. This we can tell, because the word found its way from Spanish into French, so that Cotgrave interprets *mandil* to mean 'a mandilian, or loose cassock.' That the word was Spanish is certain, because it is of Moorish origin, being exactly borrowed from the Arabic *mandíl*, given at p. 1506 of Richardson's Arab. Dict., where we find *mandíl, mindíl*, 'a table-cloth, towel, sash, turban-cloth, handkerchief, mantle.' It thus appears that the sense of 'mantle' or 'cloak' appears in the original Arabic, and must have thence found its way, first into Spanish, and secondly into Italian; and when once Italianised, it was lengthened by adding the common suffix *-one*. Finally, the Arab. *mandíl*, as Mr. Robertson Smith informs me, is not a true Arabic word, but merely adopted from the Lat. *mantile*, a napkin.

Mane. I have given this word as Scandinavian, because the A.S. Dictionaries seem not to contain it. But we now know, by help of Sweet's O.E. Texts, that it is a native word. The entry '*juba*, manu' occurs in the Erfurt Glossary, l. 1182. And I now find, thanks to Mr. Sweet, that the adj. *ge-mone*, i.e. 'having a mane,' is duly entered in Bosworth and Toller's Dictionary.

Mango. I have given the etymology from the Malay name *mañggā*, but this is merely the Malay spelling. Col. Yule shews that we took it rather from the Port. form *manga*. Both the Port. and Malay names are unoriginal, being borrowed from the Tamil word *mān-kay*, where *kay* means 'fruit,' and *mān* is the Tamil name of the tree on which it grows.

Martlet. I wish to point out a hitherto unnoted confusion and difficulty in the history of this word. I have given

martlet as a variant of *martinet*; for Cotgrave explains the F. *martinet* by 'a Martlet, or Martin (bird);' and, indeed, Littré gives F. *martelet* with the same sense as *martinet*. This is the usual account, and is quite right as regards Shakespeare's *martlet*, in the Merch. of Venice, ii. 9. 28; and in Macb., i. 6. 5. The bird meant is the House-martin, the *Hirundo urbica* of Linnæus, and the *Cotile urbica* of modern writers, as Prof. Newton kindly informs me. But as to the heraldic *martlet*, there is much difficulty. In modern heraldry, the bird is represented with very short legs, or none at all; and is therefore the Swift, the *Hirundo apus* of Linnæus, now called the *Cypselus apus*. Prof. Newton says it is the ἄπους of Aristotle, where the epithet *apus* (footless) identifies it. The legs are very short, and the actual drawings of the bird, in blazonry, are fair representations of it. It is a closely allied bird to the House-martin, and the same word *martlet* was doubtless applied to both these birds. There is no difficulty so far.

But now comes in a strange contradiction, which insinuates that there has been gross confusion somewhere. For the very bird which we call a *martlet* in English heraldry, distinguished beyond doubt by its short legs, is by French heralds called a *merlette*, i.e. a little merle or blackbird. For example, Littré gives us: "*Merlette*, terme de blason; oiseau représenté sans bec et sans pieds. Il porte d'or, à trois *merlettes* de sable." Hamilton's French Dictionary has: "*Merlette*, her. martlet." Cotgrave's French Dictionary, ed. 1660, has: "*Merlette*, f. a Martlet, in blazon;" so that he seems to distinguish between the martlet of heraldry and that of Shakespeare. But the surest evidence is that of a Roll of Arms, which cannot be later than A.D. 1314, edited by N. Harris Nicolas in 1828 from the Cotton MS. Calig. A. xviii. At p. 1 we find: "Le Counte de Penbroc, burele de argent e de azure, od les *merelos* de goules;" i.e. the Earl of Pembroke, barry, argent and azure, with martlets, gules. This precisely agrees with the dexter half of the shield of Pembroke College. In this Roll, there are no less than 36 examples of arms containing martlets. The word always

occurs in the plural, and the Anglo-French plural is almost always spelt *merelos*, but we also find *mereloz* and *merlos*. These plurals imply a singular *merlot*, which is a mere variant of *merlette*, both forms being diminutives of *merle*.

Hence we have positive proof that the name of the heraldic *martlet* has not only been *merlette* in France for centuries, but was *merlot* or *merlette* in England more than five centuries ago.

The only guess that seems to me to reconcile these facts, is to suppose, that the original *martlet* of heraldry was really a *merlet* or little merle; that the name, by some confusion, was altered (in England, but not in France) to *martlet*, and the figure of the bird must have been altered with it; and lastly, that the modern French heralds have adopted the English figure of the bird, whilst retaining the old appellation unchanged.

That the name was actually altered, appears from the Prompt. Parv., which has "*Martnet*, Turdus," i.e. the name of *martnet* or *martlet* was given to the *merle*, a bird belonging to the (Linnæan) genus *turdus*.

The problem is, to find evidence as to the manner in which martlets were represented many centuries ago. I have already found something of the kind.

In Neale's Westminster Abbey, ii. 26, I find that the supposed arms of Edward the Confessor were: "A cross patence (*sic*), between five martlets, or." The picture opposite shews how this coat is carved in stone; the martlets are there seen as long birds, with tails ending in a single point, and with long legs. In Fabyan's History, ed. Ellis, p. 224, there is a picture of the same coat; here again, the birds have long legs, and single-pointed tails, and are not at all like the martlets of modern times. This goes far to shew that my guess is correct.

In any case, the fact that the heraldic *martlet* was called *merlot* in Anglo-French, and is still called *merlette* in modern French, must be taken into account.

Mascle, in heraldry, a lozenge perforated with a hole of the same shape. (F.—L.) In the Book of St. Albans, A.D.

1486, leaf *f* 4, the accusative case occurs as *masculas* in Low Latin, *mascules* in Old French, and *mascules* in English. Cotgrave has F. *macle*, "the mash of a net; also, in Blazon, a *Mascle*, or short Lozenge, having a square hole in the middest." The *mascle* represents a mesh of a net, and is merely the same word as the F. *macle*, from Lat. *macula*, a mesh. In O.F., an *s* was ignorantly inserted before the *c*, probably by confusion with O.F. *masle*, E. *male*, from Lat. *masculus*; the spelling *mascle* occurs before 1350. This *s* became fixed in English, and is still written. Still more curiously, the E. word was retranslated into Low Lat. as *mascula*, where the *s* entirely obscures the true etymology. Thus *mascle* is a doublet of *mail*, as applied to armour, the latter being the true old form (O.F. *maille*). Curiously enough, there was a variety of mailed armour which has obtained the name of *mascled* armour, though I suspect that this antiquarian term is of no very early date. The period of *mascled* armour was the eleventh century. See Annandale's Dict.

Mazurka, a dance. Mr. Morfill has kindly suggested to me that the name properly belongs to the dancer rather than to the dance; for the literal sense of the Polish word *Mazurka* is 'a woman of Massovia or Mazovia,' which is the name of a province of Poland containing the city of Warsaw. Similarly there is a dance called the *Polonaise*, which is French for 'a Polish woman'; and the same explanation applies to *Polka*, which is the Polish word for 'a Polish woman,' the masc. form being *Polak*. Col. Yule, in his Glossary, notices that Browning twice calls a girl a *nautch*, whereas the word really means a dance. This is just the converse. See **Nautch** below.

Mulligatawny, a hot soup. From the Tamil *milagu-tannir*, lit. 'pepper-water' (Yule). I am told that it is the former part of the word that means 'pepper,' and the latter that means 'water.'

Mustang, a wild horse of the prairies. (Span.—Lat.) This word is derived from the Span. word now written *mesteño*, but formerly *mestengo*, as in Pineda's Dictionary (1740).

This form is merely adjectival, and signifies 'belonging to a company of graziers,' because these graziers catch the *mustangs* and use them. The word for 'company of graziers' or of shepherds is *mesta*, which also meant formerly 'a fair for shepherds'; see Minsheu (1623). The Span. *mesta* answers to the Lat. fem. *mista* (also *mixta*), a mixed company or assembly; from *miscere*, to mix, assemble.

Nautch, a kind of ballet-dance by women. (Hind.—Prakrit—Skt.) From the Hind. (and Mahratti) *nách*, a dance; from the Prakrit *nachcha*, the same. This is from the Skt. *nrtya*, dancing, acting; orig. fut. pass. part. of *nrt*, to dance, act. See Yule. Hence the deriv. *nautch-girl*, a dancing-girl; cf. Skt. *nartaki*, a female dancer.

Nizam, the title of a ruler in the Deccan. From the Arab. *nidhám*, government, which the Persians pronounce as *nizám*. Though the proper sense is 'government,' it is used as a title, as in the phrase *nizámu-'l-mulk*, governor (lit. order) of the empire. From the Arab. root *nazama*, he arranged or governed; see Devic and Richardson.

Nosegay. The word *gay* means a collection of gay flowers. There is a good example in Golding's Ovid, ed. 1603, fol. 47, back:

"And (as it chaunst) the selfe same time she was a-sorting *gayes*
To make a Posie, when she first the yong man did espie."

Nullah. From Hind. *nála*, a water-course (Yule).

Orra, remaining, superfluous. (Scand.) The word *orra* is Lowland Scotch. The senses in Jamieson are various, but all arise out of the notion of remaining, superfluous, spare, extra, and the like. Burns, in his Jolly Beggars, says that they assembled for the purpose of drinking 'their *orra* duddies,' i.e. their spare garments, which they pawned for the purpose. Jamieson's suggestions as to the etymology are worthless. The word is precisely the Dan. *övrig*, remaining, spare, Swed. *öfrig*, cognate with G. *übrig*. And of course this adj. is from the Dan. prep. *over*, Swed. *öfver*; cf. G. *über*, A.S. *ofer*, E. *over*. Thus *orra=over-y*. Cf. *o'er* for *over*.

Pin. I believe no reference has ever been given to shew that this word occurs in A.S., although the form *pinn* was given by Somner. Authority for it has been found by Dr. Liebermann, who in his edition of an A.S. tract to which he gives the title of 'Gerefa,' § 18, l. 6, gives us the phrase 'tó hæpsan *pinn*,' i.e. a pin, peg, or fastening for a hasp; see Anglia, ix. 265. It was clearly borrowed, as I have said, from the late Lat. *pinna*, a variant of *penna*.

Polka, a dance. The word, as Mr. Morfill suggests, properly applies to the dancer, as the literal sense is a 'Polish woman,' just as there is a dance called the *Polonaise*, with the same literal sense. See also **Mazurka**. The Polish Dictionary gives us *Polak*, a Polish man, with the fem. *Polka*, a Polish woman. Cf. also Russ. *Poliak'*, a Pole, *Poleka*, a Polish woman. Shakespeare has *Polack* for 'Pole' in Hamlet, ii. 2. 63, 75; iv. 4. 23. Littré notes that the *polka* was brought to France about the year 1845.

Polo, a game. Col. Yule says: 'It comes from Baltí; *polo* being, in that language, the ball used in the game.' *Balti* is in the high valley of the Indus.

Pomander, a globe-shaped box for holding ointments. (Span.—Lat.) One of the earliest examples of this word is in the Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary (afterwards Queen Mary), ed. Madden, 1831; p. xxii. On the 1st Jan. 1518, this princess had many presents, and paid "to the frenche quenes *ser*uant that brought a *pomander* of of gold" the sum of 20 shillings. *Pomander* is often said to be derived from *pomme d'ambre*, apple of amber. This is very unlikely, and I find that it is a pure guess, and there does not seem ever to have been any such phrase, nor anything to connect it with *amber* at all. There is no hint of anything of the kind in Murray's Dict., s.v. *amber*. In fact, the origin is the Spanish *poma*, which Minsheu (1623) explains by 'pomander'; and Pineda gives "*poma*, a little small box full of holes to carry perfumes in to smell to, also a pomander." The rest of the word is probably a mere suffix, as seen in the Span. *vir-andero*, a sutler, *hil-andero*, a spinner, a rope-walk; this suffix *-and-ero* is, in fact, double,

due to the Lat. *-endus* of the participle in *-dus*, and the Lat. *-arius*. The orig. sense of the Span. *poma* was an apple; it is a fem. form due to the masc. *pomo*, an apple; from Lat. *pomum*.

Posnet, a little pot. M.E. *posnet*, Prompt. Parv. and Wyclif. The Anglo-F. form is *pozonet*, which occurs in the Livere de Reis, ed. Glover, 1865 (Record Series), p. 78. The *z* is equivalent to *ts*, and it can hardly be doubted that the word is, practically, a diminutive of the O.F. *pos*, a variant of O.F. *pot*, a pot; see examples in Littré. The suffix is not easy to explain; but we may compare the form *pozonet* with Low Lat. *potionare*, to give to drink (Lewis and Short). Perhaps *pozonet* answers to a Low Lat. **potionatum*. See *Pot* below.

Pot. The various Celtic words for *pot* are of Latin origin, as I have already said in my Supplement. Littré points out, still more distinctly, that the Lat. *potus*, a drink, draught, was actually used in the sense of a drinking-cup in late Latin; see also Lewis and Short. The word is thus fully accounted for.

Puggery. From Hind. *pagrí*, a turban (Yule).

Quiz. In Moore's Life, i. 11, he tells us that his earliest verses were composed on the absurd devotion of the public to an extremely popular toy "very fashionable about the year 1789 or 1790, called in French a *bandalore*, and in English a *quiz*." Even ladies played at it out of doors in the very streets, or, as Moore says, "Went *quizzing* on to show their shapes and graceful mien." This passage is quoted in Notes and Queries, 5 S. i. 452. It is clear to me that *quiz* is precisely the same as *whiz*, just as the Lowland Scotch *quhirr* is the English *whirr*, which is a closely allied descriptive word. Hence the verb to *quiz*, to amuse oneself with another's peculiarities, as with a toy. I believe that quotations for *quiz* must be sought for shortly after 1790. By way of example, see the quotation from Colman's Heir-at-Law in Davies, Suppl. Glossary; the date is 1797. It occurs twice in a play by Holman, called Abroad and at Home, 3rd edit., 1796: we find "what a *quiz* it is" in Act i. sc. 1, and

"my *quiz* of a father" in Act ii. sc. 4. Again, I find "they've the impudence to *quiz* me" in the first scene of False Alarms, by Kenney, a play acted in 1807. I believe the usual story about the word *quiz*, as given in Smart's and in Webster's Dictionaries, to be one of those fictions with which our books of anecdote abound. It assumes that the word *quiz* has no meaning, which is not true; it is obviously of imitative origin. The word *whiz* was used by Surrey. Mr. Smythe Palmer tells me that the assumed date for the above story is 1791, whereas the word, according to Moore, is at least a year older. If there is any truth in the story, all that Daly did was to extend the use and vogue of a pre-existent word. We are not bound to believe that he really *invented* the word.

Rancho, Ranch, a rude hut. (Span.—O.H.G.) This word is in common use in Mexico and California, and frequently appears in American books, in which it is sometimes cut down to the shorter form *ranch*. Thus, in Bret Harte's poem called An Idyll of the Road, we find the lines:

> "Thar woz a snipe—like you, a fancy tourist—
> Kem to that *ranch* ez if to make a stay."

It is obviously borrowed from the Span. *rancho*, a mess, or set of persons who eat and drink together, also a free clear passage. The *ranchos* or rude huts are used for herdsmen or farm-labourers who lodge there, and mess together, which explains the reason for the name. The etymology of the Span. *rancho* is doubtful; but Minsheu's Span. Dict. (1623) gives an older sense of the word, viz. 'a ranke, an order or place where every one is to keep or abide'; also the derivative *rancheria*, with the sense 'a ranke of tents or cabins for soldiers'; whereas Meadows explains the modern *rancheria* as 'a hut, or cottage where labourers mess,' which (as said above) is now the meaning of *rancho* in N. America. There is also a derived verb *arrancharse*, to mess together; as well as *ranchear*, to form a mess, to build huts. Diez derives *rancho* from the F. *ranger*, to array, set in order, our *range*; but it seems to me more likely to have borrowed from the cognate Provençal *renc*, also found in the form *arrenc*, a rank, a row (Bartsch). It comes to much the same thing. All these

words (like the English *rank*, *range*, and even *harangue*) are of Teut. origin; from the O.H.G. *hring*, M.H.G. *ring*, a ring, especially a ring of people; indeed, *rancho* may have been borrowed immediately from the O.H.G. word. This etymology is clenched by the fact that the O.H.G. *hring* also had the meaning of a space in the midst of a ring of people (see Schade); whilst in Span. we find the phrase *hacer rancho*, to make room, to make a clear space, precisely answering to the English expression 'to form a ring.' Monlau, in his Spanish Etymological Dictionary, states that Scheler objects to the derivation given by Diez, and proposes another, which seems to me feeble and uncalled for, viz. from a nasalised form of the syllable *reg-* in the Lat. *regula*, a rule; which he thinks gives a better explanation of the Provençal *renc*, as meaning a row. But we all know that the E. *rank* constantly has the sense of 'row'; and there is no doubt at all that the borrowed E. *rank*, which, in the case of 'a *rank* of soldiers,' means a straight line, is cognate with the native E. word *ring*, which means a circle. Thus it appears that a straight line and a circle are, in language, identical, whatever they may be in mathematics. The idea of 'line,' even in mathematics, is common to both; see Euclid's definition of a circle.

Rate, *verb*, to reprimand. This is short for *arate*, which occurs twice in P. Plowman, and means (1) to rebuke (sin), and (2) to rebuke or reprimand (a person). In one passage, C. xiii. 35, one MS. has *rate*. This *arate* is, after all, merely a variant of *aret*, M.E. *aretten*, to reckon, count, impute, lay to the charge of, indict. Godefroy shews that the O.F. *aretter* was sometimes spelt *aratter*, whence M.E. *araten*. Hence the etymology, as Murray shews, is from Lat. *ad-reputare*; and this is the real (but unsuspected) origin of E. *rate*, verb. I find: "*Raiter, reter*, accuser"; Roquefort.

Rum. In my Notes on Etymology, read before the Society on Nov. 6, 1885, I gave the correct etymology of this Barbadoes word, which was communicated to the *Academy* (Sept. 5, 1885, p. 155) by Mr. Darnell Davis. Mr. Davis has since written me a letter, in which he points out that the common name *kill-devil*, by which the same spirit was also

known (as shewn in my former article), is obviously the origin of the French name *guildive*. This strange form is given by Littré, who devotes ten lines to its etymology, and thinks it may have been derived from F. *guiller*, to ferment, and *dive*, a corruption of *diable*; but adds that it is more likely to have been a corruption of a proper name. Littré's guess is not a bad one, as he has got hold of the latter half of the word correctly. He also gives us *guildiverie* as a name for traffic in rum, and *guildivier* for a maker of it. These are manifestly derivatives from the F. word *guildive*, as Littré tells us. This curious use of *guildive* as the French form of *kill-devil* goes far to prove that the E. *rum* is, as Mr. Davis says, a mere shortening of the alternative name *rumbo*, *rumbowling*, or *rumbullion*, the name given to the spirit in Barbadoes.

Sambo, the offspring of a negro and mulatto. (Span.—L.—Gk.) Span. *sambo*, formerly *çambo* (in Pineda's Dict., 1740), signifying 'bandy-legged,' used as a sb. as a term of contempt. The men of an African tribe are called *Samboses* in An Eng. Garner, ed. Arber, v. 95. From the late Lat. *scambus*, representing the Gk. σκαμβός, crooked, said of the legs.

Scabbard. It is necessary to observe that there are two distinct words with the spelling *scabbard*. One is the sheath of a sword, and is derived from the O.Fr. *escauber*, given by Godefroy with this precise sense. The other is a popular corruption of the trade-term *scale-board*, as duly explained in Webster's Dictionary. *Scale-board* is a kind of thin veneer, and is obviously derived from *scale* in the sense of a thin layer, and *board*. Mr. J. Dixon tells me that a *scale-board-cutter* is one who cuts the thin slices of wood of which band-boxes and hat-boxes are made; and he sends me a very apt quotation from Book vii. of Wiseman's Chirurgical Treatises, 1676. Speaking of splints, Wiseman says, "Some of these are made of Tin, others of *Scabbard*, Past-board, and of Wood, sowed up in linen Cloaths. . . . Those of *Scabbards* are apt to bow, and so those of the thickest Pastboard, especially if they chance to be wet." Part of this quotation is in Wedgwood. I think the undoubted etymology of this *scabbard* helps us with the etymology of the older and more

difficult word, and goes far to prove the suggestion which I have already made, viz. that the O.Fr. *escauber* represents a Teutonic form which we may express in English by *scale-berk*, where *-berk* is the same as the latter syllable of *hauberk*. Wedgwood has already shewn that there can be little doubt about the latter part of the word, since we actually find the E. form *scauberke* in the Romance of Merlin, ed. Wheatley, p. 514, l. 16. See further in my Dictionary. Thus the sense of *scabbard* is precisely 'a protection formed by thin slices of wood,' which well describes what we may suppose the primitive *scabbards* to have been. I conclude that the older word *scabbard* was a *scale-berk*, and that the later word *scabbard* is a *scale-board*.

Stalk, verb. The A.S. Dictionaries ignore this verb. It is therefore well to note that the compound *be-stælcian* occurs in Sweet's A.S. Primer, p. 83, l. 37. This compound is not in Bosworth.

Tatter-demallion, a ragged rogue. The word is spelt *tatterdimallian* in Howell's Instructions for Forraine Travell, ed. Arber, sect. 6, p. 37, where he speaks of "poore French *tatterdimallians*." F. J. V., in Notes and Queries, 5 S. vi. 306, quotes a passage from Green's *Tu Quoque* [1599], as printed in The Ancient British Drama, ii. 566—"Pah! the Italian fashion! the *tattered-demallian* fashion he means." This earlier quotation exhibits *tattered* as a past participle, which was easily turned into *tatter* because *demallian* began with a *d*. I conclude that *tattered* is used adjectivally, and therefore *demallian* is a substantive. The etymology in Mahn's Webster is, I suspect, wrong. He derives it from E. *tatter*, rag, and F. *de maillon*, said to mean 'of a rag.' Now I am quite clear that we could not have borrowed the whole phrase from French, because *tatter* never was a French word; nor would it have made any sense to borrow such a phrase as *de maillon*, because a man could not have been called in French a *de maillon*, any more than we should call a street Arab an *of-a-rag*. Besides, the authority for *maillon* is Roquefort, a very unsafe guide; and he only gives it as an equivalent of F. *maillot*, a swaddling clout. Cotgrave gives

maillon another meaning, from another root. I suggest, therefore, that *demallian* was a substantive, prob. of French origin, coined from the verb *desmailler* (mod. F. *démailler*), to hack to pieces a coat of mail, and secondly, as Godefroy shews, simply to tear or rend. This verb occurs also in Spanish as *desmallar*, and in Florio's Ital. Dict. as *desmagliare* and *smagliare*. It is derived from the prefix *des-* = Lat. *dis-*, apart; and F. *maille* = Lat. *macula*, a net, a mesh, also a coat of mail. The mod. F. *mailleton*, swaddling-clothes, is from the same source as *maille*, as shewn by Littré. Moreover, Godefroy gives an O.F. verb *desmailloler*, with the same sense as mod. F. *démailloter*, to unswathe, undo out of swaddling clothes. I cannot explain the exact formation of *demallion*, but I strongly suspect that it is, as I said, to be referred to these verbs, viz. *démailler*, to undo the meshes of a thing or to rend; and *démailloter*, to unswathe. I should conclude that a *demallion* meant a person with rent clothes, or with clothes torn off him, and so nearly bare. This agrees with the quotation in Todd's Johnson from L'Estrange, viz. "As a poor fellow was trudging on a bitter cold morning *with never a rag*, a spark that was warm clad called to this *tatterdemallion*, how he could endure this cold weather?" I would throw out the hint that, if my view is right, we may perhaps some day find a quotation for the sb. *demallion* without the qualifying *tattered*. I see great difficulty in taking the *de* to be the French preposition. To conclude, Captain Smith, in 1629, uses the strange spelling *tatterti-mallion*; Works, ed. Arber, p. 864.

Travertine, a kind of white limestone. (Ital.—L.) *Travertine* is a recognized term in geology, used by Sir C. Lyell and other writers. It is merely borrowed from the mod. Ital. *travertino* (Meadows), whence also F. *travertin*, given by Littré. But this Ital. form is itself corrupt, and is philologically interesting for having an inserted *r*. The former *r* is inserted, by anticipation of the *r* in the second syllable. Florio gives the word in the form *tivertino*, explained in the edition of 1598 as 'a kind of stone to build withall'; and Torriano, ed. 1688, gives the same form, with the sense of

'a kind of building marble.' Littré, s.v. *travertin*, also notices its use for building. This older form *Tivertino* represents the Lat. *Tibertinus*, an adj. formed from the place-name *Tibur*, which is the modern *Tivoli*, with a like change of *b* to *v*; and this place is situated, as is well known, not far from Rome, on the river *Teverone*, an affluent of the river *Tiber*. Mahn's Webster gives the correct etymology, but with insufficient detail; and, as usual, without any references.

Troth. I give no earlier quotation than one from Shakespeare, and explain it as a variant of *truth*. But the M.E. form occurs in the Ormulum, spelt *trowwþe*, l. 1350; whilst the same poem has the verb *trowwenn*, to trow, in the preceding line. It is therefore obvious that *troth* (=*trow-th*) is formed directly from the verb to *trow*. Again, I give *trow* as derived from A.S. *getréowian*, *getréowan*, to trust; but the form may be Scandinavian. Cf. O.Swed. *troa* (Ihre), Dan. *troe*, Icel. *trúa*.

Tufa, a kind of soft or porous stone. (Ital.—L.) This is a common term in modern geology, but is a false form. The correct spelling would be *tufo*, and the word is masculine; but English pays no regard to gender, and it has obviously been confused with Lat. *tufa*, a tuft, with which it has no connexion. It was borrowed directly from Ital. *tufo*, a soft or sandy stone; which is itself derived from the Lat. *tofus*, with the same sense, a word used both by Vergil and Ovid. *Tofus* is sometimes spelt *tophus*; and the *o* is long. Liddell and Scott give the Gk. form as τόφος, but without any reference; and here the *o* is short. The origin of the Lat. *tofus* and Gk. τόφος is unknown; it is probable that they are alike of foreign origin, and not indigenous in either language.

Vagrant. I have already pointed out that this word is spelt *vagarant* in Hackluyt's Voyages, i. 490. I have also suggested that it was formed from the verb to *vagary*, used by Cotgrave and Florio in the sense 'to wander,' which seems to be directly borrowed from the Lat. *uagari*. But I have grave doubts about this matter; I now suspect that the verb to *vagary*, i.e. to wander, was merely influenced in form by this Lat. verb, and I even go so far as to question the reality of the Latin origin of these words. I now believe that the

verb to *vagary* was formed, under the influence of the Lat. *uagari*, from the adj. *vagarant*, which may be a correct spelling. For it seems to me that this *vagarant* precisely represents the Anglo-French *wakerant*, which I have lately found. In Le Livere de Reis de Angleterre, ed. Glover (Rolls Series), p. 126, l. 28, is the sentence—"Deus pelerins . . perdirunt . . . lour dreit chemin, e alerunt *wakerant* ca e la,' i.e. two pilgrims lost their right way, and went wandering or rambling here and there. It is impossible not to be struck with the singular resemblance in form between Hackluyt's *vagarant*, in the phrase 'a *vagarant* and wilde kinde of life,' and the Anglo-French word. *Vagarant* and *wakerant* have both the exact sense of 'rambling,' and the forms are practically identical, as the French *w* easily passed into *v*, and the *k* could be weakened to *g* in such a position. Now this Anglo-French *wakerant* occurs in French also. Roquefort gives two references for it; he says that *wakeraunt* is used to translate the Lat. *uaga*, fem., wandering, in an old translation of Proverbs, vii. 10; and, again, in Jeremiah, xxxi. 22. Of course Roquefort, in his vague way, derives *wakerant* from Lat. *uagus*, but it seems to me obvious that it is nothing of the sort. A man would never go out of his way to use so strange a form when he had the Lat. *uaga* before him; he could have used *vagant* or *vaguant* much more easily. French words beginning with *w* are usually of Teutonic origin; and, though I find no German word which answers to it exactly, I think the G. *wackeln*, to totter or stagger, is sufficiently near. *Wackeln* answers to the Du. *waggelen*, to totter, waddle as a duck (Sewel), and our own word *waggle*. It would be quite intelligible to say that 'two pilgrims lost their way, and went *waggling* about.' Cf. also Wyclif's curious translation of Eccles. xii. 3—"Whan shul be moued the keperes of the hous, and the most strong men *wageren*," where the Vulgate has *nutabunt*. Further, in Ps. cviii. 10, he translates *nutantes* by *wageringe*, and in Hosea ix. 27, he translates *uagi* by *wagerende*. I may add that I have found a third example of the O.F. word, in the phrase 'le laissent li diu aler *waucrant*,' i.e. the gods allow the

world to go wandering about, paying no heed to it. See Chrestomathie de l'Ancien Français, by L. Constans. The Glossary has: "*vaucrer* [marked as a non-Latin word], errer à l'aventure, proprement errer sur mer."

Yet again, in Britton, ed. Nichols, i. 181, I find the expression "de *wakerours* par pays," which Nichols translates "of *vagrants* through the country." And again—"longuement *waucrant* ca et la,' i.e. wandering long here and there; Wavrin's Chronicles, ed. Hardy, i. 33. Ducange gives two examples, both from Froissart, of the infinitive *vaucrer*, under the heading *Vaxare* (though this may be a different word). It is to be noticed that the present participle of the verb seems to have been used as a sb. I do not see how the Latin forms can explain the *r* in the E. word *vagrant*, except on the supposition that it comes out of the infin. *uagari*, and was borrowed immediately. But if it was borrowed immediately, it then becomes difficult to account for the French suffix *-ant*. There is no *r* in the Lat. acc. *uagantem*.

Veranda, Verandah, a covered balcony. There is a most instructive article on the word in Yule's Glossary of Anglo-Indian terms. It is sometimes said to be Persian, but this derivation is challenged. There is a Skt. *varanda*, a portico; but this appears to be quite a late word. The evidence shows that the word is really Portuguese, the Port. word being *varanda*, a balcony. This is the same word as the O.Span. *varanda*, explained by Pedro de Alcala, in 1505, as meaning 'a stair-railing, fireguard, balcony.' The early occurrence of the word in Spanish proves that the word is certainly European. Minsheu, in 1623, gives Span. *baranda*, *varanda*, 'railes to leane the brest on'; which shews that the term is properly applied to a railing breast-high, such as a stair-railing.

Col. Yule is content to shew that the word is European. I think we may go a little further, and connect it with Span. *vara*, a rod, twig, staff, pole, Port. *vara*, a rod. The suffix *-anda* is adjectival, and answers to the Lat. *-endus*, originally the suffix of the fut. pass. participle. See Diez, Gramm. der Romanischen Sprachen, 1858, ii. 352, where he actually instances the Span. *baranda*, railings, as exhibiting this suffix.

I think the original sense of *baranda* was 'railing,' from *bara* or *vara*, a rod, in the sense of 'rail.' Moreover, I think the Span. *vara* may fairly be derived from Lat. *uara*, a forked pole.

Wall-eyed. The derivation of this word from the Icel. *vald-eygðr*, as given in my Dictionary, is proved by the occurrence of the very spelling *wald-eyed* in the Wars of Alexander, l. 608. Its further connection with the more correct Icel. form *vagl-eygðr* is proved by the occurrence of the spelling *wawil-eyid* and *waugle-eghed* in the same, l. 1706.

Windlass. There are two words of this form. I first consider the *windlass* used with a rope. It is explained in my Dictionary as having an intrusive *l*. This is not the right explanation. It is the M.E. *wyndelas*, shorter form *wyndlas*; both these forms occur in the Prompt. Parv., p. 529; and on the same page we have *wyndas* also. Both *wyndel-as* and *wynd-as* are legitimate formations. The latter represents Icel. *vind-áss*, a beam that turns round, from *vinda*, to wind, and *áss*, a beam. The former represents an Icel. *vindil-áss*, not given in Vigfusson, but (as Mr. Magnússon informs me) still in common use in Iceland; where *vindil-* is the stem of the sb. *vindill*, a winder. This *windel* not only occurs in Swed. dialects, being defined by Rietz as the name given to the stick used for turning round a quern or handmill, but even occurs in the M.E. *yarn-windel*, a reel for yarn, in Wright's Vocabularies and in the Prompt. Parv., p. 188. The A.S. word is, however, *gearn-winde*. We hence see that *windlass* is simply short for *windel-ass*, where *windel* is a 'winder,' and *-ass* = Icel. *áss*, a beam. The suffix *-el* denotes the implement, as in *spin-d-le*, A.S. *spin-l*, from *spin*. Now that this *windlass* is thus seen to be as old as A.D. 1440, it is not improbable that the Tudor-English *windlass*, a circuitous track, is nothing but an adaptation of the same word, due to a popular etymology which resolved the word into *wind* and *lace*. If, on the other hand, it be an independent formation, there is still no great difficulty in actually deriving it (as above) from *wind* and *lace*, the old sense of *lace* being a noose or snare (F. *laqs* in Cotgrave, Lat. *laqueus*).

Yokel, a country bumpkin. (E.) In Davies' Supple-

mentary Glossary, we find quotations for this word from Hood, Dickens, and Blackmore; the dictionaries refer us to Kingsley, but suppress the reference. Ogilvie suggests that it may be from the verb to *yoke*, which is not convincing; nor do I think it is right. The meaning of the word is 'bumpkin' or 'simpleton.' I would rather, therefore, connect it with the M.E. *goke*, a fool, which is a Northern form appearing in Reliquiæ Antiquæ, i. 291, where a man who complains of the difficulty of learning to sing says: "I ga gowlende a-bowte, al so dos a *goke*," i.e. I go yelling about like a fool. The form *goke* answers to the Icel. *gaukr*, a cuckoo, Lowl. Scotch *gowk*, a cuckoo, also a fool. But I take the form *yokel* to be native English, from the A.S. *géac*, a cuckoo. I am aware that the A.S. *géac* became *ȝek* in M.E., as shewn by Halliwell; but the double form might easily result from the shifting of the accent in the combination *géa*, precisely as in the case of E. *yore*, from the dissyllabic A.S. *geára*, as compared with E. *year* from the monosyllabic A.S. *géar*. We might thus obtain a form *yokel*, the suffix being adjectival, as in A.S. *þanc-ol*, thoughtful; indeed, there is a trace of the very word *geácol*, in the compound *geácol-módian*, to frighten, subdue, lit. 'to make yokel-minded'; Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, col. 209, l. 18. In fact, Rietz gives us a prov. Swed. *gukkel*, a foolish person, which is precisely the right cognate word. He connects it with the sb. *gog*, a foolish person, but it belongs rather to the Swed. *gök*, Swed. dial. *gauk*, a cuckoo. [I may observe here that Rietz is by no means strong in etymology, and entirely ignores Grimm's Law.] I suggest, then, that the mod. E. *yokel* represents the A.S. adj. *geácol*, cuckoo-like, foolish, from *géac*, a cuckoo; the change of vowel being due to the shifting of the accent caused by the addition of a syllable, as in *geára*, yore, from *géar*, a year.

I must allow, however, that this article is, for the most part, guesswork; and we have to face the fact that *yokel* is unknown to our early literature.

List of the Words Noticed in the Foregoing Article.

amaze, 690.
artichoke, 690.
atone, 690.
botargo, 691.
cannibal, 691.
canoe, 691.
carminative (expelling wind from the body), 692.
chaudron (entrails), 692.
cheat, 692.
cheeta, cheetah (a kind of leopard), 693.
cheroot (a cigar), 693.
chutny (a kind of hot relish), 693.
cobra, 693.
colleen (a girl), 693.
cowry, 693.
creel, 693.
curry (a relish), 694.
dacoit (a robber), 694.
daze, 694.
dich, 695.
dingy (a small boat), 697.
drum, 697.
fake (to steal), 698.
fandango (a Spanish dance), 698.
fat, 699.
fever, 699.
flannel, 699.
fool (in the phr. *gooseberry fool*), 699.
freestone, 700.
hayriff, hairiff, or cleavers (a plant), 700.
hayward (a hedge-warden), 701.
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PHILOLOGICAL TRANSACTIONS,

1885–6–7.

(By W. M. WOOD.)

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PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, Nov. 7, 1884.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were:—1. "Notes on some English Etymologies," by the President. 2. "One word more on Artichoke," by Prince LOUIS-LUCIEN BONAPARTE. 3. "Critical Etymologies," by HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, M.A. All printed in the Society's *Transactions*. The first and third also sent herewith.

Friday, Nov. 21, 1884.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

The paper read was: "On the Neo-Keltic Verb Substantive," by WHITLEY STOKES, LL.D. To be printed in the Society's *Transactions*.

Friday, Dec. 5, 1884.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were:—1. "Pâli Miscellanies," by the Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS. 2. "Remarques sur certaines assertions de M. J. Vinson concernant la langue Basque," by Prince LOUIS-LUCIEN BONAPARTE. Both printed in the Society's *Transactions*; the first also in the *Pali Text Society's Journal*, 1884, and sent herewith.

Friday, Dec. 19, 1884.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

A paper on the Phonetic Theory of English Prosody was read by Mr. JAMES LECKY. He agreed with Prof. Skeat, Mr. Ellis, and M. Pierson in rejecting *routine-scansion*, and in limiting the application of the metrical names (trochee, dactyl, etc.) to relations of quantity. He also agreed with Mr. Sweet's statement of the laws of quantity in English (Proceedings, March 19, 1880), which had not been utilized hitherto by any writer on prosody. The following propositions in the paper were new:—

1. Routine-scansion had been incorrectly described as peculiar to children and the uneducated, or as the result of imitating bad reciters. In reality, its wide prevalence, in other languages as well as English, was due (*a*) to all artistic composition being a departure from familiar prose, and hence having no customary mode of pronunciation; (*b*) to irregular compositions, which, when read aloud naturally, did not realize the designs in quantity and stress which the ear was led to expect; (*c*) to the reader's attention being drawn away from the sense to the sound, and his pronunciation thereby becoming artificial. Only careful phonetic training would eliminate all traces of routine-scansion.

2. The present variety of opinion as to the theory of English prosody was due (*a*) to the treatment of the conventional orthography as a language in itself, much composition being supposed to possess form on account of its printed appearance; though, when read aloud, it was not felt to differ phonetically from prose; (*b*) to the use of the terms *verse*, *rhythm*, *metre*, *line*, *foot*, etc., without defining their phonetic meaning; (*c*) to absence of training in the observation and notation of speech; (*d*) to differences of dialect; (*e*) to the attempt to class together compositions which had no common element, and to find a principle of unity where none existed.

3. Most writers on prosody assumed that quantity was of no importance in English, but that stress must recur at regular intervals of time (*vide* Poe, Sylvester, Ruskin, Rockstro, *passim*). The two theories were contradictory. Regular recurrence of stress was only possible when the total quantity of each successive stress-group was the same.

4. In existing books on prosody the pronunciation was uncertain, as the examples were given in conventional spelling. Prosody necessitated a phonetic notation. Broad Romic used in this abstract.

5. The usual marks for quantity were insufficient. Very long syllables might be denoted by a vertical macron (|), and very short ones by a turned micron (⏑). A circle following a mark to add half, thus: (⏑ °) = (⏑ + ⏑).

6. Signs for silence were needed. The ordinary points were

suitable for the purpose; the full stop for very long silence, the comma for very short, the turned semicolon for medium (⁝).

7. Prosodists assumed that the quantity of an English syllable depended on the number of sounds it contained; that, for example, *ask* was longer than *ass* (*vide* Guest). But in reality these two words were equal in quantity, the (s) being shortened before the (k), and still further shortened when the (k) was followed by a weak vowel as in *asking* (aasss, aassk, aaskiŋ). To the laws of quantity referred to above, it might be added that an initial consonant, an initial weak syllable and a weak syllable followed by a vowel, were all short. English quantity, however, was not wholly positional, but partly significant. Thus an attributive noun was longer than a syllable having no independent meaning. Compare (sanndraid, fladdgeit) with (sandri, ladgitt). These conditions partly explained the immense preponderance of monosyllables in recent formal composition, and the rarity of voiceless consonants at the end of a line. The influence of stress in shortening a syllable was traceable in English vocal music as far back as the time of Pelham Humfrey and Purcell.

8. The rules hitherto adopted by prosodists for the position of the stress-mark were impracticable. Stress could not be marked either before or over or after the vowel, because strong syllables containing no vowel were found in at least one English dialect, besides foreign languages. Nor after the consonant, when the preceding vowel was short, because strong short vowels were found in the final position in French. Nor after the syllable, the terminal point of which was often obscure. But the initial point of a syllable was always discoverable, because there the discontinuity of stress, which caused syllabification, occurred. The proper place for the mark of stress was therefore *before* the syllable. This rule was employed by Mr. Melville Bell and M. Pierson, but without assigning reasons. It had been arrived at independently by the present writer.

9. The signs for degrees of stress hitherto used in prosody were inadequate in number and shape. The following were systematic and extensible:—

(ˈˈ) very strong, (ˈ) strong, (-) medium, (ˌ) weak, (ˌˌ) very weak.

10. In English prosody, hitherto, the use of the vertical stroke to divide lines into feet or sections, seemed to have no bearing on quantity or stress, and to depend on no definable or intelligible principle. To place the stroke *after* the strong syllable (which might be long or short) effaced whatever equality of length might exist between successive feet or sections, thus:—

3	5	2	6
ˈðə ˈwes	ˈtənn ˈweivz	ˈəv ˈeb	ˈiŋŋ ˈdei
the wes	tern waves	of ebb	ing day

This confusion would be avoided by taking the strong syllable as

beginning the foot, and putting weak initial syllables before the stroke as an anacrusis, thus:—

1	4	4	4	3
ðə	westənn	weivzəv	ebiŋŋ	dei

The foot then became identical with the *stress-group*. This principle was adopted by M. Pierson and by M. Gevaert. It could be applied in the simplest way by omitting the vertical lines and the marks of strong stress and employing spaces instead, as in Mr. Sweet's prose notation. The only exceptions to this rule of strong beginning, were in the cases of syncopation of quantity and stress, explained below. See Nos. 15, 16.

11. The usual classification of feet as *ascending* and *descending* arose from confounding quantity with stress, and from ignoring the distinction between the foot and the *phrase*. A foot could not begin without stress; a phrase might; but either might begin with a short syllable.

12. The technical meanings of *verse*, *rhythm*, *metre*, might conveniently be restored. *Verse* implied the division of a composition into *lines*. The line was identical with the grammatical *sentence* or with the *clause*; also with the phonetic *breath-group* or a constant fraction of the same. In prose, the length of clauses was irregular: in verse, the length of lines was equal or proportional. Exact proportion could not be measured by the ear; it was enough to have a less degree of irregularity than in prose. Length or quantity depended on time; the same length of line might result from different numbers of syllables or of stress-groups. The limits of the line were marked to a slight extent by alliteration at the beginning and rime at the end; but chiefly by a pause either after or on the last syllable. But if the lines were run together and the pauses came at irregular intervals of time, the effect of verse was lost to the ear. The phonetic line frequently overlapped the orthographic. The following showed the natural division of a passage from Tennyson's *Ulysses*:—

'ðə | loŋŋ | dei | wein | nz,
'ðə | slou | muwn | tlaim | mz,
'ðə | dijp | mounz | raunnd
'wið | meni | voisiz |

In the original text it was divided thus:—

> The long day wanes: the slow moon climbs: the deep
> Moans round with many voices.

13. *Rhythm* meant the division of a passage into *feet* (stress-groups) of proportional length. This did not require each foot to contain the same number of syllables nor any proportion of quantity to exist between the syllables within the foot. Rhythm might also exist without verse.

14. *Metre* was caused by the division of the stress-group into

pulses of equal length. The time occupied by a syllable might be a multiple or a fraction of that occupied by the pulse. This required some proportion of length to exist between successive syllables. Contrary to received opinions, even this condition was sometimes realized in English, as shown by the fact, that a stress-group might have a *ternary* effect when only containing *two* syllables, and a *binary* effect when containing *three*. The following lines from Browning's *Johannes Agricola* and from Swinburne's *Erechtheus*, furnish examples of each kind:—

ternary: ðət | baddzən | bluwmznə | sijksth | nou——
that | buds and | blooms nor | seeks to | know——

binary: stroŋŋ | wɔsets | hænntəðə | saiðənðə | farouzteik | faiəfrəmiz | fijt
strong | war sets | hand to the | scythe, and the | furrows take | fire from his | feet

Thus metre, rhythm, and verse were all dependent on proportions of quantity or time, marked off by pauses or by variations of stress.

15. Varieties of metre were caused (*a*) by altering the division and coalescence of pulses, as in passing from dactyl to anapest:—

ən | deitlisðə | deitəvauə | bijiŋŋ
and | dateless the | date of our | being

(*b*) by altering the number of pulses into which the stress-group was divided (substitution of triplets in binary metre, and of duplets in ternary). A figure should be put before the exceptional stress-group, showing how many of the *previous* pulses it contained, thus:—

'ənəv | strijmzənðə | 2daakbijond | rijtʃiŋŋ
'and of | streams and the | dark beyond | reaching

(*c*) by joining the end of one foot and the beginning of the next under one syllable. This was the syncopation of quantity. See (wein|nz, tlaim|mz) under No. 12, above.

16. Varieties of rhythm were caused, (*a*) by altering the phrasing from *basic* (beginning with stress) to *anacrusic* or conversely:—

basic: |henssinə | sijznəv | kaam | weðə,
anacrusic: 'ðou | innlænd | faawij | bij

basic: |Hence in a | season of | calm | weather,
anacrusic: 'Though | inland | far we | be

(*b*) by altering the position of the cesura; (*c*) by altering the length of line; (*d*) by altering the number of stress-groups into which lines of the same length were divided; and (*e*) by the discord of rhythms, namely when medium stress fell on the initial syllable

of the group and strong stress on some other syllable. This was the syncopation of stress. Example from Swinburne:—

'fəəst | -þiŋ 'fəəst | bənəðə | blækkpluwmd | naittwəzə
| winndeg | hætʃtinəə | buzəm

'First | -thing 'first | born of the | black-plumed | night was a
| wind-egg | hatched in her | bosom

17. Notice had also to be taken of varieties of speed. By these processes many apparent irregularities could be brought under rule. In English, much variety of speed, metre and rhythm was tolerated; a new system sometimes beginning with each phrase, and lasting only for three or four feet. Many compositions had no regularity of length in either syllables, feet or lines, and were only distinguished from prose by peculiarities of quality, such as alliteration and rime. This ambiguous species, neither metre, rhythm, verse nor prose, might be called *Recitative*, following a suggestion of Mr. R. H. Hutton (Essay on M. Arnold's poetry). Below this, again, was mere orthographic verse, in which form might depend on the number of syllables or of stress-groups in the line; the patterns aimed at by the writer not being perceptible to the hearer. This irregular composition was probably due to the imitation of earlier work, which might have been rhythmical and metrical as pronounced two or three hundred years ago, and had only lost its quantitative form through the transformations of the spoken language in later times. Hence a theory of English prosody should not be based on Tudor verse, the pronunciation of which was still uncertain. Of modern verse, the lyrical was most likely to have escaped archaistic influence, and to embody present feeling as to phonetic form. In English this feeling was weakened by conventional and orthographic tradition, as shown by the rejection of such rimes as *morn* and *lawn*, and the admission of such as *dove*, *prove*, *rove*.

18. The usual statement that classical prosody did not depend on stress, required explanation. The grouping of syllables into metres was only possible by means of stress, and very different metres could be made out of the same quantities by altering the point where the stress fell. The sensation of equal feet would not result from the recurrence of stress at irregular intervals cf time. But in classical metre, the ictus was probably artificial, displacing the natural prose stress, which latter did not appear to influence quantity. M. Pierson had shown, contrary to the usual assumption, that iambic and anapestic metres were not always stressed on the last syllable.

19. No systems of theory were likely to influence the practice of versifiers, except unfavourably. The only useful application of the science, then, was to provide a simple, literary notation for all the kinds of phonetic material employed in prosody.

Friday, January 23, 1885.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

This being the annual "Dictionary Evening," Dr. J. A. H. Murray, as editor of the Society's English Dictionary, gave a report of its progress during the past year.

Dr. Murray said that it was with mixed feelings he rose to address the meeting. On the one hand he had the pleasure of announcing that he had come to an arrangement with the Delegates of the Oxford Press, by which he was to remove to Oxford in a month or two, in order to be able to give his whole time to the Dictionary; on the other hand he regretted that the continual distractions and interruptions he had been exposed to during the last three months had prevented him from preparing a formal report.

As regards progress, he was actually in B, copy up to *baffle* being already in the printers' hands. But to bring out two parts a year, which the Delegates expected him to do in future, he and his assistants would have to work three times as hard; in fact he did not see how they were to get through it at all without a good deal of volunteer help from outside. The subeditors were nearly all at work still, including four of the original ones, Messrs. Anderson, Brown, Sheppard, and Smallpeice. Among the others he mentioned Messrs. Beckett, Bousfield, Miss Brown, Messrs. Britten, Brandreth, Elworthy, Fitzgibbon, Fayers, Gregor, Hulme (whose name, to Dr. Murray's great regret, was accidentally omitted in the preface to Part I.), Henderson, Miss Haig, Jacob, Lyall, Lloyd, Morris, Mount, Mrs. Pope, Löwenberg, Schrumpf, Sweeting, Tyndall, Warner. It had been found necessary to re-edit part of the work of some of the earlier subeditors, and this task had been undertaken by Messrs. Mount, Gunthorpe, Brackebush, and Rossetti. Among the readers were mentioned Messrs. Helwich (who had thoroughly worked that important Northern text, the *Cursor Mundi*), Brushfield, Henderson (with 2400 slips), Kingsmill, Whitwell (who was reading the Statutes of the Realm), Major (who regularly sent his 50 slips a day, up to his recent sudden death, which was a great loss to the dictionary), Randall (a regular contributor), Gray (who undertakes the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, etc.), Furnivall (who goes on constantly), Pierson (of Michigan, U.S.A.), Boyd (of Mass. U.S.A.), Britten, Hulme, In answer to a question of Dr. Weymouth, Dr. Murray stated that five-sixths of the whole material had been subedited. Some of this sub-editing had been done very well; much would require to be done over again. He would be very glad of more volunteer subeditors and re-subeditors.

Dr. Murray then proceeded to discuss some of the interesting and difficult questions that had turned up in connexion with his work during the last few months. The end of A was particularly difficult, and there were many difficulties in B as well. Nothing, for instance, was certain about the origin of *bachelor*, and until its etymology was known, it was impossible to classify its meanings satisfactorily. Some of the most troublesome words were *as*, *ask*, *at*, *back*, on account of their numerous shades of meaning: *as*, *ask*,

at have respectively 57, 53, 34 subdivisions, and take up 8¼, 7, 3½ columns.

as is a weakened form of *also* (Old English *eal-swā* literally 'all so'), which first appears in relative clauses.

ask is remarkable for the variety of its forms, some pure English (*oksi*, *axe*), others due to Norse influence (*easkien*, *ask*, etc.).

asparagus appears about 1600, also in the aphetized form *sparagus*, which was soon made into *sparrowgrass*, still surviving as *grass* in cookery books; the original form *asparagus* was considered pedantic in the 17th cent.

ass. Not used depreciatorily till the Renascence, probably from the influence of Greek fables; before that it was known only as a Scripture animal.

assets from *assez* 'enough:' *avoir assez* = "have enough to meet certain claims.'

assist. The sense of 'to be present,' now considered a mere imitation of Modern French, is tolerably old, and certainly original.

assize is a very difficult word. Its ultimate source is Latin *assidere*. It denoted: (1) sitting of a legislative body, then the decree of such a body, ordinance, appointment, and then specially ordinance respecting weights and measures, whence price, standard, dimensions, whence our 'size;' (2) trial, judicial inquest, periodical sessions, whence our 'assizes.'

at home. It is remarkable to find how old this modern-looking substantive is; it occurs in Horace Walpole's diary, in 1745.

atmosphere was originally applied to the gross air immediately round the earth, vapours, fogs, etc.

atom was once a measure of time, = $\frac{1}{6}\frac{1}{4}$ of a second.

atone. There can be no doubt of the origin of this verb from *at one* in such phrases as 'we two are now at one,' *i.e.* 'reconciled.' It was a favourite word in theology, where it developed its later meanings of 'propitiate,' 'expiate.'

auburn, from Latin *alburnus*, originally meant 'whitish,' and its present meaning seems to be due to confusion with 'brown,' in the spelling *awbroun*, etc.

azure originally meant deep ultramarine; its common sense of 'light blue' is probably due to its application, as 'sky-blue,' to the faint blue of the Northern skies, which are not 'azure' in its original sense.

avoirdupois. The older and correct form of this word is *aver de pois*, literally 'merchandize of weight,' that is, goods sold by weight.

aureole. This word is often used very loosely. It should be restricted to the gold disk round the head of the early painters.

avoid was originally transitive: 'to avoid things out.' Its sense history was parallel to *evacuate*: to 'evacuate the garrisons from a town' is the original construction of which 'evacuate the town' is a later reduction.

Dr. Murray would be glad of help with the etymology and origin of *babe*, *baboon*, *bachelor*, *badge*, *badger*, *bad*, *baffle*, *bail*, *ball*, *bait*, *bale* of dice, *bate* (burning of).

Friday, February 6, 1885.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

The Rev. M. J. Elliott, Mr. J. M. de Zubiria, and Mr. H. Bradley were elected members of the Society.

The paper read was: "Old English Contributions," by HENRY SWEET, M.A.

1. The E. verb *reck* 'care' is generally referred to an O.E. *rēcan* cognate with O.Saxon *rōkian*, etc., but what we really find is *reccan* pret. *rohte*, *reccileas* appearing in one of our oldest texts, the Corpus glossary. *recan* appears three times in the Pastoral, but in two of these cases the second *c* is added above the line, so it is doubtful whether *rēcan* survived in historic O.E. The explanation seems to be that *rēcan* was confused with *reccan* = 'direct,' 'recount,' etc.; compare our 'take account of,' etc.

2. O.E. *bilewit* 'simple' seems to have had a long *i*, for there are no forms with *eo*, and Orm writes *bil-whit*, so the word is probably to be explained as meaning 'white of bill,' applied first of all to young birds, and then metaphorically to simple and innocent people.

3. The M.E. feminine suffix *-ild* in *maþelild* 'chatterer,' *gruc-child* 'grumbler,' etc., can only be explained by the O.E. names in *-hild*, which surviving mainly in the poetry, would easily suggest such parodies as *maþelild* of *Mǣþhild*, etc.

4. The so-called 'palatal-umlaut' in Mercian and Northumbrian *hēh*, *berht* = W.S. *hēah*, *beorht*, is probably due to the guttural quality of the following consonant, which was thus able to absorb a preceding guttural vowel. The labial *f* seems to have had the same influence in *hwerfan*, which is the regular representative of W.S. *hweorfan* in the Corpus Gl. and Vesp. Psalter.

5. The late W.S. *y* for *i* in such words as *hyre*, *hyne*, *ys*, *-nysse*, *hyt*, is apparently due to the want of stress in these words, for we hardly ever find such spellings as *syttan* in accented words. This *y* does not appear before gutturals in such forms as *ic*, *-lic*. It seems to be most fully developed in Western texts, Middle E. Western texts also showing such spellings as *hure*, *hus* (=*his*), *þuse* = 'these.'

In the discussion Mr. Wedgwood called attention to the analogy of French *blanc-bec* to *bilewīt*. Dr. Murray said he thought Mr. Sweet's explanation had been anticipated. Dr. Murray also said he did not believe that the diphthong *eo* in *ceorfan*, etc., ever extended beyond West-Saxon, and that it was simpler to derive *carve* direct from original *cerfan*.

Friday, February 20, 1885.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

The paper read was: "On Old-Irish Declension," by Dr. WHITLEY STOKES.

The process of discovering the true system of the Irish declensions has taken a long time. The native grammarians, not having the help of comparative philology, were hopelessly at sea. Bopp was the first to point out that the aspirations and eclipses of the modern Irish declension are due to the after-action of the old case-endings of the article; and Zeuss, Ebel, Siegfried, Schleicher, Dr. Stokes himself, together with other scholars, gradually cleared up the true relations of the Old-Irish noun-stems to those of the other Indo-germanic languages. The most complete set of paradigms hitherto published is that in Windisch's *Irische Grammatik*, but even it is defective and incorrectly arranged in some respects.

The first part of the paper gave a very complete set of declensional paradigms, in which several Old-Irish nouns and adjectives, which had hitherto been ignored or misplaced, were put under their correct declensions. Among the interesting forms brought forward may be mentioned the vocative sing. of *u*-stems in *-o*, as in 'mi domine *Aido*,' in the Book of Armagh.

The thirty-six extant Gaulish inscriptions, together with the oldest Irish inscriptions in Ogams, were then given in full, with translations and grammatical elucidations, and a summary of the results in their bearing on Old-Irish declension. The relics of the declensional system of the British languages (chiefly collected by Rhys) were then compared, and an exposition was given of the changes which the desinences have undergone in the change from protokeltic to Old-Irish, mainly on the basis of Windisch's paper *Die irischen Auslautsgesetze*. It was now possible to restore with a considerable degree of certainty the protokeltic declensional forms, as far as regards the nouns and adjectives. The following are examples:—

MASC. O-STEMS.

Example: *ballos* 'member.'

	Sing.	*Dual.*	*Plur.*
Nom.	ballos	ballō	balloi (-ī)
Gen.	ballī	ballos	ballon
Dat.	ballū	ballabin	ballabis
Acc.	ballon	ballō	ballūs
Voc.	balle		ballūs

NEUTER STEMS IN O.

Example: *dligeton* 'law.'

	Sing.	*Dual.*	*Plur.*
Nom., acc., and voc.	dligeton	dligetō	dligeta
Gen.	dligetī		dligetan
Dat.	dligetū	dligetabin	dligetabis

MASC. STEMS IN IO.

Example: *cēlios* 'companion.'

	Sing.	*Dual.*	*Plur.*
Nom.	cēlios	cēliō	cēliī
Gen.	cēliī	cēlios	celian
Dat.	cēliū	cēlibin	cēlibis
Acc.	cēlion	cēliō	cēliūs
Voc.	cēlie		

NEUTER STEMS IN IO.

Example: *cradion* 'heart.'

	Sing.	*Dual.*	*Plur.*
Nom., acc., and voc.	cradon	cradiō	cradia
Gen.	cradiī	cradios	cradian
Dat.	cradiū	cradibin	cradibis

STEMS IN I.

Example: *vātis* 'prophet.'

	Sing.	*Dual.*	*Plur.*
Nom.	vātis	vāti	vāteis
Gen.	vātayos	vātayos	vātayan
Dat.	vati	vātibin	vātibis
Acc.	vātin	vāti	vāteis
Voc.	vatis		vāteis

STEMS IN U.

Example: *bitu* 'world.'

	Sing.	*Dual.*	*Plur.*
Nom.	bitus	bitū	bitaves
Gen.	bitavas	bitasas	bitun
Dat.	bitū	bitubin	bitubis
Acc.	bitun	bitū	bitūs
Voc.	bitavas		

Friday, March 6, 1885.

The Rev. Prof. W. W. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were:

1. "Conditions of Onomatopoiia," by the late C. B. CAYLEY, B.A.
2. "On the Revised Version of the New Testament," by B. DAWSON, B.A.

The latter paper has been already issued; the former has been printed in *Modern Thought*.

Friday, March 20, 1885.

The Rev. Prof. W. W. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

The paper read was by H. SWEET, M.A., on "The modern English Verb, with especial reference to *shall* and *will*."

The divergence between the *I shall go* of the 1st pers. and the *you will go, he will go*, of the other persons of the plural, does not seem to have been clearly explained hitherto. The old view that it is the result of politeness is still maintained in Mason's grammar, although it has been rightly rejected by Mätzner.

The difficulty of expressing pure futurity in E. is due to the fact that the original meanings of the auxiliaries are always liable to crop up, as in *I will come as soon as I can*; *you shall see what I am going to do!* It was this difficulty which apparently led the unconscious framers of the modern E. verb to assign these two auxiliaries to different persons. That is, they felt that *I shall go* expressed pure futurity less ambiguously than *I will go*, and conversely in the other two persons. Such is actually the case. We have only to ask ourselves which of two such statements as the following is the surest guide to futurity: *I wish to go to Edinburgh next year*, or *I must go to E. next year*. It is evident that a mere expression of wish need not imply any expectation of its fulfilment in the mind of the speaker, while his statement of an obligation or compulsion involves his belief and that of his hearers that it will be carried out. *I shall* not only suggests the idea of futurity more readily than *I will*, but it also suggests it more abstractly, because we are far more given to enlarge on our wishes than on our obligations, and hence *I shall go*, though not entirely free from the associations of the original meaning of *shall*, yet reduces them to a minimum. In the other persons everything is reversed. We have as little scruple in stating the obligations of others as in enforcing them, so that *you shall go, he shall go*, call forth the idea of obligation, etc., primarily, and that of futurity only secondarily. On the other hand, we do not enlarge much on the wishes of others, because we only know them by more or less uncertain inferences, and even when we feel certain about them, we generally state them in an inferential, dubious, or questioning form: *I suppose you wish to do it*, etc. Hence the bare statement *you will go* hardly suggests the idea of wish or volition at all, and so is excellently adapted to express pure futurity.

On these principles we can explain an otherwise puzzling exception. We say *you will be there, I suppose*, but *shall you be there?* because our ignorance of the will of others makes it perfectly natural to question them about it, so that *will you be there?* primarily suggests the idea of wish, just like *I will go*. Enclitic questions, as in *you will be there, won't you?* keep *will* because they are questions in form only, not in meaning. The use of *should* in *if he should come* is explained in the same way.

Mr. Sweet pointed out another exception, which he thought had not been noticed before. We say *I expect we shall get there first*, but *I expect we three will get there first, I shall be there, so shall we*, but *so we all will*, the rule being that any general quantitative word intervening between *we* and the auxiliary changes *shall* into *will*. The *all*, etc., evidently have the force of a pronoun of the third person, *so we all will* being equivalent to *so all of us will*. An American would say *so shall we all*, where *shall* would be required in Southern English also.

In the discussion this distinction was unanimously rejected, all the members present agreeing that the only form in actual use was *we three shall, so we all shall*, etc. Mr. LECKY, however, said that although he, being an Irishman, was not an authority, he certainly thought Mr. Sweet's statement of current colloquial usage was correct. Otherwise Mr. Sweet's explanation of the distinction between *shall* and *will* was considered satisfactory. Dr. MURRAY stated that in natural Scotch speech *will* was the only auxiliary used, *shall* being purely artificial. Mr. MARTINEAU said that it was desirable that the history of the use of *shall* and *will* in Modern E. should be investigated in detail.

Friday, April 17, 1885.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were:

1. Dr. R. G. Latham's Comments on two letters by the late Dr. Balfour Blaikie concerning two languages on the Niger, read by Prof. R. Martineau.

2. "On the Genders of Animals in English," by Dr. W. Sattler, read by H. Sweet.

This subject has not hitherto been properly investigated by grammarians, because of the fewness of their quotations and the narrow range of their reading, which is besides generally limited to classical writers, who only mention the commonest animals, while little or no notice is taken of the language of common life. In the present paper the attempt is made to collect as many materials as possible from the widest possible range of writings, the names of the different animals, mammalia, birds, etc., being arranged in alphabetical order under the heads of *Fable, Shakspere, Poetry*, and *Prose*. The following are the general results obtained.

As neither sex nor gender is expressed by the article, *any animal* can be spoken of as *it*. This is the case even when *male* or *female* are added: A female camel . . . . *it* was one of the most delicate of *its* species (Chamb. J.). This use of *it* is usual in speaking of the whole species. It is rare in poetry.

In connection with the general expressions *animal, bird, fish*, etc.,

either *it* or *he* is used, while *bird*, when mentioned in connection with *eggs*, etc., is sometimes feminine: An animal sees a man's legs long before *he* sees his face (Buckland). Every bird must hatch *her* own egg (Ray Prov.).

Child, *infant*, *baby* may both in poetry and prose be spoken of as *it*, when the sex is indifferent, otherwise they are either *he* or *she*.

Instead of *it* we find *he* or *she* applied to animals as soon as we take a personal interest in them (Sweet, in Storm's Englische Philologie).

The usual statement that the bigger and stronger animals are made masculine, the smaller and weaker ones feminine, is only partially true; for we find the tiniest creatures, such as bugs and fleas, always spoken of as *he*: There was one bug in the bottle surrounded by many fleas; every flea *he* came near attacked *him* (Buckland). Excepting, of course, such words as *bull*, *cow*, etc., the general tendency is to use *he*, especially with dogs and horses. Cats and hares are commonly feminine, and in vulgar speech, so are many others as well. This is a remnant of 17th century usage.

Words of common gender are frequently distinguished by such words as *he* or *she*, *male* or *female*, birds by *cock* and *hen*.

In the discussion the opinion was expressed that Dr. Sattler had not succeeded in distinguishing between natural colloquial and literary usage; and that there was little use in collecting quotations to show the genders of such rare animals as aurochses and mastodons, in speaking of which an Englishman can only follow the analogy of his usage with regard to familiar animals. But the extraordinary industry he had shown in collecting quotations was duly appreciated, and the hope was expressed that he would publish his paper in Germany.

Dr. MURRAY then made some remarks on the derivation of Old French *blaire* 'badger,' from Low German *blare* 'white patch,' and stated his agreement with Mr. Wedgwood's explanation of *badger* as *badg-ard* 'badge-bearer,' although he was unable to throw any light on the origin of *badge* itself.

Friday, May 1, 1885.

HENRY SWEET, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. ELLIS, Vice-President, read a report on his dialectal work since 19 Nov. 1883, see *Proceedings* for 16 Nov. 1883. Up till 15 Mar. 1884 Mr. Ellis has worked at preliminary matter. He has completed his lists of documents or authorities and informants. He has arranged a new classified Word List, for a comparison of all different dialectal forms of speech, to which all partial word lists would be referred. He has made a complete sketch classification of the 66 dialectal districts into which he divides English, and has

roughly assigned the distinctive phonetic character of each district, and has not only marked their boundaries on the small maps shewn, but has traced them out in words. He has also determined 10 transverse lines, going right across the country, and limiting marked peculiarities of speech. From these and the districts he has formed 58 regions where particular pronunciations prevailed. These lines and regions were explained. On 15 March he had been obliged to re-edit Helmholtz on the *Sensations of Tone*, and hence had only been able to work three days a week at Dialects till 28 Aug. 1884, after which date, till three days ago, he had been obliged to give up his whole time to Helmholtz. But Mr. T. Hallam had been very active in journeying over the country, and had collected a large body of information where it was much wanted. Mr. Ellis shewed the papers he had sent him. In commencing his work Mr. Ellis had met with two difficulties, first from deficiency and secondly from superabundance of material. Of these the latter was the most important from the great length of exposition which it entailed. Finding it impossible to reduce the work at first, Mr. Ellis had determined upon executing it without regard to possibilities of printing, and then when the work was complete to abridge it to the smallest extent compatible with a proper philological presentation of the results. He hoped at the first meeting in May, 1886, to be able to give a more precise intimation of the extent of the work.

Mr. SWEET had been glad to hear that the translation of Helmholtz was finished, and that Mr. Ellis was now able to resume his dialect work. They did not require an exhaustive elaboration of the information collected by Mr. Ellis; in all branches of research it was best to fix a limit to preparation, and so not delay publication indefinitely. This work on the English dialects, together with the English Dictionary, would hand down the name of the Society to remote ages.

Dr. MURRAY was impressed and pleased by the extent of Mr. Ellis's inquiries and the genuine results he had obtained. Mr. Ellis had studied English in its illiterate provincial forms, which was what the younger school of philologists said ought to be done, but did not do themselves.

Dr. FURNIVALL said that Mr. Ellis ought not to allow the development of his book to be checked by any apprehensions about expense. The Philological and English Dialect Societies would be able to afford the printing of 800 pages if necessary.

The second paper was then read by Mr. James Lecky, "On Irish-English Sounds."

Mr. LECKY said that the dialects of English in Ireland were much more numerous and more strongly marked than was usually supposed. The present paper dealt with the educated dialect of Co. Carlow, pointing out the possible traces of Gaelic influence, and comparing the sounds with those of London-English Many of the

results to be quoted were due to Mr. Sweet's suggestions and assistance.

In Irish-English after S, the stops K, T, P lost the breathed off-glide and became like initial G, D, B in London-E., so that *discussed* and *disgust* were identical in quality. In other positions K, T, P, when stressed, were followed by a long breath-glide, forced through a consonant position in the mouth, as the stop was gradually loosened. In G, D, B this consonant-glide was voiced. These glides were sometimes called post-aspirates, but inappropriately, as they were not made by any rustle in the glottis or any vowel resonance in the mouth. Gaelic speakers, in their English, used these glides after S and F as well.

Instead of the English þ, ð, two peculiar stops were used in Irish-English, identical with the Gaelic broad T and D, here written (tt, dd). These sounds were described in a previous paper on Irish Gaelic Sounds (Proceedings, 1883–4, p. xviii); but in addition it was now pointed out that they were formed with partial raising of the back of the tongue, and with a consonant off-glide like the other stops. They were not necessarily dental, much less inter-dental, but might be inverted without losing their essential quality. The back element explained the change of DH into (γ) in Irish-Gaelic. Traces of the slender stops in Gaelic were rare in Irish-English, as (ki'næt), meaning a weak wretch, from Gaelic (*cʃrætt*), spelt *creat*, meaning a corpse, or a shrivelled-looking person.

There were 6 pronunciations of R in this dialect of Irish-English: 1. trilled after broad D, or, when syllabic, after broad T; 2. trilled voiceless after broad T in same syllable; 3. smooth voiceless after K, T, P in same syllable; 4. smooth voiced elsewhere when followed by a vowel; 5. inverted and coalescing with previous vowel when final or before a consonant, as in *are, or, err*, etc.; 6. inverted hitched when the coalescing R is followed by a vowel. In this last form the point of the tongue, in returning to the direct position, scraped along the roof of the mouth. The effect, as in *tārry*=tarred, resembled a stop, but was distinct from that heard in *tardy*; both again differing from *tărry*=stay. There was also a hitched L, as in *early*. These inverteds did not appear to be of Gaelic origin, but would probably all be found in S. Western English.

The broad LL and NN of Gaelic were found in Irish-English, as in *health* and *tenth*, and had the same back element as the broad T and D.

All the vowels were retracted. A low vowel, resembling English (*aa*), occurred only before coalescing inverted R. Words like *halve* had the low-mixed-wide-outer long vowel. The diphthongs (ai, au) had the first element mixed and narrow, like English *err*. Another diphthong (æi) occurred in the single word *aye*=yes. Among distinctions lost in England, but kept in Ireland, the following were quoted: 1. *urn* with the low-mixed-narrow-inner-upper vowel, different from *earn* with the outer form of the same; *world, her, fir, fur, shirt, bird*, have the inner vowel, and *herd, firkin, skirt, birth*,

the outer one. 2. *mourn* with (*oo*), different from *morn* with (ɔɔ). 3. *dazes, candid*, with the mid-mixed-narrow-upper vowel in second syllable, different from *daisies, candied*, with the mid-front-narrow-upper. On the other hand, the London-English distinction of *affect, effect*, was lost in this dialect of Irish-English. The unstressed vowel was often omitted before another vowel, as in (ddæs)=*the ass*; sometimes it represented the word *on* as in ('pudətə'wun 'said) =*put it on one side*. Syllabification was mostly the same as in London-English, e.g. ('notə'toom, 'notə'tɔɔl)=*not at home, not at all.*

The Irish-English sounds were therefore similar to Western English, but with a strong mixture of Gaelic. The influence of London-English on individual speakers of Irish-English might alter the quality of the sounds, but not the number of significant distinctions. It was a common error to regard the dialects of English in Ireland as artificial; a language was only artificial when not spoken with ease and intelligibility. The borrowing of sounds was now recognized by philologists as a natural and not an artificial occurrence, not as the exception, but the rule in the history of languages.

Mr. ELLIS said he had noticed Irishmen pronounce the word *comic* as (komək).

Mr. BRADLEY said that double consonants often became single in Irish pronunciation, as (penaif, sə'moər) for *penknife, some more*. The scale of possible sounds, he thought, was infinitely divisible.

Mr. SWEET said that the widest phonetic distinctions sometimes became obliterated. In one Norwegian dialect, it was impossible to say whether the so-called stopped consonants were not really open, the contact being so slight. Almost infinitesimal distinctions of sounds must however be analyzed and recorded, for they were often the beginning of violent changes. The theoretical sounds assumed in phonetics were arbitrary, but they served a necessary purpose, like lines of latitude and longitude in geography. Mr. Sweet agreed that the change of the Gaelic DH into (ɣ) was inexplicable except as due to the back element in the formation of the broad D. He thought an English phonetician would probably have assumed that the quality of Irish broad T and D was sufficiently accounted for by dentality, which Mr. Lecky had shown to be not the most important element in their formation. This showed the necessity of having the analysis made by a native.

ERRATUM, in p. xvi *ante*, lines 26 and 27 should read as follows:—

1. trilled after broad (dd), or, when syllabic, after broad (tt); 2. trilled voiceless after broad (tt) in same syllable; 3. smooth voiceless after

Friday, May 15, 1885.—Anniversary Meeting.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, M.A., LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting being confirmd, the Prezident stated that the Council recommended the meeting to adopt a Congratulatory Address to its Honorary Member, Dr. Mätzner, of Berlin, on his near attainment of his 80th year, on June 25 next. This Address had been drawn up by Dr. Clair J. Grece, the englisher of Dr. Mätzner's *Englische Grammatik*. It was red by the Prezident, unanimously adopted by the meeting, and in token thereof signd by the Prezident, the Honorary Secretary, and the Editor of the Society's Dictionary. The Prezident undertook to forward the Address to Dr. Mätzner, and the meeting past a vote of thanks to Dr. C. J. Grece for drawing up the Address.

The Trezurer then red his Cash-account for the Society for the year 1884. It was aproovd and adopted by the meeting, and thanks wer voted to the Auditors, Messrs. Danby P. Fry and H. B. Wheatley.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the Council of University College, for their grant of the College rooms, rent-free, for the Society's meetings.

The Prezident then red his paper on "English Etymologies," which has been printed in full, and is sent to members herewith. He stated that the Council had decided that a Biennial Prezident's "Address," with reports from other scholars, should be substituted for the former Annual Address.

The following Members of the Society wer then elected its Officers for the ensuing Session, 1885–6:—*Prezident:* The Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, LL.D., M.A.—*Vice-Prezidents:* Archbishop Trench; Whitley Stokes, LL.D., M.A.; Alexander John Ellis, B.A., F.R.S.; The Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., M.A.; Henry Sweet, M.A.; Jas. A. H. Murray, LL.D., B.A.; Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte.—*Ordinary Members of Council:* Prof. Alex. Graham Bell, M.A.; E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; R. N. Cust, Esq.; F. T. Elworthy, Esq.; C. A. M. Fennell, M.A., D.LIT.; Hy. Hucks Gibbs, M.A.; H. Jenner, Esq.; J. Lecky, Esq.; E. L. Lushington, LL.D.; Prof. R. Martineau, M.A.; W. R. Morfill, M.A.; A. J. Patterson, M.A.; J. Peile, M.A., D.LIT.; Prof. J. P. Postgate, M.A.; W. R. S. Ralston, Esq.; Prof. C. Rieu, PH.D.; The Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.; Fredk. Stock, D.LIT.; H. Wedgwood, M.A.; R. F. Weymouth, D.LIT.—*Trezurer:* Benjamin Dawson, B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.—*Hon. Secretary:* F. J. Furnivall, M.A., PH.D., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

TREZURER'S CASH ACOUNT, 1884.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Trezurer, in acount with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1884 CASH RECEEVD.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To Balanse	27	12	0			
Depozited at Interest	100	0	0			
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.				127	12	0
To Sums receevd in 1884—						
For Arears	14	14	0			
,, Entranse Fees	9	9	0			
,, Subscriptions, 1884	93	9	0			
,, ,, in advanse	2	2	0			
,, Life Compozitions	31	10	0	151	4	0
Excess on Cheques				0	1	6
For Sale of Tranzactions				0	13	0
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By Printing—Austin & Sons Tranzactions, Abstracts, etc.	50	0	0
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Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary	46	18	0
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MAY 8, 1885.

(Signd) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

Friday, June 5, 1885.

Rev. Prof. SKEAT, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were:—

1. "Accent in Sanskrit and Greek," by Dr. R. F. Weymouth.
2. "Analogy as explaining certain examples of Unoriginal *l* and *r*," by Dr. F. Stock.

The latter paper was occasioned by some notes of the President read before the Society on November 7, 1884, on the "intrusive" *r* and *l* in the words "listre, legistre, decretistre, divinistre, sophistre, alchemister, barrister, chorister, roister, cartridge, partridge, treasure, philosopher, coffer, order, Londres, lavender, provender, culprit, bridegroom, hoarse, corporal; could, myrtle, manciple, participle, principle, syllable, treacle, chronicle, canticle." The President had somewhat incautiously declared that no explanation of the *r* and *l* in these words was called for except that they were intrusive. Dr. Stock endeavoured to show how many of these words were the result of fairly obvious analogies. The paper, after distinguishing between the conscious working of analogy and the unconscious operations of phonetic development, and after recognizing the infinite possibilities of analogy, proceeded to point out the most frequent manifestations of analogical influence. These were classed under (A) necessary: mental proximity; and (B) possible: (*a*) formal resemblance, (*b*) numerical preponderance, (*c*) fitness, (*d*) fortuitous influence. Illustrative examples, some taken from recognized sources and others from the Heidelberg dialect, of which the writer of the paper has made a special study, then followed, and the paper closed with a consideration of most of the words enumerated above, in the light of the principles just stated. The words omitted were *listre*, *coffre*, *ordre*, *Londres*, in which the *r* was regarded as phonetically explicable. The words in *-istre* expressing agents were explained as influenced by the analogy of *maistre* and *ministre*, assisted by the frequency of the termination *-stre*—e.g., *nostre vostre*, adjectives in *-astre*. In English, the termination was likely to be still further favoured by the presence of the words signifying agents in *-stere*. The word *perdrix* was traced to fifteenth century *perdris*, and this was explained as a contamination of *pietris* and *perdis*, both of which forms are found in fourteenth-century French. The form *pietris* is the lineal descendant of *pedricem*, a form of *perdicem* with transposed *rd*. The words with unoriginal *l* were similarly explained.

In the discussion Prof. SKEAT said that the principle of analogy was perfectly familiar to him, and that, indeed, he constantly taught it to his pupils, but that in his dictionary and etymological papers he had to insist so much on the necessity of historical treatment and the dangers of guessing that he had allowed analogy to fall into the background.

Friday, June 19, 1885.

Rev. Prof. SKEAT, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were :—

1. "The ultimate derivation of *Essay*," by Prof. Postgate.

Prof. Postgate began with a criticism of the derivation of *Essay* as adopted by Prof. Skeat in his Dictionary from White and Riddle's Latin Dictionary, showing *inter alia* that the Grk. ἐξάγιον from which the original of *essay*, *exagium*, was derived, could not be formed from ἐξ and ἄγω as there supposed. By a chronological investigation it was shown that from the occurrence of the word *exagium* in (*a*) literature, (*b*) on antiquities, it was possibly as old as 312 A.D., and that it was first applied in connexion with the *solidus* of Constantine, which was taken as the standard gold piece, and *exagium solidi* as the standard weight of the coin. ἐξάγιον on the contrary was not established for earlier than Byzantine Greek, the passages in Galen, Dioscorides, and Hero of Alexandria being obviously by later hands. As the word ἐξάγιον denoted the sixth part of 1 oz., in Latin *sextula*, a *solidus* weighing $\frac{1}{72}$ of 1 lb. of gold, a popular etymology turned it into ἑξάγιον, and this again through the numeral sign for 6 being mistaken for the abbreviation of στ appears in the Greek writers on metrology as στάγιον.

The origin of *exagium* is to be sought at home. Both Latin *agere*, and Greek ἄγειν meant properly "to set in motion." The derived meaning of setting a scale-pan or a pointer in motion does not appear among the extant uses of *agere*; but is vouched for by *ex-amen* (ex-ag-men), the moving tongue of the balance, *agīna*, the eye in which the tongue moves, and the derivative *agīnare*, to make one's way rapidly, to turn, to contrive; *agīnātōr*, a petty hawker. *Ex-ag-iu-m* is a formation precisely parallel to *ad-ag-iu-m* from the root *ag* (*agh*), to speak, in *a(g)io* say, etc., and means properly "a weighing to determine something," and then "the weight so determined, the standard weight." The word lived in mediæval Latin down to a comparatively recent period; and instances of it were quoted in various forms, e.g. *exagium*, A.D. 850, 1099; *assazare* Ferrara, 1199; *assagium*, *essagium*, 1355, 1357.

Prof. SKEAT said that he accepted Prof. Postgate's views.

2. "On the Melanesian Languages," by the Rev. J. H. Codrington.

Geographically the languages are remarkable for the wide diversities they present within a very limited area. Their sounds are very unstable, such consonants as *p*, *f*, *v*, interchanging at random, even in the mouth of the same speaker, although there is often a tendency to favour one particular sound. Sound-changes are often the result of mere caprice and fashion, or imitation of neighbouring dialects. In Fiji *p* is rapidly supplanting *v*, which is the correct sound in the written dialect. In one of these languages *f* was introduced instead of *h* by a native speaker merely to show that he

had travelled, and learned a new sound from the dialect of another island. In some dialects we find *ng* interchanging with guttural trilled *r*, *r* with cons. *y*, *r* with *dh* (as in *then*). In some dialects *t*, etc., are pronounced so loosely, that it is impossible to decide whether to call them stopped consonants or not. It is hardly possible to set up any general laws of sound-change between the dialects, and quite impossible in most cases to settle the historical priority of one form over another, or to reconstruct the parent language of the different dialects.

In the discussion Mr. ELLIS said that the contiguity of the dialects was very remarkable. Mr. SWEET said that the looseness of the consonant-system was opposed to the general tendencies of language, and could hardly be original, but was probably a psychological phenomenon—the result of older sound-distinctions having ceased to be significant. Mr. LECKY identified a peculiar form *m* given by Mr. Codrington as a combination of *m* + ŋ (as in *sing*), and found that Mr. Codrington's experience fully confirmed the views of himself and Mr. Sweet that a practical phonetic alphabet ought to be syllabic.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, November 6, 1885.

The Rev. W. W. Skeat, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The paper read was: "Notes on some English Etymologies," by the President. This paper will appear in Part I. of the *Transactions* for 1885–6.

Friday, November 20, 1885.

H. Sweet, M.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were (1): "Notes on Biblical Aramaic, with special reference to Hebrew," by the Rev. Thos. Stenhouse, Ph.D.

Aramaic, commonly called Chaldee, and Syriac form the Aramæan group of the Semitic family of languages. This Aramæan group of dialects was spoken by the peoples inhabiting the territory bounded on the N. by Armenia; on the W. by the ranges of Taurus, Amanus, the rivers Orontes and Leontes, the Libanon and north Palestine; on the S. by the Arabian desert; on the E. by the Euphrates, and north of Irâk Arabi by the Tigris.

The peoples called themselves Aramæans, this name was in use among the Hebrews; the Greeks called them Syrians, shortened from Assyrians (cf. *Nöldeke*, in Hermes, v. p. 442, fol.) This name Syrian was adopted by the Christian Aramæans, when their own name had become among the later Jews synonymous with "heathen"—see the passages cited by *Buxtorf*, sub voc. עַרְמִי, and cf. *Nöldeke*, Z. D. M. G. xxv. p. 116, fol. The same usage is found in the Syriac version of the N.T., where Aramæan is used to translate Ἕλλην and ἐθνικῶς—cf. Acts xvi. 1, xix. 10; Gal. ii. 14. The Arabs called them Nabatæans, cf. *Nöldeke*, loc. cit.

The Hebrews had frequent intercourse with Aramæans—cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 3 fol.; 1 Kings xi. 23, xv. 18; 2 Kings viii. 7, xiii. 25, xiv. 28, xvi. 5, xviii. 26. Aramaic was understood by the higher classes in Hezekiah's time (701 B.C.)—cf. 2 Kings xviii. 26; Is. xxxvi. 11—and occupied the position of a diplomatic language in Western Asia. On the removal of the Ten Tribes, Aramaic-speaking people were among those settled in the cities of Israel. The Jews on their return from Captivity were so closely surrounded by Aramaic dialects that their own language (Hebrew) gradually died out in colloquial use, though still maintaining its position as the sacred language. Aramaic influence may be traced in various books of the O.T. In Daniel, chapters ii. 4*b*—vii. 28, and in Ezra, chapters iv. 8—vi. 18, and chapter vii. 12–26, are written in Aramaic, also one verse in Jeremiah, viz. chapter x. 11, and two words in Genesis xxxi. 47. There are also some Aramaic words and sentences in the N. T.

This dialect may therefore be called Biblical Aramaic. It is the same dialect as that of the Targums; and must be classed as West Aramaic, in opposition to Syriac as East Aramaic. The use of the term "Chaldee" for this Biblical dialect may be traced to Jerome (on Dan. ii. 4), or his Jewish teachers (the Massorah to the Targum Onkelos calls it "the speech of the Chaldæans," on Ex. vi. 5—cf. *Berliner*, die Massorah zum Targum Onkelos, pp. xviii, xix). "Syro-Chaldee" as a name for Palestinian Aramaic may likewise be traced to Jerome adv. Pelag. iii. 1. This term "Chaldee" has unfortunately given rise to the fable that the Jews forgot their Hebrew in Babylon and brought back this "Chaldee" with them to Judea; and has led to the erroneous classification of the dialect as East instead of West Aramaic. The name "Chaldee" arose from a misunderstanding of Dan. ii. 4; as the כַּשְׂדִּים are there said to have spoken אֲרָמִית. "Aramaic" and "Chaldee" were supposed to be identical (cf. *Kautzsch*, Aramäische Grammatik, p. 17 fol.). The Palestinian Jews called all Aramaic (סוּרְסִי) "Sursi," the Babylonian Jews called the language (אַרְמִי) "Arammi." The Aramaic portions of the O.T. are called in the Mishna and Talmud (תַּרְגּוּם) "Targum"; the Massorah to the Targum Onkelos carefully distinguishes between Biblical Aramaic and Targumic Aramaic. In Josephus and the N.T. "Hebrew" is used indifferently for the sacred language and for the colloquial (cf. Rev. ix. 11; Acts xxi. 40, xxii. 2, xxvi. 14; John v. 2, xix. 13, 17). The LXX. always translate אֲרָמִית by *συριστὶ* [in the Prologue to Jesus Sirach *ἑβραιστὶ* denotes Hebrew proper]. In our Authorized Version the language is called "Syrian" or "Syriac"; in the Revised Version "Aramæan" or "Aramaic" is given in the margin—2 Kings xviii. 26; Is. xxxvi. 11; Ezra iv. 7; Dan. ii. 4.

As might be expected in Aramaic written by Jews, Hebraisms occur, e.g. the use of the letter *Sin*: *'ĕlleh* Jer. x. 11; Ezra v. 15 K^{e}th.: Segolate forms of nouns like *mèlekh*, *gèbher*, *'èbhen*; also the verbal forms *hithg'zèreth* Dan. ii. 34, (*'ithg'zèreth* Dan. ii. 45),

yūchal Dan ii. 10, *tūchal* Dan. v. 16 K^{e}th.; the use of the same form in *ū* for the 3 fem. as well as for the 3 masc. plu. perf. (the Massoretes always require *āh* for the fem.). *rāšēhōm* Ezra v. 10, *'enōšā* Dan. iv. 13, 14 K^{e}th. may be mistakes of a copyist. The Hoph'al forms, and Haph'el (for 'Aph'el); the variation ה for א in the fem. sing. of nouns; *īm* for *īn* in the masc. plu. of nouns (a mistake of copyists) are not to be reckoned as Hebraisms. For a list of the foreign words see *Kautzsch*, Aramäische Grammatik, § 64—these are chiefly Persian.

In the change of consonants Biblical Aramaic agrees for the most part with Syriac, as may be seen in the case of the dental sibilants and mutes. Aram. ע=Hebr. צ=Arab. ض, e.g. עֲלַע 'rib'=Hebr. צֵלָע; עֲר 'enemy'=Hebr. צָר, to be connected with the Arabic ضَرَّ 'to injure,' and not with غَارَ 'to glow' (*Kautzsch*); עִיר 'messenger, watcher'=Hebr. צִיר; אַרְעָא 'earth'=Hebr. אֶרֶץ; אָע 'wood'=Hebr. עֵץ 'tree,' this change of ץ to ע has necessitated the further weakening of ע to א in the Aram. word, for an original ע in Aramaic cannot coexist with another ע which corresponds to Hebr. צ or Arab. ض. This rule is more strictly observed in Syriac than in Aramaic, e.g. Syr. ארע 'to meet,' Aram. ערע=عرض—acc. to *Levy*, Targ. Wörterb. sub voc. ערע, this form is found only in the Babylonian Targums, the Jerusalem Targums having the form ארע, Syriac has also the form ערץ 'to meet,' the retention of the ע causing the retention of the צ; so also Syr. אֶלְעָא, Aram. עֲלַע=Hebr. צֵלָע; cf. Syr. אעפא for עעפא=ضعف.—Aram. ט=Hebr. צ=Arab. ظ, but Aram. ט=Hebr. ט=Arab. ط (*Kautzsch*).—Aram. ת=Hebr. (ס) שׂ=Arab. ث, e.g. תּוֹר 'ox'=Hebr. שׁוֹר; תַּלְגָּא 'snow'=Hebr. שֶׁלֶג; תְּלָת 'three'=Hebr. שָׁלֹשׁ; תּוּב 'return'=Hebr. שׁוּב; דִּתְאָא 'grass'=Hebr. דֶּשֶׁא; יְתִב 'sit'=Hebr. יָשַׁב; חַדַת 'new'=Hebr. חָדָשׁ; שְׁת 'six'=Hebr. שֵׁשׁ.—Aram. ד=Hebr. ז=Arab. ذ; but Aram. ז=Hebr. ז=Arab. ز e.g. זַרְעָא 'seed'=Hebr. זֶרַע=Arab. زرع; דְּרַע 'arm'=Hebr. זְרוֹעַ=Arab. ذرع. So דַּבַח 'sacrifice'=Hebr. זָבַח; דְּהַב 'gold'=Hebr. זָהָב; בְּדַר 'scatter'=Hebr. בָּזַר; חַדַיִן 'breast'=Hebr. חָזֶה, this word is according to the change of consonants better connected with Arab. حَذَا 'to sit opposite,' VI. 'to make pairs,' or with خَذَا (خَذِىَ) 'to hang loosely,' 'droop,' than with Hebr. חָזָה 'to divide,' 'see'=Arab. حزى 'to be an augur'; so that חַדַיִן would be the two teats, or that which hangs down and then transferred by a species of synecdoche to the whole breast (cf. *Kautzsch*). *Mühlau-Volck* connects חָזֶה with חָזָה as the breast-bone. *Gesenius* gives חָזָה 'pectus brutorum pr. pars antica, aspectui

patens.' In צדק=Hebr. צדק=Arab. صدق West Aramaic has preserved the emphatic צ, while East Aramaic (Syriac) has weakened it to ז (זדק) under the influence of the soft ד. In the Teimâ inscription the emphatic consonant has been kept in צדקתא.

In Biblical Aramaic a new (present) tense has been already formed by the use of the active participle with the personal pronouns, e.g. הוּא גָּלֵא 'he is revealing,' Dan. ii. 22; מְהוֹדֵא וּמְשַׁבַּח אֲנָה 'I am thanking and praising,' Dan. ii. 23; לָא־חָשְׁהִין אֲנַחְנָא 'we are not careful,' Dan. iii. 16; the pronouns are quite separate and not fused with the verb as in Syriac. The participle is often used with effect to denote a continuous action, e.g. in the common, 'answered and said (were saying),' Dan. ii. 7 al. Another (passive) tense is also formed by the addition of the terminations of the perf. to the pass. part. Qal., e.g. 3 fem. sing. יְהִיבַת Dan. vii. 27; 2 sing. masc. תְּקִלְתָּא Dan. v. 27; 3 plu. masc. יְהִיבוּ Ezra v. 14. Besides this the pass. is expressed by the so-called passive conjugations, and also by the 3 plu. act. used impersonally, e.g. Dan. ii. 30, יְהוֹדְעוּן 'but that they might make known the interpretation to the king,' i.e. 'that the interpretation might be made known to the king'; and even by the active participle masc., e.g. Dan. iii. 4, לְכוֹן אָמְרִין 'to you they are saying,' i.e. 'to you it is said.' Biblical Aramaic possesses an optative or jussive, of which three instances occur, אֱלֵיהֲבַהֲלוּךְ Dan. iv. 16; אֱלֵיהֲבַהֲלוּךְ Dan. v. 10; and without suffix, אֱלֵישְׁתַּנּוֹ Dan. v. 10. It is marked by the loss of the final *Nûn*, and by the omission of the connective syllable *in* before suffixes. These forms occur also in the ancient Aramaic inscription found in Feb. 1884 by Prof. *Euting* at Teimâ in Arabia, viz. l. 14 ינסחוהי and l. 11 יחצן. In Biblical Aramaic the pronoun of the 2 masc. sing. ended in *ā* (אנתה), for which the Massorah always requires אַנְתְּ, and which in Syriac became אַת, though the *Nûn* appears always in writing. Another Q°rê perpetuum is the omission, i.e. non-pronunciation, of the *Yôd* of plural nouns before suffixes, e.g. *malkâkh*='thy kings,' for *malkaik* (*malkaika*); cf. עֲלֵיהּ Dan. iv. 14; קָדָמֵיהּ Dan. vii. 7. In nouns with a fem. termination in the plu. the suffixes are added to this termination directly, without the intervention of the ending of the masc. plu. as in Hebrew, e.g. אֲבָהָתִי='my fathers,' not אֲבָהַתִי. Further, the use of לְ to denote the direct object may be noted, e.g. 'then 'Aryoch brought Daniel (לְדָנִיֵּאל) in haste before the king,' Dan. ii. 25. Great freedom is permitted in the order of words in a sentence. The forms of *h°yā* (to be) with preformative *l* are always imperfect, and are used indifferently for the Indic. or Jussive. They appear to be Assyrian or Babylonian forms, being found on Assyrian inscriptions, and in Mandaic as well as in the Babylonian Talmud; originally, perhaps, these forms had an exclusively jussive force, analogous to the use of *li* with the Jussive in Arabic. On this form cf. *Kautzsch*, Aram. Gr. § 47; *Driver*,

Hebrew tenses, 2nd ed. p. 302; *Nöldeke*, Mandaïsche Gram. § 166; *Sayce*, Assyrian Lectures, p. 91 fol.; *Luzzatto*, Idiom des Thalmud Babli, p. 84.

The word אַזְדָּא (not אָזְדָא), Dan. ii. 5, 8, is the Persian *azda* ='certain,' 'sure' (*Nöldeke*, in *Schrader*, K.A.T. p. 617), an adverb and not a participle, which in the second instance would not give a correct meaning, though a verb אֲזַד='to go away,' really occurs in Aramaic; the word אַדְרַזְדָּא Ezra vii. 23 is a compound of *azda* with *adra* — cf. *Fried. Delitzsch* in *Baer's* ed. of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, pp. vi, vii; and *Kautzsch*, Aram. Gr. p. 63, with the references.—אֲרוּ (אֲלוּ) is not a verbal form, but is connected with the demonstrative root *hâr*—cf. *Philippi*, Z.D.M.G. xxxii. p. 36 n.—כְּנֵמָא Ezra iv. 8, v. 4, 11, is better treated as an adverb compounded of כֵּן and מָא (*Nöldeke*), meaning 'thus,' 'somewhat as follows,' than explained as a verbal form, whether it be taken for כְּנֵאמַר 'as we shall say,' though instances of the loss of ר in this word frequently occur in the Babylonian Talmud, e.g. יִימָא 'he will say,' or Syriac כֵּאמַת for כֵּאמַרְתְּ 'as if thou shouldst say'; or for כְּנֶאֱמַר, Part. Niph., 'as is being said,' a Hebraism; or as derived from the Babylonian *amû* 'to talk,' 'say' (so *Haupt*, der keilinschriftl. Sintflutbericht, p. 29).—לִבְנֵא Ezra v. 3, 13, is an infin. Qal for לְמִבְנֵא, the reading with dagesh in the ב is the best; and the phrase is in most other cases transitive.—מַחֵא Dan. v. 19, Part. Aph. of the verb חֲיָה='preserving alive,' as the context requires, and not מָחֵא, i.e. the Part. Qal of מְחָא='striking,' as is found in some MSS. and edd. This latter is supported by the Vulgate percutiebat and Theodotion's ἔτυπτεν, LXX. is defective. The form מַחֵא is for מַחְיֵא, the *yód* being elided, and the verb treated as an עֹ֫ע, the form מָחֵא is hence perhaps merely due to the desire to compensate for the reduplication of the guttural by a lengthening of the preceding vowel. In Syriac this verb is treated as an עֹ֫ע, and in Hebrew too, e.g. Gen. iii. 22, v. 5, חַי, and Lev. xxv. 36 חֵי. —אַפְּתֹם (אַפְּתֹם) Ezra iv. 13 (the former reading is supported by good MSS. and edd.) is best connected with the old Persian *afdum*, with the meaning 'at length,' 'lastly,' as the R.V. takes it. The word is usually taken to mean 'revenue,' conjecturally from the context (as A.V.), some of the older writers connecting it with Greek τὸ ἀπότομον, or ἀποταμεῖον, or ἀπόθημα.

Dr. *Schultze* in Z.D.M.G. xxxix. p. 47 fol. would read אַפְּתָן as a corruption of the old Persian *apdan*='arsenal,' 'treasury,' which word occurs in Dan. xi. 45 with suffix אַפַּדְנוֹ. The text in this passage of Ezra has suffered from transcribers.

(2). "On the Oxford Edition of the Cath Finntraga," by STANDISH O'GRADY. This paper will appear in Part II. of the *Transactions* for 1885–6.

No. 42.

Friday, December 4, 1885.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

Dr. Richard Lange, of St. Petersburg, was elected a Member of the Society.

Mr. E. L. BRANDRETH gave an account of the words Ho—Holy, which he had sub-edited for the New English Dictionary, under three heads; a few of the instances adduced under each of which were as follows:—

1. *Previous reading for the Dictionary.*—Notwithstanding the mass of material accumulated during some twenty-five years, great additions had to be made before the meanings could be treated in any satisfactory manner. Several words were gone through in alphabetical order, showing that in most cases earlier or later meanings had been added, and also all the quotations required for several meanings of words. 'Ho', 3. Thames waterman's call, all the quotations for which were added by him, from Lydgate, from Peile's Edw. I.; whence, later, were derived 'Calais ho,' 'Spanish main ho,' 'Westward ho,' etc. 8. Calls and cries, all added by him except two under the first head, a. *ho, Naut.* (earliest 1670), on moving anything heavy; b. *ho . . . ahoy*, in hailing a ship; c. (earliest 1671) to urge on horses; d. *ho.* added to street cries; e. in an otter hunt; f. *ho*, also *to ho*, to a dog in shooting; g. *see ho* (earliest c. 1400) on sighting a hare; h. *town ho*, on sighting a whale; i. *tally ho, holla ho*, hunting cries; k. *ho spy, Rowland ho*, cries in games from which also the games derive their names. 'Hoar' *adj.* 7. Mouldy, all the quotations added by him. Hoarse, *adj.* 1. Attribute of the organs of the voice, all by him.

2. *Arrangement of Meanings.*—'Hold' *vb.* The original meaning was 'to tend, feed' (sheep, cattle, etc.). The meanings are grouped under two branches, one including 'watching, guarding, the staying in a place, etc.'; the other 'grasping,' and the great number of meanings that have been developed in connection therewith. 'Holy' *adj.* That given as the first meaning in most dictionaries, 'pure in heart, righteous, etc.,' in the general sense, without any special reference to the Christian religion, is a meaning of much later development. The word was first used for rendering the Lat. *sanctus* in the Christian sense, as applied to the Persons of the Trinity; to the Virgin Mary, patriarchs, saints, martyrs; then, to the pope, bishops, and others holding religious offices. 'Hoar,' *adj.* Special reference was made to an early use of the word, as a frequent attribute of the numerous kinds of trees, and of the stones, noted as marking the boundaries of estates. Such trees were afterwards designated as 'holy trees, gospel trees.' It was thought that 'hoar' had thus acquired some such meaning, besides its no doubt earlier one of 'gray,' as 'old, sacred from use and association.' The same word also in the same sense has helped to form a great many place-names.

3. *Etymologies.*—'Hollock,' a favourite wine of the 16th and 17th centuries, mentioned by G. Gascoigne, Beaumont & Fletcher, Taylor the Water-poet, and others. This is the Spanish *aloque*, which again is the Arabic *nabīz khalūḳī*, i.e. wine of the light red colour of the perfume called *khalūḳ*. For this etymology he was indebted to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte. 'Holt' meant originally 'wood' *lignum*, which is one of the meanings in O.E.; the sole meaning of the Du. *hout*, and the principal one of the Ger. *holz*. It is also the meaning of the cognate O.Sl. *klada*. 'Hog' as applied to a sheep meant originally a castrated lamb. It is so used in Bishop Hatfield's survey in 1350, and has been continuously used in the same sense from that day to the present time. It is also used of a young bullock. This confirms the etymology given by Prof. Skeat, somewhat doubtingly, from 'hack' *vb.*, with reference more especially to 'hog' a swine. 'Hobble' *vb.* This comes from **hobban*, presumed to be a by-form of O.E. *hoppian*, which is thus brought into immediate connection with 'hob' (of a fireplace), the original sense of which was 'projection, unevenness;' and thus shown to be cognate with a Teutonic *hobbón*, from which the M.H.G. *hopfen*, Ger. *hüpfen* is derived by Kluge; and with the Du. *hobben*, *hobbelen*. He is greatly indebted to Mr. C. Stoffel of Amsterdam for much useful information regarding this word and some of its derivatives. 'Hobbly' *adj.*, rough, uneven, said of a road, Du. *een hobbelige weg*, points very clearly to the original sense of the base. 'Hoble,' another derivative, a tool mentioned in Turner's Herbal, is no doubt the same word as the Ger. *hobel*, which again is the O.L.G. *hofel*, *hobbel*. *Hobynatt*, a tool mentioned in an indenture in the reign of Henry VIII., if not a mistake for the Du. *hobbelaar*, a kind of plane, is probably to be referred to the same root as the preceding word. 'Hobbler.' In a table of the forces employed in the siege of Calais in 1350, a certain number of 'hobiners' are mentioned. This is no doubt the original form of the word, and Prof. Skeat's etymology of 'hobby' from the Fr. *hobin* is thus confirmed. 'Hobbledehoy.' He had collected 24 different spellings or forms of this word, the earliest of which is 'hobledehoy' (1540). He thinks that the word may perhaps be a compound of 'hobblede' (*cf.* hobbledygee, with a limping movement, Halliwell), and 'hoyd' (hoyden, hoiden), notwithstanding that no earlier quotation than 1593 of the latter word is as yet forthcoming. 'Hockday,' Hokedai (1250), Howday (1363). What was called 'hokkyng' (1406), referred to as *ludi inhonesti* (1450), which took place on Hockdays, meant binding with ropes men or women, as the case might be, or in one account of recent date, where it is called 'hocktying,' it is said that one day the men tied the young women's ankles, the next they returned the compliment. Thus 'hockday' and 'hocking,' may be from hock *sb.*, ho (1300), hoke (1430), O.E. *hoh*, a heel, hough.

In the discussion, Mr. H. Bradley, with reference to 'holy,' said that the word *hailag* occurred in the Bucharest inscription, which was supposed to be Gothic, where it probably meant *sacrum*

"dedicated" in a heathen sense, and also that in O.N. poetry the use of *heilagr* is such as to suggest that it is not a Christian importation, but a genuine survival from pagan times.

Friday, December 18, 1885.

The Rev. W. W. SKEAT, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The paper read was "On the Runes," by H. SWEET, M.A. This paper will probably appear in Part II. of the *Transactions* for 1885–6.

Friday, Jan. 22, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY made his yearly Report on the progress of the Society's Dictionary, which he edits. He lamented the loss of his able assistant, Mr. Erlebach, and complained of the trouble and waste of time involved in training new assistants. He had not time to settle questions of chronology and the dates of MSS. He named the readers who continued their help to the work, many of whom, like Mr. H. H. Gibbs, Dr. Helvig, etc., had sent in hundreds of slips from Wynkyn de Worde, the "Cursor Mundi," old statutes, etc. Former readers had often taken quotations for only one letter; several authors whose names continually turned up in the *A* slips never appeared in the *B* ones. Many books put down as read had been read only for rare words. American readers read their own authors carelessly. Among modern authors Jowett, Emerson, Hawthorne, Lowell, Leigh Hunt, etc., had hardly been read at all. Spalding's early *Troubles in Scotland* needed reading, and the loan of a copy for that purpose would be very welcome. The modernised editions of the Prayer Book, of Hooker, of the authors in the Parker Society, ruined the spelling and history of such words as *belief*. Modernisation was falsification. The sub-editing of the slips, in preparation for the editor's work, had gone on well: at *B* were Messrs. Mount, Eganthorpe, Apperson, and Henderson, and Miss Brown; at *De*, Mr. Elworthy; at *F*, Mr. Bousfield and Dr. Brackebusch; at *Ha*, Mr. Schrumpf; *Ho-Holy*, Mr. Brandreth had done; at *Hu*, was Mr. Woods; at *Hy*, Mr. Peto; *I-Imp*, the late Miss Westmacott had died while working it; at *I-* were Messrs. Sugden and Preston; at *J*, Mr. Gregor; at *L*, Mr. Hume and Mr. Warner; at *M*, Messrs. Shepherd, Smallpeice, and Lawley; at *N*, Messrs. Hailstone, Phayre, and Pope; at *O*, Miss Haig; at *R*, Mr. Jacob; at *T*, Mr. Sweeting and Mr. Wilson; at *W*, Mr. Beckett and Mr. Tabor; but still more sub-editors were wanted, and readers to hunt out quotations for them. Mr. Bradley had helped with etymologies. The history

of many words in *B* was very difficult, and the development of their meanings more difficult still. Sometimes sixty or seventy groups of quotations for one word in its different shades of meaning had to be brought into the order of that word's development. In Part III. (forthcoming) the verb *be* occupies fourteen columns, of which the histories of the forms alone—*am*, *art*, *is*, *beth*, *ben*, etc.—take eight. The prefix *be-* is the toughest part of the work that has yet been encountered. The two most difficult words are *bear* and *beat*, of his articles on which Dr. Murray read part, noting specially the curious history of the participles *born* and *borne*. Of *bells*, there are nine or ten: four substantives, all distinct, and five or six verbs. Of *bays* there are fourteen: eight substantives and six verbs. The prepositions *behind*, *beneath*, etc., were very hard to work out. An editor had also to look out for traps like *bedaver* (bed-companion = O.E. *beddgefēra*), *beltid*, really bell-tide, or bell-hour, though "*æt VII beltidum*" had been turned by Church historians into seven belts of Paternosters. The *B* slips showed that many words had come into existence far later than was supposed, and that onomatopœia was still a living principle in the language.—On the proposal of the President, a warm vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Murray for his able editing of the Society's Dictionary. In the discussion Prof. Skeat gave an account of how his own Etymological Dictionary had been plundered by recent compilers.

Friday, Feb. 5, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. WHITLEY STOKES read a paper, entitled "Notes on Curtius's *Greek Etymology*, 1879," which was originally intended to supplement the Celtic comparisons in the fifth edition of that work, but was afterwards expanded into a report on the principal Greek etymologies published since 1879 in Germany and France. The notes were arranged in the order of Curtius's 664 articles, and the following extracts from the first moiety are of general interest. 24ᵇ. The Gaulish river-name *Sēquana* is cognate with (*σ*)ικμαῖος and Sanskrit *sēcana*. The modern name *Seine* has descended, not from *Sēquana* (which would have given rise to something beginning with *Siev-* or *Sièg-*), but from *Sēna* (as *veine* from *vēna*), and is cognate with the Irish river-name Σηνος (Ptol. *Geog.* II. 2). From this *Sēna* comes the *Senani* ("Nautae Parisiaci") of the Gaulish part of the bilingual inscription found in Notre Dame, and now in the Musée de Cluny. 29ᵇ. καλέω. The Irish *cailech* (cock, also a man's name) here cited comes, like Welsh *ceiliog*, from *calyāco-s*, the gen. sg. of which occurs, spelt *Caliaci*, on a Gaulish coin and on an Ogmic inscription. 48. The root of Latin *per-cellere* seems

kld, whence in Greek κλάσσω, ἐ-κλάσθην, in Celtic *claideb*, *cleddyf* = Sanskrit *khadga*, where the lingual *d* has descended from *ld*. 79. Besides Latin *cavus*=κοϝος (Latin *av* from *ov* is as regular as Latin *ov* from *ev*), there is an Old-Latin *cohus*, meaning the hollow of the plow-beam. Hence *in-cohare*, *inchoare*, properly to put the pole into the *cohus*. 113. σκεῦος comes, not from √σκυ, but from √*skĕv*, whence also Gothic *skĕvjan* (to go along). *Cf.* τὰ σκεύη "moveables" as opposed to fixtures. 161. The Hesychian φορκόν· λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν, has its reflex in the Irish *brocc* (badger), Welsh *broch*, whence the Anglo-Saxon loan-word *broc*. 189. χέρης has nothing to do with χείρ. It comes from χειρης, χερρης, χερσης, as we see from the compar. χείρων, Aeolic χέρρων = Sanskrit *hrasīyās*, compar. of *hrasva* (short, little), with which Windisch connects Irish *gerr* (short). Sir Henry Maine's remarks (*Early History of Institutions*, 217) on χέρης, ὑποχείριος, and *herus* (better *erus*, from **esus* = Zend *anhu*, lord), require revision accordingly. Irish *olc* (bad) = ὀλιγός, from ὀλγος, is another instance of the connexion of the ideas of smallness and badness. 200ᵇ. Latin *frendere* (properly "to grind," *cf. fabam frendere*) has nothing to do with √χρεμ; it comes from **fredncre*, √*ghredh*, whence English *gri-n-d*, *grist*. 204. The relation between Sanskrit *ánta* (end) and Gothic *andeis* is explicable by Verner's law, if we assume an oxyton *antyá* as the source of the Gothic word. 206. The Latin *verna* does not come from **ves-na* (which would have yielded *vēna*), but from an oxyton *vesiná*, *verinâ*. Other such traces in Latin of a prehistoric accentuation are *vernus* from *veserinós* = ἐαρινός, *hornus* from *dherinós* = θερινός, and *nocturnus* = νυκτερινός. 235. τεύχω (τέ-τευχα, ἐ-τυχ-θην, τε-τεύχαται) comes, in accordance with Grassmann's law, from √θυχ, and is cognate with Anglo-Saxon *dugu*ð, Modern High-German *tugend*. Other instances of this law are πρήθω, √φρηθ, cognate with Anglo-Saxon *brǽdan*, German *braten*, and πέρθω, √φερθ, perf. πέ-πορθα, cognate with Latin *forf-ex*, Umbrian *furfant* (caedunt), Old High-German *partâ* (bipennis, ascia), and in the East Zend *beredu* (durchscheidend, Justi), and perhaps Vedic *bradhna*, in *çata-bradhna*. 248. √τυδ, Latin *tu-n-do*. The Irish *tonn* "wave" (from *tu-n-da*), is cognate. So Sanskrit *bhaṅgi* (wave) and Lithuanian *bangà* from √*bang* (to break) and the English *breaker*. 292. Latin *pĕdo* has nothing to do with πέρδομαι. It comes from **pezdo*, and is cognate with New High-German *fist*, Old-Norse *fisa*, English *fizzle*.

Friday, February 19, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. H. SWEET read a criticism on "Ten Brink's Chaucer Grammar," which will probably appear in the *Transactions*.

Friday, March, 5, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were:—

1. "On the Revised Version of the Old Testament," by B. Dawson, B.A. (Issued separately with this Abstract, and also printed in the *Transactions* for 1885-6, Part I.)

2. "On the Derivation of *God*," by Rev. Dr. R. Morris. Dr. Morris referred the word *god* not to the root *hu* 'to invoke,' contending that the epithet 'invoked one' was far too abstract a one to have been evolved in early times. He referred the word rather to a root *hu* 'to howl,' and explained *god* as originally the name of the thunder-god. He also disputed the received reference of *dyaus*, etc., to a root *div* 'to shine,' which he said had no existence; there is, on the other hand, a root *div* 'to howl,' and he would refer *dyaus* to this root, the original meaning of the word being identical with that he assigned to *god*.

Friday, March, 19, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. Whitley Stokes read a paper on "The Old-Breton Glosses at Orléans." These glosses were discovered in 1877 by the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw (whose learning and generosity Mr. Stokes warmly acknowledged) in a Latin MS. of the tenth or eleventh century, preserved in the library of Orléans, and numbered 193. The chief contents of this codex are the three collections of Irish canons published by Wasserschleben in his *Die irische Kanonensammlung* (Leipzig, 1885). The glosses are 324 in number: but of these no less than 109 are only the beginnings of the words intended by the glosser. These 109 abbreviations do not, of course, add much to our knowledge of Old-Breton; but the remaining 215 glosses are valuable not only from the lexicographer's point of view, but the grammarian's. They were published from Mr. Bradshaw's transcript in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxvi. 425-497.

They have since been printed, with some additions and corrections, by Prof. Loth, of Rennes, in his *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton* (Paris, 1884), where they are mixed up with Old-Welsh, Old-Cornish, and pseudo-Breton words such as *latic*, the first five letters of the Latin *latic(lauiam cla)midem*. M. Loth's additional glosses are *deric*, fol. 40 (gl. dictor mortis erat) and *tinsot*, fol. 52 (gl. sparsit). Of these, the former is a mere misreading of the Latin *clericus*, and the latter is probably a similar error. He corrects Mr. Bradshaw's readings in the following instances: 31, *adinosoi* (gl. inrogauerit maculam), leg. *admosoi*; 51, *gurlimnn* (gl. diliniti), leg. *gurlimun*; 60, *arimnot* (gl. functus est), leg. *arimrot*; 72, *incoint* (gl. quesitus), leg. *incorit*; 76, *eriolim* (gl. editui), leg. *ercolim*; 132, *ol dored* (gl. indago), leg. *ol lored* (following traces, *cf.* Irish *lorg* 'track'); 138, *muntul* (gl. lenticulam), leg. *muncul*, a "slender-necked" vessel; 194, *straal* (gl. calamidis, *i.e.* chlamydis), leg. *straul*, borrowed from Lat. *stragulum*; 210, *bliniun* (gl. tebefacti, *i.e.* tabefacti), leg. *blinion* and *cf.* Sanskrit *glāna*; 220, *gur clut erdirh* (gl. mali euidentis), leg. *gurclut erderh*; 221, *docordomni* (gl. arcemus), leg. *docondomni*; 239 *eindrit* (gl. theoricam), leg. *emdrit*. M. Loth's commentary on the Orléans glosses is largely taken from that in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*; but he has added some explanations which are both new and true. For instance: 19, *co-guenou* (gl. indegena) is not a plural, but a derivative in *avo*, cognate with the *fine* "family" of the Irish Brehon laws, and with Anglo-Saxon *wine* (friend); 93, *testoner* (gl. inebitabili) is=*tu-es-doner*, "qu'on ne peut éviter" (*donet* venire). The *guod-*, *gud-*, in 201, *guodces* (gl. hodio habentes), 126, *gudcoguod* (gl. reprehendi), and 206, *gudnaiol* (gl. erudiens), is equal the two prepositional prefixes *guo* (Irish *fo*, Greek ὑπο) and *od* (=Sanskrit *ud*, Greek υδ in ὕστερος=Sanskrit *uttara*, Teutonic *ut*), which we also find in Old-Irish *fócre* (announcing)= *fo-od-gare*. In support of the connexion (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxvi. 471) of *guiliat* (gl. tonsa) with Latin *vello*, M. Loth informs us that the Bretons still say, not "couper la barbe, mais l'arracher" (*lemel ar barv*). On the other hand, his connexion of *banwes* 'sow' (the fem. of *banw*= Ir. *banbh*), which he writes *ban-wes*, with the Ir. *feis*, is wrong; and he has fallen into other mistakes owing to misplaced confidence in O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary. Mr. Stokes concluded by pointing out the desirability of publishing a definitive edition of the Old-Breton glosses, including three or four unprinted ones to be found in the Cottonian MS. Otho E. xiii. (This paper will be printed in the *Transactions* for 1885-6, Part II.)

Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood read a paper on the derivation of *cad*, *luther* or *lither*, and *ted*. He contested Prof. Skeat's drawing the offensive *cad* from the inoffensive Scotch *caddie*, a "golf-boy, an attendant," and traced it to the Old-English *quad*, *qued*, "evil, evil spirit, demon." *Luther*, *lither*, "bad, pestilent," he connected with Breton *loudour*, "disgusting, dirty," *lous* "impure, infamous," also a name for the stinking badger. *Ted* was rather to be compared with German *zetten*, "to spread hay and flax," than with Icelandic *teðja*, "to spread manure," *taðr*, "manure," and *taða*, "hay."

The root was onomatopoeic, an imitation of the sound of small substances dropping; in Swiss *sättern*, "to sound like a violent shower on a hard surface"; Bavarian *setten*, "to let fall, drop"; *ted* hay or flax." (This paper is issued separately with this Abstract, and will be printed in the *Transactions* for 1885-6, Part II.)

Friday, April 2, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, *President*, in the Chair.

Prof. A. Napier, of Oxford, was elected a member of the Society. The paper read was by Dr. F. Stock, "On the Heidelberg Dialect."

Friday, April 16, 1886.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The meeting passed a resolution of sympathy with the widow and family of the late Dr. F. Stock, of Mill Hill, who was ill when his paper on the Heidelberg dialect was read by Mr. Ellis at the last meeting, and who had died since.

The paper read was by Dr. C. A. M. Fennell, on the "Stanford Dictionary of Anglicized Foreign Words and Phrases."

Examination of Mr. J. F. Stanford's materials has proved that his main object was to provide in a single work such information as would enable any one who pleased to use it to find out the meaning of most foreign words or phrases to be met with in English Literature, and then Mr. Stanford was led on to include words which had once been foreign, but had become English. These views are embodied in the Scheme which has been drawn up for the University. With regard to French and Latin the necessary distinction between English and Foreign could only be come at by an arbitrary method, and the Introduction of Printing has been chosen as the period after which words adopted from French and Latin are to be regarded as Anglicized, while words *adapted* by analogical or other alterations from French and Latin are regarded as English, and therefore not included in the Stanford Dictionary. Some words, such as *accompany*, *accustom*, *ostringer*, *baluster*, seem to make their first appearance in literature in an adapted form, though it is reasonable to infer that they had been adopted much earlier in their native form, but had suffered from the caprices of English talkers before they found their way on to paper. One cannot prove that Caxton's *accompanye* is an exact transliteration of the French *accompagne*, though in many cases it would be difficult to disprove that *ny* did not = Fr. *gn*, and *lli* = Fr. *ll*, as in

billiards. Note Spenser's form *balliards* (not entered in the Soc. Dic. as a subordinate word), which form seems to involve a translation of the *bill-* of Fr. *billard*.

The elastic use of the word 'Anglicized' in the 'Stanford' Scheme and Title is defensible, seeing that very few Englishmen can pronounce foreign words without "making them" to some extent "English in form or character"—to quote Dr. Murray's definition—if pronunciation is to be included under the term *form*. It is so very difficult to draw the line that the term 'Anglicized' may be applied to words and phrases which are pretty generally recognized as necessary for or useful in the expression of English ideas (Dr. Murray's *Denizens* and *Aliens*, and even such of his *Casuals* as are often used).

"Anglicized as to use" is a fair equivalent for Dr. Murray's "Naturalization as to use" (Vol. I. p. ix).

Those rare Casuals which might seem to be excluded by the term *Anglicized* in the 'Stanford' title are just the words which appear to be regarded as especially appropriate to the Stanford Dictionary by Mr. J. F. Stanford and by Dr. Murray and several other scholars. It would then be waste of time to anticipate criticisms on this inconsistency, especially as a judicious selection of these rare *Casuals* ought to constitute a very useful and interesting feature of the work. *E.g.* *agapemone* as a common noun by Jas. Martineau, *Olago* (1649), "The British Amphitrite" (Dryden). That there is room for such a Dictionary as the Stanford is almost proved at once by the fact that Webster and Brewer give *à l'outrance* for *à outrance*, and no Dictionary cites the old Anglicized form "to the utterance."

Treatment of Foreign terms of society and fashion should prove particularly useful, as *ruelles*, *petits soins*, *étourderie*, *partie quarrée*, *bon ton*, *à quatr'occhi*; and of art, as *verd antique*, *antico-moderno*, *anticaglio*, *brio*.

After discussing the broad lines to be followed with respect to the inclusion of rare Foreign words and phrases and the provision of the Scheme which includes words which look like Latin words or retain a distinctive French sound, Dr. Fennell stated that the materials collected for himself supplemented and occasionally corrected the Society's Dictionary, and ought in this respect also to prove a substantial gain to English Lexicography, and gave the following examples. A correct account of *amadavat* got independently of Prof. Skeat; quotations for *animal*, Ben Jonson, *Ev. Man out of his Hum.* II. iii. Wks. p. 110 (1616), "there'll be diuers attempts made against the life of the poore *animal* [a dog];" an instance of the adjectival use more than a century and a half earlier than the Society's Dictionary's earliest instance of the word and with an unique signification—namely Chaucer (1386) *Knts Tale*, 2749 (Tyrwhitt 2751) "The vertu expulsif or Animal | ffro thilke vertu cleped natural | Ne may the venym voyden ne expelle;" also an 18 c. instance of *animal-kingdom*, not to mention an elliptical use of the *plur. adj.* different from those of the *sb.* given in the

Society's Dictionary dated 1610, Ben Jonson, *Alch.* I. i. Wks. p. 607 (1616), "your mineralls, vegetalls, and animalls."—An instance of *amour* = 'love-affair,' dated 1523 in Lord Berner's *Tr. of Froissart*, Vol. I. ch. xiv. p. 202 (1812), "the adventures of amours and of war;" of *amour* = 'intrigue,' an instance dated 1590 in Greene's *Never too Late*, Wks. Vol. VIII. p. 109 (Grosart). On the whole the Stanford materials afford earlier illustrations than the Society's Parts I. and II. for about 20 per cent. of the words with which both Dictionaries deal; but in most cases where in this one particular the Stanford articles have the advantage the words are less naturalized than *animal* and *amour*. For instance *Aegis* in the French form *Aegide* used attributively, 1591 Spens. *Complaints, Muiopotmos*, 321. "Then to herselfe she gives her Aegide shield,| And steelhed speare," etc. [of Pallas]:—*a fortiori* 1702 (Soc. Dic. 1855), "and as (*a fortiori*) we may argue from it:" John Howe, *Wks.* p. 95/1 (1834):—1807 "*A fortiori* they [*i.e.* the ideas] cannot be established in opposition to a religion already prevailing in a country:" *Edin. Rev.* Vol. 9, p. 302:—*abassi* 1634 (Soc. Dic. 1753) "Persian Larrees, Abassees, and *English* Gold . . . are here current:" Sir Th. Herbert, *Trav.*, p. 45 (1677) . . . "Coins at this day used, are the Abbassee, in our Money sixteen pence:" *ib.*, p. 314. This quotation upsets Chambers' statement that the coin was named from Abas II. as he reigned from 1642-1666, succeeding Shah Sesi. The coin seems to be named from Abas I.:—*acharnement* 1756 (Soc. Dic. 1816) "eight Prussian squadrons sustained the *acharnement*, which is said to have been extreme of thirty-two squadrons of Austrians:" Hor. Walpole, *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 37 (1857):—*ad infinitum* 1610 (Soc. Dic. 1678) "Nay, to a thousand, so *ad infinitum*:" B. Jonson, *Alch.*, ii. 1. Wks. p. 619 (1616):—*affidavit* 1609 (Soc. Dic. 1622) "they haue made their *affidauit* against her:" B. Jonson, *Silent Woman*, v. 2, Wks. p. 590 (1616):—*agnomen* 1634 (Soc. Dic. 1753), "Amongst these [Persians] the *Mythra*, (which some make one with the *Cydaris* . . .) was not least in esteem with Kings seeing it gave the *agnomen* to the *Persian* King *Chedor-Laomer*:" Sir Th. Herbert, *Trav.*, p. 145 (1677):—*alias* 1465 (Soc. Dic. 1672) "your councell thynketh it were well don that ye gete an *allias* and a *pluries* that it myght be sent don to the scheryf:" *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. No. 518, p. 217 (1874):—*ambrosia* 1555 (Soc. Dic. 1567) "feigned it to be the sweet Ambrosia and nectar wherewith the Gods are fedde:" R. Eden, *Voyages*, Pref. Sig. a 2vo.:—*araba* 1839 (Soc. Dic. 1845) "driving amid the tall plain trees in *arabas*, drawn by cream-coloured oxen:" Miss Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 6; "gilded arabas, drawn by swift horses:" *ib.*, p. 7:—*bacillus* 1877 (Soc. Dic. 1883) "such definite organisms as hay-*bacillus*:" *Times*, June 18, p. 6/1*c* [This quotation is from the collections of Mr. J. F. Stanford, who has furnished abundant evidence of the frequent use of Foreign words and phrases in newspapers]:—*hymnal* 1537 "Item an Imnall prynted and iiij precessionals of parchement:" Glasscock, *Records of St. Michael's*, p. 127 (1882), this meaning of

the word, which is familiar from the title 'The Hymnal noted,' not being given at all by Webster (1880):—*tobacco* 1573 "In these daies, the taking in of the Indian herbe called 'Tabaco' by an instrument formed like a little ladell, whereby it passeth from the mouth into the hed & stomach, is gretly taken up & used in England:" Harrison, *Chronology* (Harrison's *England*, Pt. I. Bk. 2, New Shaks. Soc. p. liv. Appendix I.) This quotation seems to disprove the popular notion that Raleigh introduced tobacco about 1585. It seems that "the smoke of" is suppressed and that the "instrument" is a pipe.

Dr. Fennell traced *troche* through Holland's *trosche*, *trochische*, *trochisque* to Galen's τροχίσκος; derived *accessory* from Legal Anglo-French; explained *avast* by Oudin's "abasto, *suffisament*;" quoted Minsheu for the Spanish *camisada*; and explained that he regarded *plot* = "conspiracy" as English, the meaning however being affected by *platform* and *complot*, and he apologized for having misled Prof. Skeat as to his view in conversation.

The pronunciation of words wholly or partly naturalized will be indicated as follows:—chagrin (*shagreen*, –˝), champagne (*shampain*, ˊ˝), hotel (–ˊ), bagatelle (ˊ–˝), complot (˝ˊ), parole (–˝), menagerie (*-g-* Fr., –ˊ––), chameleon (*cameeleon*, –˝––), charlatan (*ch-* Fr., ˝––), prestige (*-ige* Fr., –ˊ˝), façade (*-çade* Fr., –˝), envelope (*en-* Fr., ˝–ˊ), potato (–˝ˊ), curaçoa (ˊ–˝).

The collection of materials has proceeded satisfactorily up to the present date, the quality of the slips being very good, as has been illustrated by the specimens given. More help is, however, much to be desired, 1, with respect to the Desiderata, of which the first instalment can be had on application to the Editor (*address*: Trumpington, Cambridge); 2, with respect to old lists of words said to be of recent introduction, such as those given by Puttenham, North, Holland, Dryden, *Spectator*; 3, with respect to the systematic search for new words and phrases in newspapers and periodicals; 4, with regard to the systematic reading of books, especially of those produced between 1470 and 1600 A.D.; 5, with respect to the contribution of any words or phrases likely to be included under the scheme, especially early, rare, or exceptional uses.

Friday, May 7, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. ELLIS, Vice-President, read the following "Report on his Dialectal Work from 1st May, 1885, to 7th May, 1886," here printed at full:—

At last I have the satisfaction of announcing substantial progress in the preparation of my account of the Existing Phonology of the English Dialects, forming Part V. of my Early English Pronunciation. I had, as you are aware from my former reports, distributed English Dialects into six principal Divisions, Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern, and Lowland Scotch. The nomenclature is entirely geographical, for the purpose of avoiding any reference to an historical, which would be mainly a theoretical location of the dialects. Such divisions would be liable to shift. I aim at something permanent, by simply assigning the localities where different modes of speech actually prevail. The record which I wish to furnish will therefore have a value for all time, as the best which, with the assistance of very many co-workers, could be produced for the latter half of the XIXth century.

Now of these six divisions, three are practically completed, and I produce the MS. The third or Eastern division wants a week's work, which could not be accomplished in time for this meeting. When I say that these three divisions are completed, I mean that in the first draft they are ready for press. Of course a very strict and careful revision will be necessary, to reduce the whole to one consistent plan, and not only to curtail redundancies, but possibly to diminish the great bulk by omitting some points which although interesting are of minor importance. The temptations for excursuses are very great and very frequent. I have attempted to avoid unnecessary details as much as possible, and to recollect that much which is interesting to myself, to whom each spot has a history, often a very lengthy one extending over weeks, months, and even years, will probably possess but slight attraction for the user of my book, who wants to pick out the results with the least possible trouble and cares little or nothing about the way in which they were obtained.

The extent of territory which these divisions occupy is shewn in the accompanying maps [these are here omitted because they cannot be published till the book is completed], which I shall explain presently, but as they have had to be drawn very hastily, so late as this afternoon, there must be numerous inaccuracies, and they are only intended to give you a general idea of my distribution of phonetic dialects into districts. In my book all the boundaries are carefully detailed. But before entering upon the results shewn by my map, I wish to explain the method of work by which these results have been obtained and co-ordinated.

METHOD OF WORK.

The first part of my *Early English Pronunciation* was published in Feb. 1869. In discussing the XIVth century sound of I, Y in that part, I had been obliged to refer to dialectal pronunciation, and on p. 277 note 1 of E.E.P. I mention the names of several gentlemen who had supplied me with information. Among them I stated that a lady near Norwich had helped me. This was the beginning of my dialectal work, and as it occurred in 1868, I have really already spent 17½ years in gathering materials. The lady at Norwich, Miss Cecilia Day, daughter of the then rector of Kirby Bedon, near Norwich, dictated to me a series of Nf.[1] words at the meeting of the British Association there in 1868, which were the first pieces of dialect that I attempted to write from actual audition. But even then I had very little conception of the difficulties of the task which have grown upon me year by year as I found the necessity of greater accuracy. Among the list of helpers there mentioned I find the name of Mr. Thomas Hallam, who had already for some time occupied himself with phonetic researches especially in relation to the dialects of his native county, Db. Mr. Hallam subsequently made himself master of my system of writing called palaeotype, which he writes with extreme care and accuracy, and I need scarcely say that with his phonetic knowledge, his power to enter into conversation with labourers without frightening them into refinements of speech, and his many journeys over all parts of m. and s. England, and the great liberality with which he has put his notes at my disposition, he has been a mainstay to my work. Even during last Easter holidays, leaving home on the Thursday and returning the following Tuesday, 27th April, he explored for me the ne. part of Np., e. and w. of Peterborough, s. of Rt. and

[1] The names of counties being very lengthy and cumbrous will be generally abridged to the initial and one other letter in the word. Thus for the English and such of the Welsh counties as are here mentioned, I write Bd. Bedfordshire, Be. Berkshire, Br. Brecknockshire, Bu. Buckinghamshire, Cb. Cambridgeshire, Ch. Cheshire, Cm. Carmarthenshire, Co. Cornwall, Cu. Cumberland, Db. Derby, Dn. Denbighshire, Do. Dorsetshire, Dv. Devonshire, Es. Essex, Fl. Flintshire, Gl. Gloucestershire, Gm. Glamorganshire, Ha. Hampshire, He. Herefordshire, Ht. Hertfordshire, Hu. Huntingdonshire, Ke. Kent, La. Lancaster, Le. Leicestershire, Li. Lincolnshire, Ma. Isle of Man, Mg. Montgomeryshire, Mi. Middlesex, Mo. Monmouthshire, Nb. Northumberland, Nf. Norfolk, Np. Northamptonshire, Nt. Nottinghamshire, Ox. Oxfordshire, Pm. Pembrokeshire, Rd. Radnorshire, Rt. Rutlandshire, Sc. Scilly Isles, Sf. Suffolk, Sh. Shropshire, Sm. Somerset, Sr. Surrey, Ss. Sussex, St. Staffordshire, Wa. Warwickshire, We. Westmoreland, Wi. Isle of Wight, Wl. Wiltshire, Wo. Worcestershire, Yo. York. Similar abbreviations for all other counties, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish. The points of the compass are abbreviated to n.e.w.s. with m. mid, and their usual combinations. In the names of Districts and Divisions, I use: B. border, D. district, E. east or eastern, L. Lowland Scotch, M. mid or midland, N. north or northern, S. south or southern, W. west or western.

The following abbreviations are regularly used in the report as they will be in the book: cs. comparative specimen, div. division, dt. dialect test, pal. palaeotype-d, pron. pronunciation, rec. received, sp. speech, vv. vivâ voce, wl. word list, wn. words noted, Ws. Wessex or West Saxon.

n. of Cb., a district hitherto unexamined, and furnished me with carefully-arranged details, without which I could not have satisfactorily completed my account of the E. div. In the same way he has most kindly filled up numerous blanks by personal observations, which I could not possibly have made myself, and has hence enabled me to map out the country with some degree of completeness. But I am anticipating.

At first I tried collecting such words as were spontaneously offered. But dialect workers, and indeed some philologists, have a strange propensity, due no doubt to our singular orthography, to distinguish a word from its sound. A word with them is a collection of letters which more or less—oftener less than more—suggests the sound to themselves, very roughly, and to others still more roughly or not at all. These letter-groups are then registered, and if they indicate mere mispronunciations, as they are very incorrectly deemed, they are treated with scant courtesy and excluded generally from glossaries. It was therefore difficult to persuade people that what I wanted was not such dialectal words as are not used in received speech, but those very mispronunciations that they so contemptuously rejected. Few could realise the fact that what I wanted was the different phases in each part of the country of words common to all parts. I then tried manuscript lists of words, which soon became intolerable. So Dr. Murray and myself in Sept. 1873 concocted a 'comparative specimen' (cs.), containing, so far as we then knew, all words likely to be useful. I have had the satisfaction of hearing from nearly all parts of the country that "our folks don't speak so." Of course that was intentional. Literary English was adopted, and it was hoped the translator would put it into dialectal English. However this was a task my informants could not accomplish, with rare exceptions. And it is curious with what an instinct many of those who attempted the versions (and I got more than 150 of them) managed to avoid the words or phrases I particularly wanted and put in others which were comparatively useless. Still this was the nucleus of my work. I found however that this cs. was too long. It took two or three hours for me to write from dictation, and I am really surprised that I got so many valuable versions.

Next in Sept. 1877 I got out 'word lists' (wl.), adopting the order and etymologies in Mr. Sweet's 'History of British Sounds,' for I saw that the only way of comparing words was to refer them where possible to these Ws. forms and not by the present promiscuous orthography. I sent out 1650 of these wl. and of 1150 I heard nothing more, though all were stamped for return, and 186 were sent back blank. Of the remaining 314 only 54 were very good, 82 good, 70 middling, which accounts for 206, and the rest were nowhere. Still these lists have been serviceable in many ways, and even the worst filled served in some degree to shew a continuity of pronunciation heard elsewhere. But to fill up one of these lists from dictation, even in the most rapid manner, took two to four hours, and in order to get any result at all, the half loaf

Clough Robinson, and I reduce these, if cs. dt. or wn., to the proper palaeotype (pal.) form as now used, appending the necessary notes, and if wl. or wn., to the systematic form of my classified wl. After this is done for each county, I commence comparing the papers, and on my county maps mark the apparent boundaries of the speech forms. This comparison is much facilitated by the new classified wl. It is by this method that the characteristic forms and the outlines of each district are obtained. The process is very slow, as it is an extensive induction of particulars, but it leaves nothing to the imagination, except in unexplored regions. Incomplete and insufficient documents are here a great help in indicating how far a system of speech extends. But it would be useless to pretend that the lines drawn on the map can be accurate within half a dozen miles. It is only on some particular boundaries that I have been able to get anything like a sufficient number of observations to draw a sharp line of demarcation, as, for instance, in those admirable investigations of Mr. Hallam on the position of the Southern boundary of the pronunciation of *some* as *sŏŏm* (su,m),[1] in itself a most unexpected and hitherto unnoticed phenomenon.

The above points have been dwelt on, because they will serve in some measure to explain the necessarily slow process of constructing such an account of English dialects and their purely phonetic classification, as I propose to give, and therefore I hope will excuse me, especially as I have been frequently interrupted by other studies and private business, for the otherwise apparently inexcusable delay in getting out Part V. I cannot go to press with any part till the whole is complete. It would be absurd to publish anything without the map, and the construction of the map is, in any div., the last thing that can be attempted. The great alterations in my former schemes which my recent investigations have made necessary in the E. div. warn me what I must expect in the very complicated Midland region. But besides all this, the work must be revised and systematised as a whole. The former parts of my E.E.P. have already suffered by being produced in sections, and as the fifth part will constitute a complete treatise by itself, I am most anxious to make it self-consistent. And now if you please I will attempt to shew you what I have thus far accomplished.

PRELIMINARY MATTER.

First let me direct your attention to the map. My preliminary matter among other things contains an account of the 3 borders (B.) and the 10 transverse lines. The first border is the N. to S. B., which passed from Edinburgh with a few sinuosities to the w. of Do., and was the boundary between Saxon on the e. and Celt on the w. about A.D. 580. It belongs to a byegone period, and hence is not marked, but it is useful to remember as explaining to some

[1] Sounds in this report are given generally in a makeshift unexplained orthography, such as ordinary writers employ, corrected by the subsequently pal. letters between ( ), which are known to the readers of E.E.P. Parts I. to IV.

extent the difference between the character of our speech to the e. and w. of that line. The second or Welsh B., the only one marked on the map, is the present separation of English and Welsh, as explained in my paper on the *Delimitation of Welsh and English* in our Transactions. It may be continued to Ireland, to cut off the se. corner of County Wexford. It is indicated by a thick line to the w. of England and s. of Wales. The third or Highland B. belongs to Scotland. Of the 10 transverse lines which run across England from sea to sea, and form important distinctions of speech, only three occur in the map. They are marked by small encircled numbers 1, 2, 3, at their extremities on the sea, and occasionally during their length.

Line 1 marks the northernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sum* (səm, sʌm) or even *som* (som), n. of this line and through the M. counties the sound is *sʊ̈m* (*sʊ*$_1$m). The line begins on the River Dee, passes thro' Sh. Wo. Wa. Np. Hu. and Cb. to pass by n. of Nf. to the sea. I had thought that this would cut off the M. div., and it does so very nearly, but n. Np. and Rt., which are not at all M., lie to the n. of it. I call this the n. *sum* line.

Line 2 marks the southernmost limit of the pronunciation of *some* as *sʊ̈m* (*sʊ*$_1$m). Lines 1 and 2 coincide as far as the se. corner of Sh. Then line 2 sweeps s. by the Malvern Hills, and afterwards, marked by a broken line, passes through s. Gl. and n. Wl., and through n. Ox., cutting off the nw. part of Bu. and joining line 1 again about Thrapston Np. This union of the two lines continues but a little way, and line 2 goes s. again thro' n. Hu. and n. Cb. to Nf., and in Nf. cuts off a very extensive region to the nw. All the border towns on each side of the line have been visited and examined by Mr. Hallam, and the line was drawn by me from his observations. Between lines 1 and 2 there is a mixed region in which not only *sum*, *sʊ̈m* (səm, *sʊ*$_1$m) are heard, but also various mixtures of them and not unfrequently *som* (som). Hence I call line 2 the s. *sʊ̈m* line, and the intermediate district I term the mixed *som* region.

This incursion of *ʊ̈* (*ʊ*$_1$) on the land of *ʉ̈* (ə), as it appears, is really the contrary. The whole country s. of the s. *sʊ̈m* line 2, once said *sʊ̈m* (sʌm) or (*sʊ*$_1$m)—of the difference of these two sounds it will be more convenient to speak in my next report, which will begin with the M.—and it is really the part s. of line 2 which has changed, by a process perhaps similar to that now heard in the mixed *som* region. To this change, which has extended so widely, and which we meet again in L., no exact date can be assigned, but it probably did not begin before the xvth century. The present prevalence of deep *ʉ̈* (ɤ) in place of fine *ʉ̈* (ə) to the s. of line 2 may be one of the intermediate forms passing from *ʊ̈* (*o*, o) which have been evolved in the transition.

One important consequence for our investigation is that the change of *sum* to *sʊ̈m* (ɤ) to (*ʊ*$_1$) does not affect the dialect, and can be at most considered as a local variety. At first I had been led to consider the change *sum* to *sʊ̈m* as a marked difference of

dialect. The discovery of the *som* region has entirely changed my opinion, and got over an immense difficulty in Np.

Line 3, which I term the reverted *ur* (ɹʀ) line, is the w. n. and e. limit of the regular S. mode of producing the *r* by reverting the tongue so that its tip points to the throat and the underpart comes opposite to the palate. This makes the central upper part of the tongue concave instead of convex to the palate, and the effect is very remarkable. A milder form, which Mr. Goodchild advocates, is produced by simply retracting the tongue (ɹ,) and the *r* of Mr. Bell and Mr. Sweet, my *point-rise* (r_o), is only a still further degradation of the same, and not I think of the convex (r). Line 3 commences in the Bristol Channel, passes by Gl. and He. to line 1, which it follows to about Byfield Np. (7 sw. Daventry) and then runs s. to the border of Ox., which (very nearly at least) it follows to the Thames. It then runs along that river to the sea. The reverted *ur* line forms the n. boundary of the S. div., the whole of which uses it in ordinary speech.

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

The three divisions are now easily delimited, the S. contains D. 1 to 12, the W. contains D. 13 and 14, and the E. contains D. 15 to 19. There are three outlying districts in the S., D. 1 in Ireland, D. 2 and 3 in Wales. The first is retained because of its interest as the oldest English colony which maintained itself as English among a Celtic neighbourhood, and has only disappeared by fusion with the much more recent English which afterwards surrounded it. In my first report I dwelled so much on this D. that I now pass it over. D. 2 and 3 are English colonies of about the same date and were considered in my *Delimitation of English and Welsh*, and I also adverted last May to the double use of (sʉm sǝm) in D. 2 in sw. Pm. at the present day. This could not possibly be attributed to a M. encroachment, and the (sʉm) must therefore be a survival. For D. 1 in se. of Wexford, Ireland, my only authorities are contained in Rev. W. Barnes's book on the *Dialect of Forth and Bargy*. For D. 2 in sw. Pm. I am able to give a dt. written by Rev. Joseph Tombs, Rector of Burton (3 n. Pembroke), and another written in his phonetic spelling by Mr. W. Spurrell, of Carmarthen, from the dictation of Mr. Thomas, formerly of Castlemartin (6 wsw. Pembroke), as checked by Archdeacon Edmondes of Warren, close to Castlemartin, and I add a wl. collected from several sources. For D. 3 in the peninsula of Gowerland Gm., I am principally indebted to Rev. J. D. Davies, Rector of Llanmadock, in that peninsula.

The rest of the S. div. D. 4 to 12, with the exception of Sc., is on the mainland. The typical form of S. English is to be found in D. 4, which I call wMS. or western Mid Southern. The way that I treat any such district is as follows. First I give the *Boundaries* in words as accurately as the case admits, shewing the nearest towns and distance from them, so that the line could be traced on any map of England. Here the drawing on the present little map,

which will when complete form part of my book, must suffice. Then I describe the *Area*, in this case all Wl. and Do.; most of Sm. and Gl., the extreme se. of Dv. with small parts of w.Be. w.Ha. and w.Ox. Next I give my *Authorities*. This I do by naming alphabetically according to the counties concerned, also put alphabetically, the names of all the places from which I have received information, distinguishing by * those from which I have personally obtained vv. accounts, by † those from which I have received information by Mr. Hallam always in pal., by ‡ the same from Mr. Goodchild also in pal., by ‖ the same in some systematic orthography, such as glossic (used by Mrs. Parker, and Mr. C. Clough Robinson), or one invented for the occasion but explained, and by ° those which give no clue to their spelling beyond a presumed ability to read the usual orthography and 'the light of nature,' unfortunately the great majority. Only the names of the places are given, because in the preliminary matter there will be a list of all these places for each county alphabetically arranged, preceded by the number of the district to which it belongs, followed by its distance and direction from a place in the county marked in the small dialect map, the name of the person furnishing the information, its nature and other particulars. Sometimes I have several documents of different kinds about the same place, from the same or different people. All this is duly entered. These 'County Lists,' as I call them, are written up in slips as the information comes in. There will also be an alphabetical list of informants referring to the place and county. Two reasons have induced me to be thus particular in indicating the source of my information. First I wished to acknowledge thankfully the trouble that has been taken by my informants to give me what help they could, and also to shew their qualifications for the purpose. Secondly, as by circumstances I have been obliged to rely upon others who may have, and most probably, if I may judge by my own experience, in many instances, from a great variety of causes, actually have appreciated the sounds incorrectly, I wished for my own sake to point out on whose information I relied. The lists are rather lengthy, but that was inevitable. Next I give succinctly the *Characteristics* of the district by which the genus of the dialect is recognised. For instance, for D. 4, I enter on the question of initial (v, z) for ordinary (f, s), giving important lists from Dan Michel of Canterbury 1440, Mr. Elworthy as contained in his paper on the *Dialect of West Somerset* (my D. 10), Rev. A. Law for Wl., and Rev. W. Barnes for Do., so that a complete conspectus of the usage is obtained, and we become convinced that (v, z) initial derived from Ws., and (f, s) initial from Norman words. Afterwards I turn to reverted (R) and its influence on following *t, d, n, l*, converting them to reverted (T, D, N, L), and consider the probabilities of these having been the original Ws. sounds, accounting for the peculiar English 'coronal' (t, d, n, l) as distinguished from the continental (t̠, d̠, n̠, l̠). Then I take Ws. A- in open syllables, which in the n. parts is *ea* (iʊ), sinking in Gl. to *e* (ii), and is in

the s. parts *aia* (éɐ). Next I find that Ws. A′ was normally *ooah* (úa) and has become *eoa, oha, oh* (úɐ, óɐ, *oo*). The treatment of Ws. ÆG and EG as normally (*éi*) with their local varieties is very important. The treatment of the correlated Ws. I′ and U′ as *uy, uw* (ɜ′*i*, ɜ′*u*) or (ɷ′*i*, ɷ′*u*) is dwelled upon. Finally I give the grammatical constructions 'I be a going, I do go, I have adone,' and the use of indistinct *-en* (-ɐn) for him, a well-known remnant of Ws. acc. *hine*, and of the local *utch* (ɐtɻ) for the pronoun I.

This is by way of introduction. I now go into particulars and take the six various forms observed.

I., the typical Wl. form in Wl.—In this I give first the cs. as dictated to me by Rev. A. Law, now Rector of Daunt sey Wl., to whose kindness I am greatly indebted, with a classified wl. containing all the words of that cs. Next comes Akerman's fable of the *Hornet and the Beetle* as pal. by Mr. J. G. Goodchild from the dictation of his stepmother, a native of Chippenham, with numerous notes, followed by a complete wl. also pal. by the same from the same. And finally a specimen and wl. dictated to me in 1879 by Miss Louisa H. Johnson, daughter of the then Vicar of Tilshead (8 sse. Devizes), who was a native and had resided there all her life, about 40 years. I am much indebted to many daughters of clergymen. The above examples give every possible information respecting this typical form.

II.—The Gl. form is illustrated by comparing three cs., (1) a vv. from the Vale and Town of Gloucester by Mr. John Jones, who had known the dialect 50 years; (2) a cs. from Tetbury written in her own spelling by Miss Frampton, daughter of the late Vicar, who answered me such numerous questions that I was able to palaeotype it; and (3) a vv. cs. from Coleford, Forest of Dean, given me in two visits by Mr. R. D. Trotter, native of Newnham (9 sw. Gloucester), one of the most perfect examples I have obtained.

III.—The e. He. form is illustrated by a comparison of three cs., one written by Rev. C. Y. Potts and dictated to me by Mr. Gregg, Solicitor, of Ledbury; another phonotypically written by Mr. Joseph Jones of Hereford from the dictation of Mr. Herbert Ballard of Leighton Court, Bromyard (13 ne. Hereford); and the third written for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper of Blackway, Eggleton, giving the pronunciation by a series of rhymes. The last two were reduced to palaeotype by myself.

IV.—The important Do. form is illustrated (1) by a vv. dt. from Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour of Hanford Hall (4 nw. Blandford), a lady perfectly well acquainted with the dialect, who also obligingly went over a wl. with me; (2) by a comparison between a cs. for Cranbourne (12 ene. Blandford) written by Mr. Clarke, a national schoolmaster, and read to me by Major-General Michel; and a cs. written for me in systematic spelling by the veteran Do. poet and philologist, Rev. William Barnes, of Winterborne Came.

V.—The important Land of Utch, the only part of the s. of England where the old *ich* for I still lingers in the forms *utch, utcheé* (ɐtɻ, ɐtɻii·), which occupies the angular space between the

two railways that converge at Yeovil, is illustrated by a dt. from Mr. George Mitchell, a native of Montacute, and illiterate till 23, but afterwards a Kensington Vestryman, and his former secretary Mr. Price, a Yeovil man, but resident at Montacute from his tenth year.

VI.—The late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman's Axe-Yarty D., or neighbourhood of the two rivers Axe and Yarty, which in fact represents general Sm., is illustrated by a wl. dictated to me by himself, and a cs. and dt. written by him, but pal. by me from his indications, and other documents.

This D. 4 has been thus fully illustrated because of its typical character. It has not been broken into subdistricts because the differences are very minute, and no lines of demarcation could be drawn, so that it was only possible to give illustrations from different parts of this extensive district.

In D. 5, or eMS., that is, eastern Mid Southern, there is a decided falling off of dialect, the reverted *ur* (R) remains distinct, but the initial (z, v) for (s, f) die off eastward. The line of separation between this and the last is consequently indistinct, and is rather arbitrarily drawn from deficiency of information. This D. comprises a small portion of Ox., most of Be. and Ha., all of Wi., and s. Sr. with w. Ss.

I.—The w. Ox. form is illustrated by a dt. originally written by Mrs. Angelina Parker, and pal. by Mr. Hallam partly from her dictation, and afterwards from information gained on a visit to Ox., and by a wl. drawn up from his notes of the pron. of Mr. Brain of Ducklington, a native aged 81. Witney (9 wnw. Oxford) is in the mixed *som* region, Ducklington (2 sse. Witney) is in the pure *sum* region.

II.—The Be. form is illustrated by a dt. written in glossic from dictation by Mrs. A. Parker, whose glossic, as tested during personal interviews by Mr. Hallam, was found to be very good, by a wl. from Wantage, and by part of a cs. for Hampstead Norris, pal. from dictation of W. B. Banting, Esq., Hon. Sec. of the Newbury District Field Club, by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte.

III.—The Ha. and Wi. forms are illustrated chiefly by a cs. dictated to me in 1876 by Mr. Percival Leigh, a native of Scotland, who was transplanted to Winchester when one month old and has known the dialect all his life, but it gives apparently rather a refined form. I have also a wl. for Shorwell (5 sw. Newport Wi.) drawn up from indications furnished by Mr. Titmouse, national schoomaster.

IV.—The s. Sr. and w. Ss. forms are illustrated by a wl. chiefly pal. by me from dictation of students at the Whiteland's Training College, Chelsea, from Ockley (8 sw. Reigate) and Stoke (1 n. Guildford). I may mention that through the interest taken in my investigations by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whiteland's, I have been enabled to take down specimens vv. from many of the students and teachers at the College, generally natives, or at least pupil teachers for some years in the schools of the places illustrated,

and that the information thus obtained has been of the greatest service to me, in covering ground where I had long despaired of getting anything on which I could depend. To the above words from Ockley and Stoke I have been able to add others from Charlwood (6 ssw. Reigate), Wisborough (8 sw. Horsham), and the Weald of Ss. generally.

This concludes my examination of the great M.S. form of speech, the direct descendant of the literary Ws. language in which Alfred wrote and with which I compare all other forms of English. It is, you will have seen, very different indeed from our rec. sp., which therefore must have come to us from another quarter.

We now proceed to a transitional kind of speech which forms the border as it were between S. and M. on the one hand and S. and E. on the other. This splits into three distinct parts, although the lines of separation between them are not well marked.

D. 6 or nBS., that is, northern Border Southern, contains extreme n. Gl., the s. half of Wo., the extreme s. Wa., extreme n. Ox., and sw. Np. In this complicated region, which has given me much trouble and anxiety, I find it best to distinguish three varieties.

I.—The Worcester variety is chiefly illustrated by Mr. Hallam's unwearied work at Abberley, Great Witley, Bewdley, Bengeworth, Eldersfield, Ebrington, Saleway, and Worcester. At Bewdley he interviewed an old woman of 95, and at Eldersfield another old woman of 79. These aged persons are very important to my work.

From Worcester Mr. Hallam was able to give me a dt. from the dictation of a native.

II.—The s. Wa. variety. Here I have not had fully satisfactory information, although Mr. Hallam visited Stratford-on-Avon, for my documents from Butler's Marston (12 s. Warwick) and Tysoe (11 se. Stratford-on-Avon), although good of their kind, had to be pal. from indications. I have some hopes that Mr. Hallam will be able to get to this neighbourhood hereafter.

III.—The Banbury variety. This is illustrated by a cs. written in 1875 by Thomas Beesley, Esq., J.P., native, and pal. by me from his indications and Mr. Hallam's notes of a visit. I have also a dt. from a Whiteland's student, native of Shennington (6¼ w. Banbury), and I am able to give a wl. from Shennington obtained by Mr. Hallam in 1875 from a London policeman, whom the Whiteland's student knew, and whose pron. she confirmed. I have also a long list of words by the uncle of Mr. Beesley before mentioned, which I have pal. to the best of my power by help of Mr. Beesley himself.

This D. 6 shews a falling off of S. characters, but still sufficient remain to make its connection with the S. and separation from M. quite clear. For example, the reverted *wr* (ʀ) generally remains. This is quite gone in the M. div.

D. 7 or mBS., that is, mid Border Southern, contains most of Ox. with a very small portion of Be. It is entirely a region of transition from S. to E. The dial. forms are always uncertain,

and become practically lost towards the s. part. For my knowledge of this region I am indebted to Mrs. Angelina Parker, a native of Handborough (8 nw. Oxford), author of the Ox. Glossary and Supplement, who bestowed great pains upon it, acquiring glossic on purpose. From her I give a cs. and dt. with notes, a variety of phrases and a wl. The Handborough information was also checked by Mr. Hallam, who on visiting Oxford was most kindly received by Mrs. Parker, and afforded every facility of verifying her information.

D. 8 or sBS., that is, south Border Southern, contains extreme se. Be., m. Sr. and extreme nw. Ke., embracing London and its suburbs s. of the Thames. It is the graveyard of the S. dialect. I give all the indications I could obtain, but they are very slight, sufficient however to let us write on the tombstone, "Here lies what once was the Southern dialect." Large towns are pesthouses for dialect. People come from all parts of the country and continually change their domicile. Education is rampant. The artificial speech of literature is the only one not ridiculed. Still in country places some traces may be found of Southernisms, if only in such a phrase as *I be*. At Wargrave Be. (6 ne. Reading) T. F. Maitland, Esq., was able to give me some decided Southernisms vv. I got others in writing from Mrs. Godfrey at Hurley close by, and from the late Rev. R. A. Cannon of Hurst (4 e. Reading). Chobham, Chertsey, Leatherhead, Croydon, yielded practically a negative result. Of course I did not attempt the wilderness of the town itself.

D. 9, on the contrary, or ES. (that is, East Southern) containing Ke. and e. Sr. is distinctly a S. dialect, and very well marked off from D. 5 by a line drawn from the mouth of the Adur in Ss. to the extreme nw. of Ke. It is in the first place a further degradation of D. 5, initial (z, v) having been quite superseded by (s, f). The reverted *ur* (R) remains quite distinctly. But the peculiar character of the district is the use of (d) in place of initial *th* (dh) in *th*is *th*at *th*e *th*ere *th*eir *th*eirs *th*em *th*en *th*ese *th*ose *th*ey. As *th*an *th*ou *th*ee *th*y *th*ine *th*ough *th*us, are not heard in the dialect, we can say nothing about them. Mr. Parish in his glossary indeed asserts that "the *th* is invariably *d*," but this is not borne out by my inquiries. Medial *d* is heard in far*th*ing and fur*th*er, as elsewhere, and perhaps ano*th*er. Final *th* becomes *d* before a vowel in smoo*d* it, wi*d* it, and a*d*in a*d*out, for within without. But this nigger-like *d*-ing of our language is quite recent. Dan Michel 1340 knows nothing of it. In Lewis's *Isle of Tenet* 1736 it is mentioned as universal in the Isle of Thanet, whence it has entirely disappeared, thanks to Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs. Another peculiarity has also developed itself, namely (w) for (v), which uncertainly extends to e. Ss., but is rampant on the e. coast of England as far as the n. of Nf. Three forms are distinguished.

I. e. Ss., illustrated by a wl. from Miss Anna M. Darby of Markly' (15 n. Eastbourne), and another from Rev. W. D. Parish of Selmeston (8 nw. Eastbourne), with vv. wl. from Whiteland's

students from Cuckfield (12 n. Brighton) and Eastbourne, to which are added words from Rev. W. D. Parish's Glossary, Miss Darby, and Miss B. C. Curtis of Leasam (1 n. Rye).

II. m. Ke. is chiefly illustrated by a cs. drawn up by Rev. Henry B. Berin, then of Biddenden (10 wsw. Ashford), and pal. by me from dictation of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq., of Provender, Faversham (9 wnw. Canterbury), who also dictated to me a considerable wl.

III. For the e. Ke. form I am indebted (1) to Rev. F. W. Ragg, then vicar of Wingham (6 e. Canterbury), now of Marsworth Bu. near Tring, who gave me a good wl. for the highlands of Ke., and (2) to Mr. W. R. Stead, head master of the Folkestone Grammar School, who, writing Glossic well, gave me the pronunciation of the Folkestone fishermen, which is rendered in many respects very remarkable by the absence of (d) for (dh), the presence of an occasional French *u* (y), which may be only approximative, in sch*oo*l, s*u*re, t*o* d*o*, l*oo*k, the use of (w) for (v), but not conversely, *oy* (ʌ'i) for I, broad ī (ái) in n*a*me, and other points.

This is the extreme e. development of the S. dialects. We now go w., where a new element meets us, the influence of a Celtic population upon an imported Ws. speech.

D. 10 or nWS., that is, northern West Southern, is in w. Sm., of which you have heard so much from Mr. Elworthy, and will hear more, that I need not trouble you with remarks, except to say that it is illustrated by a wl. cs. and other specimens, all revised from Mr. Elworthy's dictation.

D. 11 or sWS., that is, southern West Southern, takes in Dv. and e. Co. as far as a line drawn, with great difficulty and after much inquiry, from indications furnished by Rev. W. H. Hodge, then curate of St. Gluvias, Penryn, Co. (1 nw. Falmouth), now vicar of Manaccan (6 s. Falmouth)—from Falmouth to Truro and then e. of Perran Zabulo to the sea on the n. coast of Co. The character of speech is the same throughout this region, though it becomes worn out more and more as it approaches the w. border. Its main features are first a sound which approaches very nearly to French *u* (y_1), just as we found in the fishermen's speech at Folkestone Ke., and shall find again in Nf., replacing the Ws. O', and secondly a very remarkable diphthong replacing Ws. U', which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte analyses as French *oeu* in *coeur*, followed by French *u* (œ'y), and Messrs. Baird (Nathan Hogg) and Shelly (of Plymouth) agree with him. My own careful observations on native speakers lead me rather to English *u* in c*u*r followed by the same imitation of the French *u* already mentioned. For the first element the lips are wide open, and then they suddenly dart forward, being greatly projected to form the second element, pal. ($œ'y_1^5$), the stress falling on the first element. But in the word *too* there is a change of stress to the second element, and the pitch rises upon it greatly. Thus in *now too*, we have diphthongs of the same elements, but of totally different character; *now* has stress on the first element and a falling pitch on the second; *too* has a low pitch without stress

on the first element, and then a high pitch with stress on the second element. I experimented on these sounds repeatedly with natives.

In n. Dv. I got a capital vv. cs. from a servant of Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, fresh from Iddesleigh (16 s. Barnstaple), and a dt. from the dictation of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq., a native, who also gave me a large number of words which I have incorporated with the words extracted from Iddesleigh in one wl.

From s. Dv. I have a cs. together with a wl. both relating to Dartmoor n. of a line from Plymouth to Kingsbridge (23 ese. Plymouth), from Mr. J. Shelly, a native of Nf., who has resided 30 years in Plymouth, and especially busied himself with the dialect. He was one of my earliest dialectal correspondents, mentioned in that list on p. 277 of my E.E.P. already alluded to, and I am indebted to him for much assistance during all that time, up to last winter even. He himself identifies the Nf. with the Dv. so called French *u*.

From Devonport I give a vv. dt. obtained from Mr. J. Tenny, a native, and just over the county border a vv. specimen by Mr. J. B. Rundell, of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, also a native of Devonport, representing Millbrook Co. (2 sw. Plymouth), where he lived when young. Mr. Rundell states that he found the dialect at Padstow quite similar. From Co. I give another vv. specimen for Camelford (14 w. Launceston) obtained from a native Whiteland's student, but the dialect was evidently wearing out both as regards Ws. O′ and U′. I add two other Co. dt. written very carefully by national schoolmasters at Cardyn'ham, and St. Columb Major, but I cannot be quite sure of the interpretation I have put on them. This finishes the S. div. proper, on the w. the dialect having fully died out.

D. 12 or wWS., that is, western West Southern, including w. Co. and the Scilly Isles, I include in the S. div. for geographical reasons. But neither of them have a dialect proper. Out of Sc. it has been thoroughly expelled by education. In w. Co. the speech is rather nondescript, and its history has yet to be written. It is amusing from its great variety in different places, from the odd words employed, and from a remnant of the Celtic which was still spoken 200 years ago. How the change occurred I have not learned, but it could hardly have come from the e., as there is scarcely a shadow of Dv. phraseology, pronunciation, or intonation. I give an example of it written for me by Mr. Rawlings of Hayle, and pal. from his dictation in 1876, representing Marazion speech. A long visit to w. Co. and a separate study of each individual place would be necessary to give any proper account of its pronunciation, and for the purposes of my investigation such trouble would be useless, because the speech is certainly a modern mixture, and not one of those hereditary forms in which we are interested.

WESTERN DIVISION.

The W. div. borders on Wales, indeed encroaches on it, and the whole div. was once Celtic, though the e. side has been so long

English that it has acquired a right to be considered dialectal. The w. side, which is a much more recent acquisition from Wales, is barely dialectal, it is rather book English with a peculiar intonation very pleasant to hear, and a few Welshisms of phrase and vocabulary. I have attempted generally only the e. or older English side, but as I found it impossible to run a line between e. and w. I include the latter in the W. div. as I did w. Co. in the S. The boundaries are the Welsh border to the w. and part of the n. *sum* and reverted *ur* lines on the e. It separates into two distinct parts, though it is rather difficult to draw the line between them, which must run by or near the n. border of Rd. right across to Bewdley Wo. (3 wsw. Kidderminster).

D. 13 or SW., that is, South Western, contains the e. of Mo., most of He. and Rd., the e. of Br. and a narrow slip of the s. of Sh. The groundwork is S. English, with all its peculiarities much impaired. The diphthongal forms for Ws. I′, U′, or *uy*, *ow* (ə′*i*, ə′*u*) are mild and practically literary English. A few words, as *uth* (əth) for with, and *frum* (frəm) for ripe, forward, are striking. I am indebted to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte chiefly for collecting specimens of this district from Docklow, Hereford, Lower Bach Farm, and Weobley in He., and Llanover in Mo. Mr. Hallam also visited Lower Bach Farm and brought me valuable information which gave me more confidence in interpreting the other examples. My illustrations are (1) a dt. obtained by Mr. Hallam from the sons of Mrs. Burgiss of Lower Bach Farm (3½ ene. Leominster), (2) some examples carefully written by Mr. Woodhouse of Docklow (5 ese. Leominster and only 2 m. from the last place), (3) a wl. including words obtained by Mr. Hallam from Lower Bach Farm, Hereford, Leominster and Ludlow with the distinctive words given by Mr. Woodhouse; (4) an account of the four peculiar fractures and diphthongs used in e. Br. given me by Mr. Stead, now of Folkestone, but formerly a teacher in Christ's Coll. Br., in such words as i. l*a*me, ii. t*oe*, and the diphthongs for iii. t*i*me, iv. d*ow*n, with analysis and list of words; they are only peculiarly shortened and as it were clipped forms of the common S. representatives of similar words. I also give an account (5) of Mr. Spurrell's Cm. English, which is not dialectal, and (6) of the specimen which Lady Llanover, at Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's request, read to me, and which probably resembles the Rd. as much as the ne. Mo. English.

D. 14 or NW., that is, North Western, contains the greater part of Sh. and a small portion of Mg. This is the dialect which Miss Georgina F. Jackson has made her own and given such an admirable account of in her *Shropshire Word Book*, to which is prefixed Mr. Hallam's elaborate account of the pronunciation in complete glossic, made under her immediate superintendence and from her dictation. The speech is a curious mixture of S. and M. forms. The former is shewn by the use of the *ahy* (ái) forms in such words as m*ai*d, sn*ai*l, WS. ÆG, EG; the latter by the constant use of the M. verbal plural in *-n*, *-en*; the form we b*in* for *we are*, combines the S. *be* with the M. *-n*. The *r* is here quite distinctive, it is always

trilled not only before but after a vowel, although certainly much more weakly in the latter case; it is in fact the convex Welsh (r) and altogether different from the concave southern (ʀ).

For illustrations I give in pal. two specimens from Miss Jackson's Wordbook fully rendered from her dictation by Mr. Hallam in glossic, a short passage which she dictated to me in 1873, and a wl. containing many words I took down from her on that occasion, and all the words given by Mr. Hallam in his account of the pronunciation, which however are there printed in complete glossic, and, like all the rest, are here palaeotyped and differently arranged.

EASTERN DIVISION.

This contains D. 15 to 19, extending over 11 counties. To ascertain anything about the pronunciation of these counties was a work of great difficulty, for though I got my earliest information from Norwich in 1868, and a vv. cs. from Ware in 1876, I got my latest from ne. Np. through Mr. Hallam, since the beginning of this month. For years the territory from London to the Wash remained a blank in my map. And even when I tried to fill it roughly in my report in April 1882, I find I was from insufficient information hopelessly wrong. The reason is obvious. The E. div. represents the country from which our received literary speech was elaborated, and people found so little difference between it and ordinary speech, that they paid no heed to it, or thought that such diversities were vulgarisms, or even imported cockneyisms—the importation having been really in the other direction. If my distribution of Eastern pron. do not surprise you, I shall be still more surprised than I was when a detailed examination of particulars led me to it, gradually and almost unwillingly.

The main character of the E. speech as distinguished from that of all others is its great similarity to the received, and especially to that current in e. London, which is one of its forms. Of course this is modified respecting Ws. U in the n. part, for the n. *sum* line passes through the length of Np. and the s. *sŏŏm* line goes some way into Hu. and Cb. and even Nf., as we have learned from Mr. Hallam's labours. But this makes no change in other respects. The great character in opposition to S. and W. is the loss of *r* or its vocalization after vowels, and its sinking often, if not generally, to the mere imperfect *point-rise* (r_o) without any trill, and with a maimed articulation. But this is not a simple characteristic, for the same habit prevails all along the e. coast of England as far as North Shields in Nb. at least. Even euphonic *r*, or the insertion of an *r* when a vowel follows *ah*, *au*, *ŭ* (aa, ʌʌ, ʊ) as sol-fa-r-ing, saw-r-ing, the idea-r- of the thing! is, I find, not peculiar to the E. div., where it is very marked. I make 5 districts, not very different from each other, but tolerably distinct. The peculiar shape of the counties should be noted; the long wall of Bu. to the w. and of Cb. to the east, resting upon Essex, forming a doorway of which Np., stretching across the top and capped by Rt., is the lintel, while Mi. Ht. Bd. Hu. are loose cobble stones

which block up the entrance, and Nf. and Sf. are part of the wall beyond. That at least is how it has presented itself to me when trying to understand its relations. The solution is mainly obtained by regarding Np. not as an undivided block, but as a series of stones, or, to drop metaphor, not as a simple single dialect, but a congeries of forms. For this we have been prepared by Miss Baker and Sternberg in their glossaries, and the extreme sw. Np. has been assigned to D. 6, which is not E. at all. I have been induced to clip another portion out of w. Np., to make ne. Np. quite different, and the main body or mNp. different again. But it was not till I felt convinced that the change in the pronunciation of *u* for Ws. U, from its S. to its M. form as illustrated by the two pronunciations of *put* (rhyming to *foot* or *nut*), must be disregarded in seeking dialectal relations, and must at most be looked upon as a variety, that I was enabled to incorporate these pieces of Np. with the respective counties to the s. of them.

D. 15 or WE., that is, Western Eastern, contains all Bu. except the little bit on the s. which has no proper dialect, as it lies in the Metropolitan Area. Then I follow the n. border of Bu. as far as about Hanslope (10 ne. Buckingham) and cut immediately across Np., passing w. of East Haddon to the border of the E. division, a little s. of the n. border of Np., but its exact position has yet to be determined by observations along the nw. boundary of Np., as there is reason to suppose that the speech is affected by the neighbouring Wa. and Le., which I shall have to deal with in the M. division. This small included part of Np. will, however, require further examination. The character of D. 15 is so much like D. 7, on which it borders, that I have been fain to take refuge in the county boundary, which of course means ignorance. But a few miles on either side the speech is different. The only point which nearly concerns us is that Ws. A- is represented by a fracture, as (lésm) nearly *lay 'em*, for *lame*.

Bu. is illustrated by an example pal. by me from the dictation of Mr. R. R. Fowler of the Prebendal Farm, Aylesbury, in 1881, by a vv. wl. by Mr. J. Kersley Fowler (his father), and another from Wendover from a Whiteland's student, and several words noted by Mr. Hallam, and also a vv. wl. from Hanslope by another Whiteland's student, and a written wl. from Tyringham (13 ne. Buckingham) by Rev. J. Tarver, rector. The included portion of Np. is represented by a wl. from the words noted by Mr. Hallam at Helmedon, Syersham, Blisworth, Watford, and Weedon.

D. 16 or ME., that is, Mid Eastern, is the typical E. district. It contains all Es. and Ht., except what falls into the Metropolitan Area, all Bd., all Hu. and the central part of Np. Its character is generally that A- becomes *uy* (éɨ, E'ɨ, á'ɨ), and in consequence Ws. I' is *ahy*, *oy* (áɨ, A'ɨ). Ws. ÆG, EG are sometimes distinguished as having a very long and broad *ay* in *play* (EE'ɨ), but are, as often as not, confused with Ws. A-. Ws. A' is still occasionally *ooa* (úʊ), but falls into *oha* (óʊ) and thence into (ó*a*, ô*u*). Hence Ws. U' becomes *uou* (E'u) by way of distinction. These characters appear

pretty general in all the varieties. We are principally concerned with the treatment of Ws. A-; where *lame* becomes nearly *lime*. Now it results from Mr. Hallam's inquiries that this vowel in *lame* like *lime*, or (éi) form, is recent, that 50 years ago the regular S. fracture (éə), like *lay'em*, was the only one used, and that the indistinct ŭ (ə) was changed into an indistinct (i) which developed into the *lime* sound, as if we said *lay'im* for *lay'em*. We shall find a parallel case in the M. division. This *aay* (éi) is I think different from the 'vanish' to long ā common in the pause in received English, both in origin and effect, and is distinctly ME.

This ME. is considered county by county proceeding from Ht. to Bd., and thence to Hu. and Np., and afterwards beginning again in Ht. and proceeding to Es., where all the characteristics are exaggerated.

I. Ht. is illustrated (1) by a vv. cs. from Ware by Mr. Roderick, a native, and a wl. comparing Mr. Roderick's forms with those observed from natives by Mr. Hallam at Ware, Hertford, etc.; also (2) by a dt. from Ardeley Wood End by Rev. C. Malet, then curate, and by a wl. containing the words noted from old people there by Mr. Hallam, who made a special journey to the place, which was recommended to me by Mr. Roderick as a famous spot for dialect; and (3) by dt. from Welwyn and Hitchin given me by C. W. Wilshere, Esq., of the Frithe, Welwyn, and (4) by words noted by Mr. Hallam at Harpenden and Hatfield.

II. For the Bd. variety, Batchelor's book, 1809, being written in systematic orthography, is duly examined, and I have also a vv. cs. from Bedford by James Wyatt, Esq., and a wl. containing these and Batchelor's words compared with others given from Bedford by Mr. Rowland Hill, and another set observed at Dunstable by Mr. Hallam.

III. The Hu. variety has a dt. written by Miss Ebden, daughter of the late Vicar of Great Stukeley (2 nnw. Huntingdon), and corrected from Mr. Hallam's observations, and also a wl. containing Mr. Hallam's wn. from aged natives there, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebden. But the main discovery was the sudden change in the representative Ws. U from *sum* to *sööm* in passing from Great Stukeley to Sawtry and Holme, only 7 and 8 miles further n.

IV. The Np. variety is illustrated (1) by a cs. pal. by me in 1873 from the dictation of a native, a railway porter then at St. Pancras Station, whose pronunciation was this year corroborated by the long resident Vicar, Rev. W. P. Mackesy, together with a wl. formed upon the cs., and öther words and sentences which he gave me, (2) by dt. from Miss Downes, daughter of the Vicar of Hannington, and (3) another dt. from the Hon. and Rev. H. T. Tollemache, rector of Harrington, accompanied by a wl.; (4) Mr. C. H. Wykes, schoolmaster of Lower Benefield, 3 w. Oundle, with whom I had had much correspondence which led to nothing, and who was highly spoken of for his knowledge of the dialect, and his power of mimicking the natives, dictated a wl. to Mr. Hallam, and (5)

these words with many others noted by Mr. Hallam from 12 places in mNp., are collected in one wl.

V. The Es. variety is illustrated by a vv. cs. from Great Dunmow by Mr. J. N. Cullingford, native, and a dt. from a native of Maldon, a Whiteland's student, with a long wl. of the words collected by Mr. Hallam in a special journey made to clear up difficulties.

The homogeneity of this ME. dialect, considering the straggling nature of the district, is really quite surprising, though of course there are small varieties, as my illustrations show.

D. 17 or SE., that is, Southern Eastern, includes Mi. and the extremities of Bu. and Ht. and the sw. extremity of Es. forming the Metropolitan Area n. of the Thames. It has no dialect proper, but quite sufficient traces of dialect to shew that it belongs to the E. div. as distinguished from D. 8, which is decidedly S. Here the chief interest centres in London speech. I give an account of a list of errors in London Speech published in 1817, shewing that there was not a single example like *bout-rice* (bówt rɛ'is) for *boat-race*, and I infer from the absence of any such usage in Sam Weller's speeches in *Pickwick* that Dickens was unacquainted with any instance in 1837, about 50 years ago, when the change took place in Ht. Yet this is the principal source of fun in Mr. A. W. Tuer's *Kauknеigh Awlmineck* 1883, the pronunciation of which I analyse, and then I give a wl. of the actual sounds Mr. Hallam noted in London from railway porters and others, and another differently arranged, containing Mr. Goodchild's account of his own colloquial pronunciation. I then add an acccount of my hunt after and failure to discover any hereditary unimported dialect in the rural part of the Metropolitan Area. I may mention as very remarkable that this SE. pronunciation colours the whole of Australian speech, as I learned from a remarkable letter written by Mr. S. McBurney, from Geelong, Melbourne, and received while I was preparing this report.

D. 18 or NE., that is, Northern Eastern, is another straggling District, comprising Cb., ne. Np. and Rt., which I should certainly never have thought of uniting if it had not been forced upon me by examination. It was for the purpose of seeing whether the nature of the speech in ne. Np. was what I expected that Mr. Hallam made his journey this Easter, and in four days did a really wonderful piece of work, having examined 9 places and recorded the pronunciation of more than as many natives for a sufficient number of words to shew that ne. Np. had practically the same pronunciation as n. Cb. and Rt. For years the pron. of this generally uninteresting district had been a puzzle, and it was thus brought to light. The principal point for the present investigation is that the Ws. A- is now simple long *ā* (*ee*), without either the fracture of WE. or the diphthongisation of ME.

Cb. is illustrated by a vv. dt. dictated to me in 1879 by John Perkins, Esq., of Downing College, by another taken from dictation by Mr. T. Hallam at Sawston (6 sse. Cambridge), and by another dictated to me by Miss Walker, daughter of the then vicar of Wood Ditton (3 sse. Newmarket). The rector of March, Rev.

J. W. Green, also gave me a dt. in his own orthography, but he considered that Ws. U always had the rec. sound. Herbert J. Little, Esq., of Wisbech, who gave me a wl., was of the same opinion, but Mr. Hallam, on repeated visits in 1881 and 1882, found that March and Wisbech were actually in the mixed *som* region. After giving a wl. of Mr. Hallam's results in ne. Np., I proceed to Rt. and furnish a vv. dt. from the dictation of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native of Cottesmore, Rt. (4 nne. Oakham), then a teacher in St. Mark's Coll., Chelsea, and another from Miss Kemm, native of Oakham, Rt., a teacher in Whiteland's Training Coll., who also wrote and subsequently read to me a complete wl., so that the little county of Rt. is fully represented, and the substantial agreement of all parts of D. 18 is established.

D. 19 or EE., that is, East Eastern. This comprises the counties of Nf. and Sf. The distinguishing feature of the pron. is widely known to be the use of a sound approaching, if not reaching, the French *u* (y_1), which Mr. Shelly at Plymouth, a Nf. man, identifies, as I have said, with the Dv. sound. Both are descendants of Ws. O′, when the vowel was still long. In Nf. and Sf., however, the change is recent. There is no trace of it in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* 1440, which writes *schoo*, shoe; *scole*, school; *mone*, moon; *sone*, soon, and spells *brood* and *broad* in the same way *brode*. Forby and Moor represent the sound by long *u* (ĭu), which seems to occur only in D. 18 Cb. *to do*, and in w. Sf., where the French *u* (y_1) is repudiated. Mr. T. Hallam in his visits to a very large number of places in Nf. never once gives either the Fr. *u* (y) or English *ū* (ĭu). In many places he hears only long *oo* (uu), in others the diphthong (ó*u*), apparently a remnant of the *Promptorium* sound (oo), and in others a lip glide with which he is very familiar in his own native place, namely (*ɑ*′u) or *oo* (uu) begun with the mouth wide open, but gradually closing. This is a sound which arises from (uu), and may often be heard from educated literary speakers in *too, afternoon*. It is very unstable, and leads to French *u*, English *ū*, and even *ow* (y, ĭu, ə′u). This may be the key of the mystery, but it requires further examination. In the meantime I certainly heard a variant of French *u*, written (y_1), from my vv. authorities in Nf. and Sf., who were not peasants. Sometimes this (y_1) began with the mouth open, producing a lip glide, English *ee* to French *u* (*i*y_1), which may also be heard in America, and approximates very closely to the received pron. of *dew*.

In other respects Nf. and Sf. differ little from Cb., which lies at the borders of both. Of course there are a multitude of little differences, which Forby and others make too uncompromisingly into something like general rules. There are also the words *bor, mor*, or *mawther* in general use in a good sense, the first as addressing males, and sometimes females, of all ages, the second for women only, the contracted form being applied to quite young girls. The *Promptorium* does not recognise *bor*, but has *moder* for both *mother* and *mawther*, and it is curious that *mother* is frequently (mɔdhə) in Nf.

It has been found best to deal with D. 19 under five varieties.

I. nw. Nf. deals with the part of Nf. in the mixed *som* region, and its acknowledgment is in fact due to the great labours of Mr. Hallam, from whose observations in the neighbourhoods of Swaffham, King's Lynn, and Hunstanton, I have constructed a wl.

II. ne. Nf., for which I am mainly indebted to the great personal kindness of the Rev. J. R. Philip Hoste, vicar of Farnham Sr., but native of Stanhoe Nf. (8 sw. Wells-next-Sea), who in two very long visits made on purpose, went through a complete wl., gave me a dt., and went over Forby's account of Nf. pron. with me. These I give in full as the most valuable contributions to the subject that I could make. I also give a dt. by R. S. Baker, Esq., from North Walsham.

III. s. Nf. is illustrated by a vv. cs. from Mattishall (12 w. Norwich) by a Whiteland's student compared in notes with a vv. cs. from Kimberley (10 wsw. Norwich) given me by a former gardener of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, a written cs. with elaborate explanations by Mr. G. A. Carthew of East Dereham (15 wnw. Norwich), and another written one by Miss Cecilia Day, then of Kirby Bedon (3 se. Norwich). Also by a wl. of words dictated to me by the same Miss Day at Norwich in 1868, and by several other specimens of the dialect then heard, and by another wl. from Mr. Hallam's observations in 1881–2–3 when travelling over this region. Finally by a dt. dictated to me by Rev. Dr. Raven, then of the Schoolhouse, Great Yarmouth, now rector of Fressingfield (8 n. Framlingham) Sf.

IV. e. Sf. is illustrated by a vv. cs. dictated by Mr. J. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough (2 ssw. Framlingham), a frequent visitor at Woodbridge when a boy, and long a resident at Stowmarket, and by the letter from Kettleborough in Moor's Suffolk Words, which I have conjecturally palaeotyped and hope to get revised by Mr. Grant. Then I have a complete wl. for Southwold (12 sw. Lowestoft on the coast) dictated to me by Miss Mallet, native, a teacher at Whiteland's, with numerous short examples, and a dt. from Orford (6 sw. Aldborough on the coast), by Mr. C. Davis, the son of a native and a frequent visitor. To these I add a wl. of numerous words from Moor's examples, which are on the whole very well written, with the pronunciation added conjecturally by myself.

V. w. Sf. Rev. C. W. Jones, native, in 1873 dictated to me a cs. for Pakenham, of which he is vicar. [Since this report was read, Mr. Jones has obligingly revisited me, to clear up doubts and difficulties, and this specimen, differing materially in pronunciation from those of e. Sf., will be given at length.]

Such is my work on the Existing Phonology of the English Dialects, so far as it has yet advanced. The collection of the materials has cost a large amount of time and labour, and although the work must necessarily be always incomplete, yet thanks to the numerous kind informants whom I have mentioned, and many others whose contributions though slighter have still been of much

use to me in the difficult process of mapping out the country, the result is very much more complete than I ever even dreamed of when my research was commenced. I hope I may have still life and strength enough to bring it to a conclusion, and that the remaining three divisions, the M., N. and S., for which my preliminary work is better advanced than it was for the first three divisions when I commenced preparing them for press, but which are sure to present unexpected difficulties and gaps, when I once begin seriously to take them in hand for a final redaction, may next May be at least as far advanced as the present three, S., W. and E., and that I then may really be able to go to press in the summer of 1887, though when I shall manage to finish the printing is another matter; but if all be well, and I am still able to do my work, I hope that that may happen in the autumn of 1888.

POSTSCRIPT.

The above being a report addressed to the Philological Society has reference only to the work which I am preparing for that Society. This work will enter into a number of minute particulars and give all the illustrations in palaeotype. It will also necessarily be very lengthy. For the English Dialect Society I am preparing a greatly condensed edition under the name of *English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes*, which will be on a much more popular plan, and have all the examples (of course much less numerous,) written in approximative glossic, with which that Society is already familiar. A special explanation of all the signs employed will be prefixed, and the same maps of England and Scotland given as in the Philological Society's edition. This I am writing in divisions corresponding to those here named, and have already completed the Southern, Western, and Eastern divisions, each one having been written immediately after that part of the larger work was finished. Hence the English Dialect Society's edition cannot be ready till the other is done. But as the two editions will be quite distinct, the printing may go on simultaneously, and as the smaller book will be much easier to print, and pass more rapidly through the press, than the larger, I have some hope of having it ready at the end of 1887. The delay in bringing out this edition arises from the necessity of completing each section of the larger before I can write the corresponding section of the smaller, that is, from the necessity of knowing precisely what the facts are before I give them in a condensed and yet popular form. Although three divisions of the smaller book are completed, they could not be published separately, because they are entirely dependent upon the map, which of course gives the *Homes*, and must embrace the whole of England.—A.J.E.

TREZURER'S CASH ACOUNT, 1885.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Trezurer, in acount with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

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MAY 8, 1886.

(Signd) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

Friday, May 21, 1886.—Anniversary Meeting.

The Rev. Prof. SKEAT, M.A., LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The thanks of the Meeting wer returnd to Prof. Bugge for the prezent of his tract *Die Ursprung der Etrusker*.

The Trezurer red his Cash-acount for the year 1885 (printed on the oppozit page, xl), and the thanks of the Meeting wer voted to the Auditors.

The Meeting also past a unanimous vote of thanks to the Council of University College for the gratuitous use of its rooms for the Society's Meetings. This was acknowledgd by the Secretary of the College, Mr. Talfourd Ely, who was prezent at the Meeting.

The Prezident then red from printed slips his Biennial Adress, which, when ready, wil be sent to Members. Time failing, the Reports of Mr. Morfill on Slavonic, and Mr. Boxwell on Sontali, wer taken as red; a short summary of Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie's Report on the Languages of the Tribes of China befor the Chinese occupation was red.

On the propozal of Dr. Furnivall, seconded by Mr. A. J. Ellis, votes of thanks wer past—1. to the Prezident, Prof. Skeat, for his Adress, and for his services to the Society and to English Philology; and 2. to the contributors of Reports to the Prezident's Adress. Theze votes wer briefly acknowledgd by Prof. Skeat.

On the propozal of Dr. Furnivall, seconded by Dr. Weymouth, the following Members of the Society wer elected as Officers for the Session 1886-87:—*Prezident*: The Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.—*Vice-Prezidents*: Whitley Stokes, LL.D., M.A.; Alexander John Ellis, B.A., F.R.S.; The Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., M.A.; Henry Sweet, M.A.; Jas. A. H. Murray, LL.D., B.A.; Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte; The Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, M.A., LL.D.—*Ordinary Members of Council*: Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield, B.A.; Henry Bradley, Esq.; E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; F. T. Elworthy, Esq.; C. A. M. Fennell, M.A., D.LIT.; Hy. Hucks Gibbs, M.A.; Prof. J. Greenwood, M.A., LL.D.; Henry Jenner, Esq.; Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie; James Lecky, Esq.; Prof. R. Martineau, M.A.; Rev. Prof. J. B. Mayor, M.A.; W. R. Morfill, M.A.; A. J. Patterson, M.A.; Prof. J. P. Postgate, M.A.; Prof. C. Rieu, Ph.D.; The Very Rev. the Dean of Rochester; E. B. Tylor, LL.D., Ph.D.; H. Wedgwood, M.A.; R. F. Weymouth, D.Lit.—*Trezurer*: Benjamin Dawson, B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.—*Hon. Secretary*: F. J. Furnivall, M.A., Ph.D., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Friday, June 4, 1886.

B. DAWSON, Esq., B.A., in the Chair.

The paper read was by Mr. Whitley Stokes, D.C.L., "On the Irish Verb." [This paper will be published in the *Transactions* for 1885-6.]

In the discussion Mr. SWEET said there were many examples in Old English of change of vowels, which had been caused by variation of stress, as Kluge in Kuhn's Zeitschrift (N.F. 6. 1: zur altgerm. sprachgeschichte) had already shown. These changes had gone on to a greater extent in the Celtic languages than in any other known group. The Celts never hesitated to separate formations from the same root till their affinity became unrecognizable. Thus in Irish *toibnim*=I hunt, had *dosennat* for its 3rd pl. pres. indic., *tafnetar* for the 3rd pl. perf., *toffund* for the infin., all the forms being derived from a common basis *do*+*svand*. Similarly in Welsh there were the thirty or more ways of forming the singular and plural, the irregularity being sometimes extreme, as potatoes=*tatws*; sing. *tyssen*. The effect of unrestrained phonetic change was to disintegrate a language, and destroy the symmetrical relations of form and meaning. In the Teutonic languages this tendency was met by a reaction in favour of grammatical regularity, a system of vowel change being carried out with levelling uniformity for many verbs, such as *sing, sang, sung*. In some of the Slavonic languages, such as Old Bulgarian, there were complicated sound-changes, but they did not destroy the regularity of the grammar. Knowing one form of the verb, we could construct all the others; all the suffixes were added without irregularity. Mr. Sweet thought that this symmetry might be due to the influence of a Finnish mixture with the Slavonic race. On the other hand, the grammatical irregularity in the Celtic languages, and their habit of compounding and contracting prepositions, might be attributed to the influence of some agglutinative language such as Basque. These phenomena showed a want of the power of abstraction. The examples of "incapsulating" in English formatives like *shan't, won't*, were very few; some having even been abolished in recent stages of the language. Even when early complexities were dropped in Celtic, new irregularities sprang up in their place.

Mr. STOKES said that there was really no irregularity in these changes of form. All were due to strict phonetic laws. The verbs in fact had been greatly simplified in Modern Gaelic by dropping the independent forms. The simplification of Modern German might have been caused by the civilization and literary progress of the people. Mr. Stokes had found no satisfactory evidence as yet of any pre-Arian influence in the Celtic languages. Words that were found in only one branch of the Arian stock could not be assumed on that account to have been borrowed from pre-Arian sources. Such questions could only be settled by possessing a complete vocabulary of the Arian mother-tongue; at present, it was only an argument from our ignorance.

As to the Slavonic simplicity of grammar, he had always understood that the Russian verb was a marvel of irregularity.

Mr. BRADLEY said that the Teutonic regularity could not have been due to social culture, as the most regular of the Teutonic dialects was Gothic, which was also geographically close to the Turanian stock. He thought that the Russian verb was only complex in its distinctions of meaning, but not irregular in formation. The possible influence of pre-Celtic races on Irish had been discussed by Prof. J. Rhŷs, in the chapter on ethnology in his book on 'Celtic Britain.'

Professor TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE said that valuable evidence for detecting foreign influence in the structure and evolution of languages could be derived from comparative ideology, a branch of the science of language that hitherto had been much neglected. He had compiled lists of ideological indices for over two hundred languages, and these lists showed that Gaelic and Cymric stood apart from all the other Arian languages as regards the arrangement of words in the sentence. In Celtic the verb preceded its subject, which was followed by the object; the noun preceded the genitive and the adjective. This was not the usual order either in Basque or Ugro-Altaic, languages which were long supposed to have influenced Celtic. But the Celtic order was the same as the Berber. Moreover, the Celtic habit of prefixing several particles to the verb was not Arian, Basque or Ugro-Altaic, but was characteristic of Berber. These facts might be taken along with the recent theory that the Berbers had come from Western Europe; a theory which was borne out by their fair hair and Caucasian type, and their custom of raising rude stone monuments, more like those of Western Europe than of any other part of the world. Some of the Celtic characteristics might be accounted for by the influence of some race allied to the Berbers.

Prof. RIEU said that the Gaelic order was also the Semitic and the Egyptian. It was supposed that the Phoenicians had relations with Ireland.

Mr. STOKES said that this word-order was not peculiar to Gaelic. D'Arbois de Jubainville had shown that it also existed in Gaulish. It was natural that people learning a foreign language should keep to their native idiomatic structure. An Irish peasant would say that he had a bad tooth in the west of his head, meaning the back.

Mr. BRADLEY said that in one language of Madagascar there was no word for right or left, but a speaker would describe each side by the actual point of the compass.

Mr. SWEET did not think that the word-order was important as evidence of historical relationship. The order varied greatly within one stock, or between the earlier and later forms of one dialect. One order was customary, another emphatic, but in course of time the emphatic might come into indiscriminate use and so supersede the other. In French, at present, the placing of the adjective before the noun was growing into a regular habit with many writers, and it might ultimately be adopted as normal.

Friday, June 18, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. A. H. SAYCE, *President*, in the Chair.

The paper read was by Dr. Kuno Meyer on some points of Old High German syntax as shown in the translations of Isidore, the Gospel of St. Matthew, and Tatian's Harmony of the Gospels (ninth century). This paper will appear in the *Transactions* for 1885-6.

Dr. MEYER began by pointing out that there were a number of syntactical phenomena common to all Teutonic languages, occasioned by the peculiar changes in Teutonic inflexion and the vocabulary, implying loss of Indo-European common property and endeavours of the language to make good such loss. Such are (1) the replacement of lost cases by other cases, or by prepositional constructions, the dative fulfilling the functions of the instrumental, and the genitive those of the ablative; (2) the replacement of the lost passive voice and verbal tenses and moods by other tenses or moods, or by construction with auxiliaries (*werdhan*, *wesan*, *soulan*), or by compound verbs; (3) the replacement of the pronominal stem *ya-* by the demonstrative *tha-* and the interrogative *hwa-*. By the side of these changes we find a number of old phenomena, especially in construction of sentences, order of words, and style, which have been more or less given up by the other European languages, but are preserved in Teutonic in some cases to the present day. Such are the paratactical arrangement of sentences, in preference to hypotaxis, which where it appears is of the simplest form, merely indicated by juxtaposition, and to be guessed as it were by the context, perhaps expressed by accent; the order of words in its old Arian form, first the predicate, then the subject. With the advancement of prose in the separate languages, more elaborate syntactical rules are developed, still showing in many cases a marked agreement between the separate languages. While this may partly be due to the influence of Latin literature and grammar, partly to the direct influence on each other of dialects politically or geographically connected (such as Low-German and High-German, Old-English and Norse), the principal of these characteristics must be traced back in their origin to the capacities and tendencies innate in proto-Teutonic, and inherited by all its various descendants. Dr. Meyer then proceeded to enumerate and compare the most important syntactical forms and functions of the noun and verb in the three translations; to which were added observations on the rendering of single Latin terms and phrases by the translator of Tatian, whose endeavour is to make his version throughout intelligible to the purely native mind. Among translations specially noteworthy in this respect are 'hydropicus' *wazzarsich*, 'purpura' *gotawebbi*, 'symphonia' *gistimmi sang*, 'chaos' *untarmerchi*, 'gehenna' *hella*, 'racha' *italo*, 'in rama' *in hôhi*, 'osanna' *lob*, 'praeses' *grâvo*, 'synagoga' *samanunga* or *thing*, 'vilicus' *sculdheizo*, 'denarius' *phenning*, 'Caesar Augustus' *ther alwalto keisur*, etc. A list of synonyms taken from the translation of Tatian and the Gospel of St. Matthew concluded the paper. Such lists Dr. Meyer thought

were of great importance for dialectal investigations. He pointed out such translations as that of 'sabbatum,' which is always *sambaztag* in Tatian and *resditac* in the Gospel of Matthew, just as Germany at the present day is divided into two linguistic groups, one of which always uses *samstag*, the other *sonnabend*. Similarly 'propheta' is always *wîzago* in Tatian, and *forasago* in Matthew.

In the discussion Prof. SAYCE said that the paper illustrated the mixture of native and foreign idioms in the same language. Literary English had in this respect borrowed largely from literary French. Having recently to bring out the second edition of one of his works, he had been obliged to translate the preface from the French edition. He found he could do this without altering the structure of a single sentence, the resemblance of style in the two languages had now become so close.

Mr. SWEET said that all modern languages had been greatly influenced by Latin, not merely by means of translations, but indirectly by imitation of Latin sentence-structure. Latin was long regarded as the model of style and the balancing of periods. To arrive at the native syntax of Old Teutonic we must begin with those literatures that had formed a style of their own before the Latin influence came in. Such were Old English, which went back at least to 700 A.D., and Old Icelandic to 1200. Even in Alfred's prose the influence of Latin was very slight, because he was supplied with the matter by other translators, and reproduced it in his own words. In the 11th century English had a highly developed native prose style, as in the Chronicle. On the other hand, the works chosen for examination by Dr. Meyer were, Mr. Sweet thought, not very useful for the purpose. They were translations directly from Latin, and they were later than the earliest specimens of Old English. Some German works of later date might be freer from Latin influence, and contain more genuine early idioms. Notker, for instance, inserted a great deal of original matter into his translations. If these works were quoted, they should always be compared with the syntax of Old English and Icelandic. Mr. Sweet believed that the historical present was not quite natural in Teutonic languages either in late or early times. The present, being also used for the future, was unsuitable to express the past as well. In the Icel. Sagas, however, the historical present was habitual, and had probably been borrowed from Old Irish, together with the animated dialogues and vivid descriptions of persons, all of which were characteristic of Celtic literature, but not of Teutonic. Mr. Sweet did not think that there was anything in Teutonic languages strictly analogous to the Latin ablative absolute, except when the translators imitated the Latin idiom directly, as they sometimes did. They did not use their substitute in the Latin way as equivalent to a sentence.

Mr. BRADLEY said that it was only the present of verbs of motion that was used for the future, as the Greek *érkhomai*. He thought the knowledge of Hebrew possessed by the German translators remarkable. He supposed it was traditional like that which ap-

peared in Roger Bacon's works. Some of the idioms described by Dr. Meyer as due to Latin were, he thought, native Teutonic.

Dr. MEYER defended his method of taking the texts in detail and treating each period separately. He mentioned that he had been struck by the extent to which later English writers, especially Milton, had borrowed Latin idioms.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, Nov. 5, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. SAYCE, *President*, in the Chair.

The PREZIDENT red two papers: I. On the Origin of the Augment in the Indo-European Verb. After revewing the theories that hav been put forward to acount for the origin of the augment, the Prezident pointed out that its pozession by sum of the Indo-European languages and not by others indicated the existense of paralel forms in the parent speech, sum with and sum without the prefix. Recent reserch has shown that the primitiv vowl of the augment, like that of the reduplicated syllabl, was *ĕ*. The reduplicated syllabl of stems beginning with a vowl was therefor necessarily *ĕ*, and that the reduplicated syllabl was not confined to the perfect, is proved by the reduplicated preznts and aorists. The theory was propounded that the reduplicated syllabl of stems beginning with a vowl was extended by analogy to stems beginning with a consonant, imperfects or aorists being thus distinguisht from perfects, just as a difrense of vowl was uzed in Greek to distinguish the preznt *dídōmi* from the perfect *dédōka*. The augment was, consequently, originaly the reduplicated syllabl of the imperfects or aorists of stems beginning with a vowl.

In the discussion Mr. WHITLEY STOKES said that Prof. Sayce's hypothesis seemd open to serious objection. In the first place the number of roots beginning with a vowl was much smaller than of thoze beginning with a consonant, and it was unlikely that the many shoud hav conformd to the analogy of the few. Secondly, the hypothesis did not acount for the Greek augments *a* and *ĕ*. The first was found in the Homeric forms *ἆλτο* (from *ἀ-σαλτο*) and *ἀ-μιχθαλόεσσαν*. It was possibly also in the Hesychian *ἄ-βραχεν*, *ἄ-δειρεν*, and *ἀ-σβεσθε*. The *ĕ*-augment was found in the Homeric *ἤ-ειρεν* (K. 499) and the post-Homeric *ἠ-βουλόμην*, *ἠ-δυνάμην*, *ἤ-μελλον*. It miht possibly be the same as the *ā*-augment, found in nine Vēdic forms, namely, *ānaç*, *āvar*, *āvṛṇi*,

āvṛṇak, āvidhyat, āyunak, āyukta, āriṇak, ārāik (Whitney, § 585). Thirdly, fourthly, and fifthly, the hypothesis did not acount for the dubl augment, for the arbitrary omission of the augment in Homer, and for the accentuation of compounds like *παρ-έ-σχον*. Mr. Stokes believd that suficient materials for a satisfactory theory of the origin of the augment did not exist. If he wer bound, on pain of deth, to offer a speculation, it would be that ther wer originaly three augments: 1. *ĕ* (=Gr. *ε*, Armenian *e*, Skr. *a*), 2. *ă* (Gr. *ἀ*), 3. *ē* (Gr. *ἠ*, Vēdic *ā*). The common toneless verbal prefix *a* in Welsh, Cornish and Breton, was equal to either the first or the second of theze augments. He was inclined to believ that they wer all, originaly, prepozitional prefixes. As a paralel fact he cited the neo-Celtic temporal prefix *ro*, which was identical with the Lat. prep. *prō*; and the Irish *do*, identical with the prep. *do*. The dubl augment in Greek seemd paraleld by Midl Irish forms like *ro-fo-ro-daim*, L.U. 34[a], and the accentuation of *παρ-έ-σχον* by that of the Old-Irish *as-rú-bart*. Jacob Grimm in the preface to his tranzlation of Wuk's Servian Grammar, and Ebel in Kuhn and Schleicher's *Beiträge*, ii. 191, had quoted instanses from the Slavonic and Teutonic languages showing the use of prepozitional prefixes to express tense-forms. In Polish, for exampl, Ebel says that almost all simpl stem-verbs ar imperfects, but becum perfects by compozition. In German, Grimm quotes *starb* and *verstarb, ich reise* and *ich verreise morgen*. Replying to a vew exprest by the Prezident, Mr. Stokes did not admit that no trace of the augment was to be found in Latin; the long *ē* of *regēbam, audiēbam*, coud, he thoht, only be explaind by the suppozition that the aglutinated suffix verb had an augment.

Dr. PEILE said ther was another possibl explanation of the long *ē* of the Latin imperfect, namely that the verbal stem was in the dativ case; and that the long vowl had spred by analogy into the imperfect of the *ā* stems. He thoht that Mr. Stokes's sugestion as to the origin of the augment was suported by the evidense of the form *ĕthelon*, from which the preznt *ethélō* had been evolvd.

Dr. MORRIS referd to Dr. Garnett's paper on the augment in the first volume of the Transactions of the Society.

In reply, Prof. SAYCE said that analogies which had a widely extended influense, had been proved oftn to hav arizn from a very small number of instanses, sumtimes from an izolated case. With regard to the Homeric *álto*, it was unaugmented.

Mr. STOKES thoht that if *álto* had been unaugmented, the *s* of the root would hav been replaced by the spiritus asper.

II. The PREZIDENT's second paper was on the origin of the caracteristic *r* of the passiv in the Italic and Keltic languages. This *r*, he said, coud not be the *s* of the reflexiv pronoun *sĕ*, as was formerly supozed, sinse the *r* was found in Oscan and in Old Irish, where primitiv *s* never became *r*. Moreover, the long vowel of *sē* coud not hav disapeard. Following Bezzenberger, Bugge and other scolars, Prof. Sayce identified this *r* with an *r* which is

found sporadicaly in Greek, Zand and Samskṛt, as a suffix to verbal stems. In theze languages it was not a sign of the passiv; but, as a later development, it was specialy aplied to this use in Latin and Keltic. Prof. Sayce offerd the following theory to acount for the fact that in Latin and Keltic this *r* was not joind to the verbal stem, but was placed after the personal terminativs. In the second person singular of the preznt and imperativ, as in *leg+eri+s* or *leg+er+e*, the passiv suffix, which Prof. Sayce believd to be *er*, imediately followd the stem. This pozition woud, acording to his theory, be the primitiv one. By comparing the activ form *leg+e* with the passiv *leg+er+e*, speakers of Latin and Keltic had been led to analyze the passiv wrongly as *lege+re*, and to regard *re* as a suffix added on to the activ forms as a mark of the passiv. It was shown that the terminations of *legitur*, *legimur*, *leguntur*, presupoze that the *r* was originaly sonant in theze forms, from which we must conclude that the final syllabl of *amare* had becum sonant in pronunciation after a preceding consonant. *Legor* would hav been formd on the analogy of *legitur*. The fact that the *r* of *legitur*, etc., was originaly sonant, delt the final deth-blow to the theory which saw in the *r* of the Latin passiv the reflexiv pronoun.

Mr. Stokes mentiond the vew that the passiv *r* was derived from the root *ṛ*, *to go*, and referd to the formation of the passiv in Samskṛt (the accented *yá* class) and Baṅgālī.

Dr. Peile, while admitting the forse of the argument from the ocurrense of the passiv *r* in Keltic, found a difficulty in setting aside the strong rezemblanse between the Greek *légeso*, *légesai*, and the paralel forms in Latin.

Friday, November 19, 1886.

Henry Bradley, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. Whitley Stokes red a paper entitled 'Notes of a Filological Tour.' He first went to Paris and colated Prof. Loth's edition of the twenty-six Old-Gaelic glosses on the Eutychius-fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and found that Loth had not only faild to decifer elevn of theze glosses, but publisht the following misreadings:*

Prof. Loth.	Codex.
membligim	*meinbligim* (gl. scato)
cleb . . . er . . . lemnith?	*cleben* l. *lemnith* (gl. praeses)
Cabast . . . lerrith	*cabaltith* l. *lemnith*
temnigtith	*demniguth* (gl. munimen)
sortugim	*fortugim* (gl. operio)

Loth also givs *derigtith* as the gloss on 'desses.' It realy glosses 'scalprum.' The glossator himself is sumtimes at fault. He confounds, for instanse, *opperior* (Irish *inneuth*) with *operio* (Irish *fortugim*), and he mistakes *opsōno* (I cater) for *opsŏno* (I interrupt

by sound, Irish *fogrigim*, a denominativ from *fogur*, sound). The cheef rezult of a new colation of the Old-Breton glosses at Orléans is to establish the genral accuracy of the late Henry Bradshaw's readings, and to relegate to the limbo of *verba nihili* Prof. Loth's *derio* (the Latin *clericus* misred), *ercolim*, *tinsot*, etc. The inscription begining "L. Cornelius magnus Atepomári filius," etc., prezervd in the Orléans Muzeum, has been carefuly studied by Léon Renier in the *Revue archéologique* for 1865. For 'Genabensium' he reads 'Cénabensium,' with initial *c* and an apex over the following *e*. The reading givn in the *Academy* for September, 1886, p. 210, col. 2, shoud be corected acordingly. Mr. Stokes also said that ther wer at least four Cuneiform inscriptions in this Muzeum, of which one, on a tessera of baked clay, had been thus tranzlated by MM. Lenormant and Longpérier: "Nasitin quam acquisivit Nabu-kinari anno XII. Marduk-habal-idin regis Babilu," where the king named was the Merodach Baladan who in the year 709 B.C. sent ambassadors to Hezekiah to congratulate him on his recuvery. Mr. Stokes hoped that Prof. Sayce woud vizit Orléans to copy theze inscriptions. The explanation given in the *Academy* for October 2, 1886, p. 227, of the *opus maceriale* in the copy of Adamnán's *Life of Columba* prezervd at Schaffhausen, was confirmd by a Gaelic gloss on 'trulla,' recently found in the Vatican Library, and publisht by Prof. Zimmer: *liag iern bis oo denam macre* (a spoon of iron, which is uzed in bilding a *maceria*). The names of Boniface's fellow-martyrs found in the St. Gallen Martyrology wer interesting. *Eoban* had been quoted by Förstemann (*Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, vol. i. p. 392) from other MSS. So *Valthere*, *Hethelhere* (=Aethelhere), *Scirbalde*, *Bosan*, *Hamunde*, *Vaccare*, *Gund-uuacre*, *Ille-here*, *Hathu-uulfe*, seemd oblique cases of *Scirbald*, *Bosa*, *Ha*[*i*]*mund*, *Vaccar* (Förstemann's *Waccar*), *Gund-vacar*, *Illeher*, *Hathuwulf*. Mr. Stokes then explaind the five Old-Breton glosses on Vergil which he discuverd at Berne: *strum* (gl. copia) is=Irish *sruaim* (stream), Greek ῥεῦμα; *forcas* (gl. figere) is, perhaps, a loan from an Old-French **forchasser* (foris-captiare); *les-ca* (gl. carice) is a compound of *les*=Cornish *les*, Welsh *llys* (herb), Irish *lus*, and *ca*=Latin *carex*, from **casex*; *heith* (gl. praeterea) is from *hep-t*, where *hep* is=Latin *secus*, and *t* the remains of a pronoun meaning *ea*. Lastly, *brostse* .i. intertinxerat (gl. discreverat) is the 3rd sg. 2nd p. pres. of a verb cognate with Irish *brot* (goad), the Samskrt *bhrshti* (point), the Old-English *brord* (goad), the Old-Norse *broddr* (point), and the Latin *fastigium*, if this be, as sum filologists suppose, for **farstigium*. The corupt Gaelic glosses in the Berne MS. 258—*brecnatin* (gl. scinifes, *i.e.* σκνίπες), *bolach* (gl. impetiginem), and *polien*, *foilem* (gl. fulicam, fulica)—wer explaind as standing respectivly for *brecnata* (Saltair na Rann, 3934), *bolgach*, and *foilenn*=Welsh *gwylan*, Breton *goelann*, whense the French *goëland*, English *gull*.

The Irish MSS. in the Burgundian Library, or, as it is now cald, the Bibliothèque Royale, and the English, French, and Latin MSS. in the same library relating to Irish afairs, hav been notist at

sum length by Mr. Bindon in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. iii. pp. 477–502. He omits, however, to mention No. 64, the most important of all theze codices, that containing the elevnth-century copy of Muirchu's Latin Life of St. Patrick, which suplies the lacunae in the Book of Armagh, and which has been learnedly utilized by the Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J., in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, Bruxelles, 1882. And in other respects Mr. Bindon's notice is incomplete and inaccurate.

Besides colating such portions of No. 64 as ar required for the Rolls edition of the Tripartite Life, Mr. Stokes examind the following codices:

No. 2324–40. The contents—all in the handwriting of Michél O'Clérigh — ar chiefly twenty-eiht Irish lives of Irish saints. Of theze Mr. Bindon's 'Vita S. Creunatae Virginis' is realy a life of S. Cranatan, and his 'Vita S. Molingi' is a life of S. Molacca. The liht that theze Lives throw on genealogy, topografy, and social history has oftn been recognized. They ar also admitted to be of filological value, and in this codex many of the obsolete words in the Lives of Patrick, Brigit, Finnchu of Brí Gobann, and Coimin Fota ar glost. But the poetic beauty of the legends which theze Lives contain has not been so freely acknowledgd. It has even led to vulgar travesty. Contrast with Moore's 'S. Senanus and the Lady' the reverence, pathos, and imaginativ power of the legend of which the following is a literal version:

"Canair the Pious, a holy maidn of the Benntraige of the south of Ireland, betook herself to a hermitage in her own territory. There, one niht, after nocturns, she was praying, when all the churches of Ireland apeard to her. And it seemd that a tower of fire roze up to hevn from each of the churches; but the greatest of the towers, and the straihtest towards hevn, was that which roze from Inis-Cathaigh,' (now Scattery Island, in the Shannon, where S. Senán had bilt his church).

''Fair is yon cel,' she saith. 'Thither wil I go, that my rezurection may be near it.' Straihtway on she went, without guidance save the tower of fire, which she beheld ablaze without ceasing day and niht befor her, til she came thither. Now, when she had reacht the shor of Luimnech, she crost the sea with dry feet as if she wer on smooth land til she came to Inis-Cathaigh. Now, Senán knew that thing, and he went to the harbor to meet her, and he gave her welcum.

''Yea, I have cum,' saith Canair.

''Go,' saith Senán, 'to thy sister who dwels in yon iland in the east, that thou mayest hav gesting therin.'

''Not for that hav we cum,' saith Canair, 'but that I may hav gesting with *thee* in *this* iland.'

''Women enter not this iland,' saith Senán.

''How canst thou say that?' saith Canair. 'Christ came to redeem women no less than to redeem men. No less did He suffer for the sake of women than for the sake of men. Women hav givn service and tendance unto Christ and His Apostls. No less

than men do women enter the hevnly kingdom. Why, then, shoudst thou not take women to thee in thine iland?'

''Thou art stubborn,' saith Senán.

''What then?' saith Canair. 'Shal I get what I ask for—a place for my side in this ile, and the sacrament from thee to me?'

''A place of rezurection,' saith Senán, 'wil be givn thee here on the brink of the wave; but I fear that the sea wil carry off thy remains.'

''God wil grant me,' saith Canair, 'that the spot wherein I shal lie wil not be the first that the sea wil bear away.'

''Thou hast leav, then,' saith Senán, 'to come on shor.' For thus had she been while they were in convers, standing up on the wave, with her staf under her brests, as if she wer on land. Then Canair came on shor, and the sacrament was administerd to her, and she straihtway went to hevn."

The codex also contains many religious pieces in proze and verse of which Mr. Stokes has made a catalog.

Mr. BRADLEY said the paper reminded one of the great need ther was for a scientific Keltic scool to bring out the real value of the unexplord manuscripts. In answer to a remark that *Eoban* did not look like an *OE*-name, he woud sugest that it miht very well stand for *E'oba* or *E'afa*. Weak proper nouns ending in *a* wer latinized by *anus*, and foriners woud be very likely to get hold of such names with the thematic *n* prezervd in the oblique cases. He askt if the legend of Canair wer a typical specimen of Old Irish literature?

Mr. STOKES replied that it was so. The style of Old Irish was wonderfuly pure and simpl down to the twelfth century, after that it became detestabl. Dr. O'Grady had told him of a passage in which one substantiv was acompanied by eihty-sevn epithets.

Mr. SWEET said that the spelling *Eoban* was corect, as the dipthong *éa* in *éafa* apeard as *éo* in the oldest texts, such as the Liber Vitae. He was surprized to hear Mr. Stokes favor the theory of a primitiv Greek-Latin-Keltic unity. Latin and Gaulish wer very similar indeed, but Greek stood apart. As regards the difficulty of decifering glosses, it aroze from the absence of a context. He had onse met with the word perna, and at first imagind it to be a curious way of writing the Latin *uerna*. He afterwards found it was only an erly form of the English *wren*.

Friday, December 3, 1886.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

The paper red was on "The Assyrian Noun," by M. Bertin. At the request of the author, the report of the paper is omitted.

Friday, December 17, 1886.

Prof. Skeat, Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

A paper on "The Laws of Sound Change" was red by Mr. Henry Sweet. He said that it was now genraly admitted by filologists that sound changes, as a rule, wer exceedingly gradual, and that the greatest revolutions in language wer only the sums of long series of slight shiftings of the vocal organs. The orthografies of ded languages prezervd no record of theze minute variations; hense we had to seek the explanation of them in the sounds of living languages. In filology, as in geology, the past was only intelligibl by the help of the preznt. Literary professors, who ignord fonetics, coud offer no explanation of the English plurals formd by vowl-mutation or umlaut, such as *men, geese, mice.* At best they miht surmize that the final *i* in the erly forms of theze words, *manni, gōsi, mūsi,* modified the root-vowl and then disapeard. That was no satisfactory theory; for it did not explain how the modification came about, or why it produced theze particular rezults. The fonetic theory was much mor complicated, and was deduced from recent investigations into the influense of vowls on consonants, and *vice versā,* as exemplified in living languages. A simpl ilustration of this influense was found in the English words *caw* and *key,* where the difrence between the sounds of the initial consonants was due to the succeeding vowls. If we interchanged the consonants, the words sounded somewhat like (kjɔɔ) and (kwij). The reason was that the vowl *aw* (ɔɔ) being formd by a low pozition of the back of the tung, drew the *k* back towards the throat; while *ey* (ij), being a high front vowl, drew the *k* forward. This influense had formerly givn rize to the pronunciations (kjaind, gjaad) for *kind, guard.* Similar fenomena existed on an imense scale in Russian, where almost evry vowl perceptibly modified almost evry preceding consonant. In such a sound group as *imi,* the *i* pozition of the tung was held thruout so that in the *m* the front and lip articulations wer combined. The same efect was found in many Russian words where the final vowl which had produced it was now lost, as in *krovĭ,* pronounced (krofj), where *fj* is a digraf reprezenting an *f* at onse dental and fronted. In Russian, morover, the vowl *u* comunicated to a preceding consonant the efect cald rounding, or compression of the lips and cheeks. Thus *gusĭ* was pronounced (gwusj), the *g* being simultaneous with the *w,* and the *s* with the *j.* Sumtimes the infection was arested by a complex sound group. In *krĕpki* 'strong' (plural), the *p* was normal and not influenst thru the *k* by the final *i.* All these ilustrations led up to the fonetic theory, due to Scherer, that, in English, *manni* must hav becum (manji), where *nj* stands for the front nasal; that this consonant influenst the back vowel *a,* changing it to the front *e*; that the final *i* was dropt as superfluous; and that, lastly, the *nj* reverted to the point pozition, as *n.* Similar reversions had ocurd in the

South Slavonic dialects. That the Germanic vowl mutation was also the rezult of consonantal influense was proovd by the Old Norse mutations before the fronted *r* which replaced older *z*, as in *eyra* from *auzō* 'ear.' The abuv exampls wer ilustrativ of asimilation, which sprang from the desire to save space in articulation, and secure eaz of tranzition. Thus *pn* became *pm*, or else *mn*. Saving of time was efected by dropping superfluous sounds, especialy at the ends of words, as when *sing-g*, with distinct final *g*, was reduced to *sing*. But cases of saving of effort wer very rare or non-existent. The loss of the trild point *r*, or its replacement by the trild uvular *gh* and *x*, as in Paris and Berlin, wer perhaps due to economy of effort. But all the ordinary sounds of language wer about on a par as to dificulty of production. If children lernt *p* and *m* mor eazily than *k* and *ng*, it was not acount of any intrinzic dificulty in the latter, but becauz the action of the lips was vizibl, and that of the back of the tung was hidn. The chief cauz of sound change apeard to be *defectiv imitation*, or the substitution of aproximatly similar sounds, as in (fruw) for *through*. Mr. Sweet would divide sounds into stabl and unstabl: the former class containing the labials, which wer separated from all other formations by a distinct space; the latter class containing the tung articulations, all of which interchanged and ran into each other. In adition to the abuv organic changes, ther was an important and numerous class due to gramatical and lexical analogy, and to confuzion of meaning, as in *sparrow-grass* for *asparagus*. Lastly, Mr. Sweet cited cases of the coexistence of nativ and forin sounds in the same dialect. The Armenian implosivs, or choke stops, in which clozing and raizing the glottis suplied the force checkt in the mouth, wer believd to hav been borrowd from some non-Ārian language of the Caucazus. The genral concluzion to be drawn was that the history of words and their changes coud not be studied in literature alone, and that all tru investigation into the forms of language must be founded on scientific fonetics. In our preznt university system ther was not so much as a pretence to study fonetics, and the teaching of filology was therefor deprived of any solid basis.

In the discussion, sevral members objected to Mr. Sweet's theory that sound-changes wer rarely if ever due to economy of effort.

Dr. FURNIVALL cited the abreviation *o' clo'*, and Mr. E. L. BRANDRETH instanst asimilation and the introduction of the neutral vowl as cases of weakning.

Mr. SWEET replied that abreviation was saving of time, and asimilation saving of space, wheras no trace was found of a tendency to eliminate the exceptionaly dificult sounds of language. Tho stops, such as *t*, wer oftn relaxt into open consonants, such as *þ*; on the other hand, the convers change was just as common.

Mr. J. LECKY said he had independently arived at the same theory as Mr. Sweet—that sound changes ar seldom atributabl to saving of the degree of effort. A fronted *m* was not necessarily harder than a simpl labial; the simultaneous action of difrent parts of the mouth miht be eazier than their separate action; just as we find it

eazier to move all the fingers at onse in grasping than to move each finger sepratly in playing muzic. Asimilation vastly multiplied the number of elementary sounds in a language, and therefor coud not be described as facilitating pronunciation. The neutral vowl was just as dificult as any other, for the English variety of it was rarely lernt by a foriner; and even a nativ coud not, without fonetic training, pronounce it izolated or accented. The introduction of the neutral vowl was not due to laziness, but to the dezire to subordinate sum syllabls to others, so as to weld the sound group into unity, and make the fraze rythmical. In such a word as *territory*, if a real *o* wer sounded, it woud sugest a divizion into two seprat words, as *terry* and *tory*. Mr. Lecky did not regard the untrilling of *r* as an economy, becauz, in the smooth consonant, ther was the new dificulty of sustaining the point of the tung without the suport of the palat. This was a changed distribution of effort, not a saving. He sugested that the explanation of sound changes miht be found in the asertion of individuality. Each new generation, feeling itself to be difrent from the preceding one, unconsciously developt a new pronunciation suficiently distinct to be caracteristic. Changes in pronunciation wer thus analogous to changes in art or costume, which coud not, as a rule, be atributed to economy either of effort, space, or time.

Friday, January 21, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY made his Anual Report on the progress of the Society's *New English Dictionary*, which he is editing for the Oxford University Press. Part III. had left his hands. He hoped that all the copy for Part IV. woud be sent to press by September next, so that the Part woud be out by Christmas. The printing had of course begun now. Part III. contains 8765 words, of which 5323 ar main words. Obsolete words ar stil less than 26 per cent. of the hole. 'B' has very few Latin and Greek words, but contains sum of the oldest Teutonic ones in the language, and others of late origin, sum onomatopoeic, others not ataching themselvs to any known older roots. The power of word-creation has not died out: *bam*, *bamboozle*, *bash*, *bun*, *blash*, *blight*, *blizzard*, *blowse*, *bludgeon*, *bluff*, *bog*, *bodge*, *bogus*, *boom*, *bosh*, *bother*, *box* (a blow), etc., ar of mor or less recent birth. The etymologies of many 'B' words ar extremely dificult, and stil obscure, notwithstanding the help of the best scolars and specialists. Ther ar nearly 1500 *be*-words, of which the 850 older and mor important ar treated sepratly, while the later and ocazional ones, like *be-booted*, *be-muslined*, etc., ar put in classes with one quotation apiece. But the main dificulty in the Dictionary work is to trace the history of the development of the meanings of a word, and get them into

logical order. 'Break' has 80 meanings. You hav to put the mass of quotations for theze into classes, then conect them, and find, as you best can, where to fit in the sense of 'to *break* a comandment' (*violare*). You sort your quotations into bundls on your big table, and think you ar getting the word's pedigree riht, when a new sense, or three or four new senses, start up, which upset all your scheme, and you ar obliged to begin afresh, oftn three or four times. Etymologies ar nothing like the trubl of chains of meanings. The Dictionary has now 4,000,000 quotations. The editor oht at least to read theze thru, but, at eiht hours a day, it woud take him thirty years to do it: it is 80,000 hours' work. Of course he cannot do this, but must trust other men. Then he cums on a word like *attitude*, which proves to be only *aptitude*. On turning to that, he finds no notis has been taken of the sense 'attitude.' He calls for the slips; and among the rejected ones sees sevral of the quotations required. So the *aptitude* articl has to be recast, and the plates alterd. Again, the 4,000,000 quotations are both redundant and deficient. No articl three inches long but has fresh serches to be made for it. Dr. Murray named all the Sub-editors and Readers who stil continue their work for the Dictionary—sevral hav been at it twenty years—and thankt them hartily for their help, without which the book coud not possibly be produced. He stil wants men and women who wil take small portions of the work just in front of Mr. Henry Bradley and his other asistants, so that all delay in hunting for quotations and working in fresh slips may be saved. He also needs serchers for Deziderata, of which a list for Part IV. wil go out with Part III. The 800 copies of the last list found only six real workers at it; and queries in *Notes & Queries* yeeld nothing worth having. A late request for later extracts for Shakspere's *borne*, a boundary—with a special caution that none wer wanted for *bourne*, a brook—produced twelv answers to Dr. Murray, some astonisht that he had overlookt Milton's 'bosky bourne' (brook), and others to the Editor of the Journal, but all for the meaning 'brook.' Folk find thinking so very dificult. The Dictionary staf was not properly organized til last October; now that it is so, mor rapid progress with the work may be relied on.—The Society's thanks wer voted to Dr. Murray for his Report, and for his untiring work at the great national undertaking under his control.

Friday, February 4, 1887.

The Rev. Dr. MORRIS, Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

The paper red was on Samskrt as Parent of the Modern Ârian Dialects of India, by John Boxwell. This paper wil apear in the Tranzactions for 1885–6.

In the discussion Dr. MORRIS said he quite agreed with the doctrin laid down in the paper, but he thoht that Mr. Boxwell

had only been 'slaying the slain.' It was surprizing that ther shoud be any necessity nowadays to prove that Samskrt was originaly a vernacular. Dugald Stewart maintaind that Samskrt was only an invention of the Brahmans; but its vernacular caracter, its dialectal forms, and its ancestral relation to the Prākrts, had been shown by Max Müller, Muir, and others. Goldstücker had demonstrated, in a paper red befor this Society, that fonetic decay had taken place in the erliest form of Samskrt known to us, and that this change is shared by the modern Ārian dialects of India. The existense of regular fonetic laws in the ancient and modern Prākrts presupozed a coloquial language. No framers of a purely artificial language coud *invent* theze laws. Pālī, tho to sum extent also a book-language, furnishes abundant evidense of having been onse a spoken language, in its numerous expletivs and comparativ freedom from cumbrous compounds. All the Prākrts were not direct descendants of Samskrt. Pālī was mor probably in the relation of a sister dialect, but sprung from a common ancestor. Evry literary language implied an originaly coloquial stage. The stilted artificial style of Johnson presupozed coloquial Old English and coloquial Latin. Dr. Morris did not believ that the so-cald "unauthenticated roots" in the Dhātupāṭha wer the pure inventions of gramarians. Professor Edgren, in his valuabl paper in the *Journal of the American Philological Society*, 1879, mentions sevral *dhātus* that had not then been found in Samskrt literature; and treats them as figments or 'ghost words,' to use Prof. Skeat's term. But sum of these 'unauthenticated roots' ar actualy to be found in Pālī. On this subject see Prof. Max Müller's paper on the Dhātupāṭha, in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* (1886, vol. iii. i. pp. 7–14).

Prof. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE remarkt that Mr. Boxwell had neglected to point out one influense of importanse on the tranzition between the Samskrt and the modern vernaculars. It is that which was exercized by the mixt language spoken at the court of the great Maurya king Piyadasi. This curious combination of Samskrt and Prākrt forms—sumwhat heteroclitic and without fixt rules, uzed for administrativ purpozes, which reminds one of the Pahlavi as a chancery language—has been studied by the well-known Samskrtist M. Emile Senart, of the French Institute, in his last articl on "The Inscriptions of Açōka."

Friday, February 18, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

A paper on "Gothic Personal Names" was red by Mr. HENRY BRADLEY. To ascertain the corect form of Gothic names is very dificult. The texts of Greek and Roman authors where theze names ocur ar oftn uncertain. To interpret the classical spellings we require to know what sounds the authors asociated with their

letters, and this necessitated complicated processes of historical deduction. And, further, the spellings made by foriners wer naturaly very imperfect as atempts at reprezenting the nativ Teutonic sounds. For instanse, Cassiodorus mentions a Goth named 'Tezutzat.' At first siht this apears quite un-Teutonic. We can, however, restor what was probably the nativ form by asuming (as we hav other reazons for doing) that z in Italian Latin of the sixth century stood for sharp *ss*, and that *tz* was intended to sugest the Gothic þ. Thus we arive at a Gothic form, 'Taihsw-þahts,' meaning 'rihthanded thoht.' But the coruptions in the forms of names wer of many kinds, and no genral rules coud be givn for corecting them. Gothic personal names wer formd in sevral difrent ways. The first class consisted of compounds of two words, either substantivs or adjectivs, such as wer uzual also among most of the other Ārian peoples. It was a common mistake to supoze that theze names wer genraly intended to be significant. In reality, the two elements of a name wer often incongruous or even contradictory. Ther wer Teutonic names which ment literaly 'peace-spear' or 'peace-war'; and they wer to be acounted for by supozing that the word for 'peace' had becum so common as an initial element of names, and the words for 'spear' and 'war' so common as final elements, that the absurdity of combining them was not felt. Virtualy, ther existed two lists of words; and, by joining together random selections from each list, personal names coud be formd. In prehistoric times no dout the 'dubl-list' names wer significant, and sum of late historical origin wer also formd with the same intention; but the principl of arbitrary combination was found among the Hindus, Greeks, Slavs, and Kelts, and had probably arizn even befor the separation of the Ārian peepls. The second class was that of the diminutivs, which wer formd from the 'dubl-list' class by selecting one element and adding the sufix *-ila*. It apeard that a diminutiv coud be made out of either element of a compound, so that a ful name, such as 'Audamērs,' miht be reduced either to 'Audila' or to 'Mērila.' Theze diminutivs wer not merely uzed familiarly, but sumtimes apear as public and oficial names; probably, indeed almost certainly, they wer ocazionaly givn in baptizm. The apostl of the Goths may hav been originaly named 'Þiuda-wulfs' or 'Wulfa-reiks,' and afterwards known by the diminutiv 'Wulfila'; or else the last may hav been his name from the beginning. The third class consisted of diminutivs obtaind by adding the sufix *-an* (nominativ *-a*) to one element of the 'dubl-list' names, especialy to an adjectiv; and the fourth class, by adding *-jan* (nominativ *-ja*) to the preterit stems of strong verbs. The fifth class wer the fonetic compressions due, perhaps, to childish mispronunciation, like 'Wamba,' which was possibly from 'Wandilbairhts.' The sixth class, which containd very few exampls, consisted of ordinary nouns or adjectivs without alteration. Mr. Bradley gave a list of the elements uzed initialy and finaly, and offerd explanations of sevral historical exampls. Thus, he regarded 'Pitzia' as an

adaptation of the Greek 'Pythias.' 'Cixila,' a Spanish name of the sevnth century, seemd to be from the substantiv *þeihsa-*, meaning, perhaps, 'fortune.' Nouns forming the second element in Teutonic masculin names wer aparently always turnd into the *a* declension, whatever their original thematic vowl. Thus, in 'Sunjaifriþas' (for which the normal spelling woud be Sunjafriþs), the *a* replaces *u*. He woud explain the first element in 'Alaricus,' etc., as *Alh*='temple,' Old-English *Ealh-*. 'Witigis' or '-ges' was probably for 'Waihtigais'=Old-English 'Wihtgár,' the reduction of *gais* to *gis* being atributabl to weakness of stress; while the first element was the common Teutonic *wihti*=a thing, primarily, perhaps, meaning 'fighting,' and hense 'sumthing captured in batl.' Gothic *nanþs*='curageous' was equivalent to Old-English *nóþ*, as Grimm had pointed out; Förstemann, overlooking this, identified *nóþ* with German *noth* 'need.' The Spanish 'Gondomarus' probably reprezented not Gothic 'Gunþamērs,' but 'Gunþamarhs'='war-horse,' as the termination *mērs* 'famous' (=Keltic *-māros* 'great') is uzualy Latinized as *-mirus*. The name of the founder of the Amaling dynasty, 'Ostrogotha' (Austraguta), was probably an ordinary 'dubl-list' name, the second element not meaning 'Goth' here, but bearing the apelativ sense ('nobly born'?) which it pozest befor it became an ethnic dezignation. The first element ocurd in Old-English 'Easterwine' and Frankish 'Austrowald,' the second in Old-English 'Earcongote' and Gothic 'þiudaguto.' Perhaps Grimm was riht in conecting Athanaric, Athanagild with *aþna-* 'year'; if so, it was possibl that 'Jornandes' (the name givn in sum MSS. to the historian Jordanis) was properly 'Jērnanþs,' the first element being from the same word as our 'year.' 'Ataulfus' miht be from **ahta-* 'terribl,' cognate with English *awe; Sise*, as in 'Sisebertus,' from *sigisa-* 'victory.' 'Ferdinand' containd the word corresponding to Old-English *ferhþ* 'life,' for which Wulfila had only the simpler form *fairhwa-*.

In the discussion Dr. FENNELL remarkt that the conjecture in the paper with regard to the primitiv meaning of *wihti-* sugested a possibl explanation of the Latin *victima*. The theory of compression had been uzed to acount for certain Greek names.

Dr. WHITLEY STOKES said that a great many Keltic names wer identical with Gothic ones as regards etymology, meaning, or plan of formation.

Friday, March 3, 1887.

Dr. R. F. WEYMOUTH in the Chair.

The paper red was by Dr. JOHANNES BAUNACK (of the Nicolai Gymnazium, Leipzig), on "The Inscription of Gortyn." The discuvery of the inscription known as "The Law of the Twelv Tables of Gortyn"—the date of which is probably about 400–450 B.C.—in adition to the intrest which it pozesses for the student of the historical science of law, is important as suplying a serious gap in our knowledg of Greek dialects. The inscription contains mor

than 17,000 letters, and the list of words comprizes 748 entries. Our information respecting the Cretan dialect was hitherto chiefly derived from documents of the third century or later. Of the few erlier fragments, thoze which ar of considerabl length hav now been discuverd to hav formd part of the "Law of the Twelv Tables." One of the most peculiar features of the inscription is the frequent ocurence of fenomena analogous to the "external Sandhi" of Samskrt. The prepozition ἐξ, which befor a vowl is writn εκ-, uzualy apears as ες befor a consonant. The forms of the articl ending in νς commonly drop the ν when the next word begins with a consonant; thoze ending in ν or in ς oftn asimilate their final letter to a folowing consonant; *e.g.* ταθ θυγατεραν apears for τὰς θυγατέρας. It is remarkabl that τό always remains without elizion befor a vowl. From many indications it seems reazonabl to conclude that in rapid speech the articl was in all Greek dialects oftn reduced befor initial vowels to the simpl sound of τ. The writer sugested that in the same manner the forms ὁ and ἡ befor vowls may hav been reprezented by the *spiritus asper*, and that a coalescence of the articl with the noun may explain the inorganic aspiration in words like ἵππος, ἡμέρα, ἥλιος. The Gortyn inscription has reveald sevral unexpected peculiarities in the fonology of the Cretan dialect. The -σσ- of the common dialect, whether arising from -σϳ- or from -τς-, apears in the 'Tables' as -ττ-, and in the Fragments as -ζ-. An original -δϳ-, -γϳ-, is reprezented in Cretan by -δδ-. Ther is evidence that ττ, δδ, θθ, wer nearly alike in pronunciation; the δδ, and the initial δ-, when standing for δϳ-, wer probably sounded as ȣ. The aspirates χ and φ ar renderd always by κ and π; θ is uzualy so writn, but in a few cases is replaced by τ. The digamma is uzualy writn when initial, but in other pozitions is omitted (except after σ, as in *ϜισϜον*). In the new Fragments Ϝ is writn for υ in the diphthongs. The Cretan dialect abounded in asimilations of consonants in the midl of a word: thus -ττ- reprezents -κτ-, -πτ-, -στ-; θθ stands for -σθ-; -μμ- for -φμ- and -σμ-; -νν- for -ρν- and -σν-; -λλ- for -νλ- and -σλ-. The fonology of the vowls has litl that is unexpected. The alfabet having neither η nor ω, the length of the vowls denoted by ε and ο is oftn quite uncertain, even with all the liht that can be obtaind from other dialects and from analogy. The Gortyn 'Tables' and the new fragments agre in frequently having ι insted of ε befor ο, as in ιοντα for ἔοντα. The inscription lends no suport to the theory that the proper names Ὑππάγρα, Ὑππασία, stand for Ἱππάγρα, -ασία, as υ never apears for ι; the names ar, therefor, compounds of ὑπό, the dubling of the π being not infrequent in proper names. The prepozition πρός apears in the Twelv Tables as ποτι, but in later Cretan inscriptions becums ποτι. With regard to flexion a few points dezerv special notis. The name of the city, tho not mentiond in the great inscription, apears from the fragments to hav had the nominativ form Γόρτυνς. Ther is nowhere any proof of the existense of the dual in Cretan; δύο is inflected as a plural, and agrees with plural substantivs.

The ending -εν of the nom. plur., found in sum of the later Cretan inscriptions, is absent from the Twelv Tables and the erliest fragments. In the great inscription the dat. plur. of the 1st and 2nd decl. ends in ς, that of the 3rd decl. in -σι; but the Fragments do not obzerv this rule. A markt feature of the Cretan dialect is that the ending -νς of the acc. plur. is extended analogicaly to all substantivs. Especialy noteworthy also is the declension *νίύς, νιέος, νίύν, νιέες, νιάσι, νιύνς*. As to the pronouns, the stem *Fo, Fe* apears almost always as combination with *αὐτός* (*e.g. Fιν αυτοι*); when *αὐτός* stands alone it is never reflexiv. The future of verbs undergoes contraction, as in *ἐπελευσεῖ*. The reduplication of the perfect is sumtimes replaced by ε, as in *ἐγράπται*. Other remarkabl points ar the retention of the preznt sufix in the perfect particípl *δεδαμναμένην* and the ocurence of the conjunctivs *πεπᾶται, ἐπτετεκνῶται*. The paper concluded with a list of the 44 books and papers which have apeard on the subject of this inscription.

The thanks of the meeting wer voted to Dr. Baunack for his paper. The only point that gav rize to criticizm was the author's theory of the origin of the inorganic aspiration, which was genraly regarded as unsatisfactory.[1]

Friday, March 18, 1887.

HENRY SWEET, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

Prof. SKEAT red a paper on "English Etymologies." He notist the apearance of Col. Yule's excelent Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words, which containd many etymologies of genral intrest. He mentiond, by way of exampl, the folowing, which ar not in his own Etymological Dictionary: 'Cheeta, cheetah,' a kind of lepard, *lit.* the spotted animal; Hind. *cítá*, Skt. *citraka*, spotted; from the Skt. *cit*, to perceiv; from the same root is chintz, originaly a 'varigated' stuf. 'Cheroot' (better *sheroot*), Tamil *shuruttu*, a roll (of tobacco). 'Chutny,' hot relish; Hind. *catní*. 'Cowry,' Hind. *kaurí*; from Skt. *kaparda*, a small shell. 'Curry,' Tamil *kari*, sauce, whence also Port. *caril*. 'Dacoit,' Hind. *dakait*, a robber. 'Dingy' (with hard *g*), Bengālī *dingi*, a small boat. 'Mango,' Port. *manga*, Malay *manggā*; all from the Tamil *mān-kay*, where *kay* means 'fruit,' and *mān* is the Tamil name of the tree producing it. 'Mulligatawny,' Tamil *milagu-tannír*, lit. pepper-water. 'Nautch,' Hind. *nāc*, Prākrt *nacca*, from Skt. *nrtya*, dancing, acting—Browning calls the dancing-girl herself a 'nautch.' 'Nullah,' Hind. *nāla*, a water-course. 'Polo,' 'a ball,' and the name of a game, is from *Balti*, in the upper valley of the Indus, etc. The word 'verandah'

[1] Dr. Whitley Stokes states that this theory has been adversely criticized by Prof. Windisch, who objects that if it wer sound we shoud hav *ἀνήρ* from *ὁ ἀνήρ*, and remarks that the regular use of the articl is not very old, yet in Homer we find *ἀφ' ἵππων*. Morover, inorganic aspiration ocurs in many cases (*e.g. ὁράω*) where the articl can hav had no influense.

is now proovd to be neither Persian nor Skt. (tho ocuring in modern Skt. as a borrowd word), but European—viz. Port. *varanda*, Old Span. *varanda*, a railing, ocuring in 1505; probably from Span. *vara*, a rod, Lat. *vara*, a forkt pole. Other words wer comented on. 'Atone,' originating in the phrase *to be at one*, is realy due to a tranzlation from the Anglo-French fraze *estre a un*. 'Cannibal' is not a coruption of *caribal*, a carib, but a true dialectal variant of it; another variant is *caliban*. 'Canoe' is a French spelling, the Span. word being *canoa* (from the old language of Hayti); the French *canoe* is now spelt *canot*. The Shaksperian 'chaudron,' entrails ("Macbeth"), is a coruption of *chaudon*, Old Fr. *chaudun*, *caldun*, entrails (Godefroy), Ger. *Kaldaunen*; perhaps of Keltic origin; Welsh *coluddion*, Irish *caolain*, entrails. 'Creel,' from O. Irish *criol*, a coffer (Windisch). 'Daze' apears in Old Fr. as *daser*; but both forms are of Scand. origin; this asertion was illustrated copiously from the various Scand. dialects. 'Dich' in Shakspere's "Timon," I. ii. 73, is for *dit*, and *dit* is for *do it*, the emfazis being on the *it*; proovd by quotations from Dekker (confirmd by Mr. Ellis, who has shown the same in his Early Eng. Pron). 'Fake,' to steal (slang), is the Mid. Du. *facken*, to catch, gripe, and cognate with Old-English *facian*, to try to get, a word uzed by King Alfred, *cf.* G. *Fach* in Kluge. 'Fever' is not French, but the Old-English *fefor*, borrowd *imediately* from Latin. 'Flannen,' older form of 'flannel,' ocurs in 1652. 'Freestone' is a tranzlation of Fr. *franche pierre*, 'stone of the first quality'; we find Mid. E. *fraunche piers* in the Wars of Alexander, l. 4356. 'Hayriff' cleavers (plant), is the Old-Eng. *hege-rife*—*i.e.* hedg-rife, or 'abundant in the hedges.' 'Hayward,' hedg-warden, is from the same Old-Eng. *hege*; the name 'Howard' is a coruption of the same, like 'Steward' from *sty-ward*. 'Lancepesade,' a certain oficer of foot, was originaly calld a demi-lance, or broken lance, becauz he had onse been an oficer of horse; French *lancepessade* (Cotgrave), from Ital. *lanza spezzata*, broken lance, *lit.* 'dis-pieced' lance. 'Martlet' is a house-martin, or else a swift, but the heraldic French name is *merlette*, a litl blackbird; this requires explanation. 'Mazurka' and 'polka' ment, originaly, 'Massovian girl' and 'Polish girl' respectivly; like Fr. *Polonaise*, they became names of dances. 'Orra,' superfluous (Burns), is the Dan. *övrig*, superfluous, *cf.* Ger. *übrig*. 'Quiz,' the E. name of the toy calld *bandelore* in French, is probably named from its whizzing noiz; the mention of it by Moore in 1789 (Life, i. 11) seems older than the uzual too oftn repeated story about its originating in a bet. 'Rum,' the spirit, was also calld 'kil-devl'; this is the tru source of the Fr. *guildive*, which so puzld Littré. Ther ar two 'scabbards'; 'scabbard' or *scale-board* is a thin board for splints, etc.; the other 'scabbard,' formerly *scawberk*, is a 'scale-berk'—*i.e.* a protection formd by slices of wood. 'Vagrant' is probably totaly unconected with Lat. *vagus*; it is the Anglo-French *wakerant*, rambling (see also Roquefort), and of Teutonic origin; answering to nativ E. *waggling*. Hackluyt spels it *vagarant*.

Friday, April 1, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

PROF. POSTGATE red a paper on "The Latin so-cald Future Infinitivs in *-urum*, *-uram*, etc.," the object of which was to show that they did not correspond to the finite forms as other infinitivs of a similar character did, or, in other words, that *dixit illum uenturum* (*esse*) was not related to *uenturus est* as *dixit fusos* (*esse*) *hostes* was to *fusi* (*sunt*) *hostes*. Firstly, the preponderating custom of Latin of not inserting the *esse* with theze forms was, on that asumption, at variance with the fact that *hostis uenturus* in the sense of *hostis est uenturus*, was not a Latin idiom. Again, the frequent omission of the subject of the fut. inf. was hardly possibl if the form was originaly participial; *dixit uenturum* in the sense of *dixit se esse uenturum* coud no mor hav been said in Latin than *pictum dixit* for *dixit se esse pictum* or *dixit se pictum*. He then referd to Gellius (*Attic Nihts*, i. 7), who quoted a number of indeclinabl forms, such as the *scio meos inimicos hoc dicturum* from a speech of C. Gracchus, and who gave the tru vew that theze wer realy indeclinabl infinitivs; *futurum*, *uenturum*, and the like woud then be acuzativs from verbal nouns, like the so-cald supine in *-tum* and the Samskṛt inf. in *-tum*, and woud not differ from *fore*, *uenire*, etc., except in the fact that they originated from difrent cases, theze latter being originaly datival formations. The subsequent declension of theze indeclinabl infinitivs was du to the influense of atraction, a change of which Latin furnisht numerous exampls, a striking one being the origin of the gerundiv.

Mr. BRADLEY said that sum of Prof. Postgate's arguments for his interesting theory seemd capabl of being answerd. The fact that the finite verb was not omitted in *hostis est uenturus*, as it was in *hostis* (*est*) *fusus*, miht be du to the comparativ infrequensy of the former expression; with the infinitiv, on the other hand, the future participl was common, becauz *uenturum esse* had to reprezent in reported speech both *uenturus est* and *ueniet*. It had, however, been proovd that in erly Latin the indeclinabl *-turum* stood for the future infinitiv; but it seemd eazier to supoze that this was a neuter participl than that it was a verbal noun. The instanse of the supine was not quite paralel, becauz we hav independent evidence of the existense of the verbal noun in *-tus*, but there is no trace of any verbal noun in *-turus* or *-turum*.

Friday, April 15, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS red a paper entitled "Pālī Notes and Queries."

1. KOÑCA-NĀDA. This term, givn in Childers's Dictionary, is aplied to the trumpeting noiz made by an elefant. As *sīha-nāda* means 'a lion's roar,' *koñca* (not in Childers) oht to mean 'an elefant,' from a root *kruñc* 'to trumpet.' We find such a root only in Buddhist Saṁskṛt. See Divyāvadāna, p. 251, 'hastinaḥ *kroñcanti*.' The editors explain *kroñcati* by 'to trumpet,' but sugest confuzion with *kroçati*; but the root *kruç* is itself a weakning of a root *kruk*, of which *kruc* and *kruñc* ar variants. In the Vinaya we find *koñca* uzed for the trumpeting of a celestial elefant (*nāga*), and in the Milinda for an elefant itself. The root *kruñc* also givs us Pālī *koñca*=Sk. *krauñca* 'a heron'; .cf. Sk. *kuñj-ara* 'an elefant' from √*kuñj* or *kūj*.

2. KADALĪCCHEDA is defined by the editors of the Divyāvadāna as a 'kind of sword-cut.' Bodhisattvo . . . . tān stambhān *kadalīcchedena* khaṇḍakhaṇḍaṁ chettum ārabdhaḥ (p. 459, l. 12). We hav a similar expression in Pālī *kalīra-ccheja* (Milinda-pañha, p. 193). The term *kadalī* is aplied to the soft stem of the plantain tree, while *kalīra* (Sk. *karīra*) denotes the top sprout of a plant or tree, cf. "tadā so rājā tassa tāpassa kuddho hatthapāde vaṁsa-*kalīre* viya chedāpesi" (Milinda-pañha, p. 201), 'Then the king in a rage cauzd the hands and feet of the ascetic to be cut off like the sprouts of the bamboo.'

3. *Simultaneously* is exprest in Pālī, much after the fashion of sum uninflected languages by the fraze *apubbaṁ acarimaṁ* 'not befor, not after,' or by the compound *apacchāpurimaṁ* 'not after or befor' (see Jāt. iii. p. 289; Milinda, pp. 40, 295).

A *procrastinator* would be exprest by *ajja-ve* ti puriso, "a person who says 'to-day, to-morrow.'"

4. The Saṁskṛt root *pṛ* apears in Pālī, as Dr. Trenckner has shown, under the form *vyāvaṭa*=Sk. *vyaprṭa* (Pālī Misc. p. 63),[1] but he does not tel us that this is the case only when uzed in the sense of 'occupied' with the locativ. With the ablativ *vyāvaṭa*= Sk. *vyāvṛta*='hindered,' from the root *vṛ*. Childers does not cite the form *pāreti* (the causativ of *pṛ*), but it ocurs in Jāt. i. p. 498.

5. The fraze PHANAṂ VIHACCA=*phanaṁ katvā*, 'expanding the hood,' is aplied to a snake (Udāna; ii. 1). Here *vihacca* = Sk. *vihṛitya*, from the root √*hṛ*+*vi*, cf. *āhacca-pada* (Mil. p. 148), where the first part of the compound=Sk. *āhṛtya*.

6. KACCHA='hair of hed,' corresponds to Sk. *kaca*. It is not in acordance with the uzual fonetic changes at work in Pālī. Other iregular and inexplicabl forms ar Pālī *kapalla*[2] 'lamp-black'=Sk. *kajjala*; Pālī *ulloka*=Sk. *rallaka* 'rag, blanket,' etc.

7. IṆĀYIKA in Childers's Dict. is explaind as 'detor.' It has this sense in *one* passage in the Vinaya, and reprezents Sk. *ṛṇika*. In other works it means 'creditor.'

> Na hi mayhaṁ brāhmaṇa paccūsamhi iṇāyikā
> Detha dethā ti codenti . . . .
> (Saṁyutta, vii. 1. 5, pp. 170–1.)

[1] Cf. Pālī *osaṭā*=*avasaṭa* from the root *sṛ*+*apa*. [2] See Vinaya Texts, ii. 50.

"Not hav I, O brāhman, (any) creditors who, in the erly morning, dun me, saying, 'pay, pay.'"

8. *On the interjectional use of words to supply the place of onomatopoeias.*—We miht uze 'deth and destruction,' or 'fire and fury' to convey the notion of sumthing fearful in lieu of imitativ words. In Pālī we hav a story of a demon (*yakkha*) trying to frihten Buddha; and he is made to utter the sounds *akkulo pakkulo*, which the Commentator says are onomatopoeias. But they ar not so, not nearly so much as our '*fee fie foh fum.*' *akkulo* corresponds to *ākulo* 'confounded,' and *pakkulo* (*v.l. bakkulo*)=*vakkulo*=*vyākula* 'agitated.' Cf.

Atha etaṃ pisācañ ca *bakkulañ* c' ativattatī ti.
(Udāna i. 7.)

"Then he overcame that demon and the alarm (he made)."

As we hav no full description of a *piśāca* (or *yakkha*) in any Pālī text, I quote the following from Dr. Hoernle's edition of the Jaina *Uvāsagadāso* (pp. 65–69). *Pisāya*=Pālī *pisāca*.

"Of the pisāya form—the following is said to be a ful description: its hed was fashond like a catl-feeding basket, its hairs lookt like the awn of ears of rice and shon with a tawny glare; its forhed was fashond like the belly of a large water-jar; its eyebrows wer like lizards' tails disheveld, and of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its eyes wer protruding from its globular hed . . . .; its eyes wer exactly like a pair of winnowing sivs . . . .; its noze was similar to the snout of a ram, and its two nostrils wer fashond like a pair of cooking stoves with large orifices; its beard was like the tail of a horse, of an exceeding tawny hu . . . .; its lips wer pendant exactly like thoze of a camel; its teeth (in length) lookt like plowshares; its tung was exactly like the pan of a winnowing siv . . . .; its jaws in length and crookedness wer fashond like the handl of a plow, and its cauldron-like cheeks wer hollow and sunkn and pale, hard and huge; its shoulders rezembld ketl drums; its chest (in width) rezembld the gate of a goodly town; its two arms (in bulkiness) wer fashond like the shafts of smelting furnaces; its two palms (in bredth and bulkiness) wer fashond like the slabs for grinding turmeric; the fingers of its hands . . . . wer fashond like the rollers of grinding slabs; its nails wer fashond like the valvs of oyster-shels; the two nipls on its brest depended like a barber's pouch; its belly was rotund like (the dome of) an iron smelting furnace; its navel (in depth) lookt like the rice water bowl (of a weaver) . . . .; its two thihs wer like a pair (of shafts of) smelting furnaces; its knees wer like the cluster of blossoms of the Ajjuṇa tree, excessivly tortuous . . . .; its shanks were lean and cuverd with hair; its two feet wer fashond like (large) grinding slabs; the toes of its feet wer fashond like the rollers of (large) grinding slabs, and its nails wer fashond like the valvs of an oyster shel. . . . The knees (of this demon) wer shaking and quaking; his eyebrows wer knit and bent; his tung

was protruding from his widely open mouth; he wor a chaplet made of lizards; a garland of rats hung around him by way of adornment; (he wor) earrings made of mungooses, and a scarf made of serpents; he slapt his hands on his arms and roard; and laft aloud in a horribl manner; he was cuverd with various sorts of hair of five colors."

9. YĀTHĀVATO (not in Childers) signifies 'truly, exactly,' and reprezents Sk. *yathāvat* with an inorganic *o*, cf. Pālī *āpadā* and Sk. *āpad*. (See Therī Gāthā, p. 211, l. 10.)

10. SAṄKĀPETI, in Mahāvagga III. 1. 2, is explaind by the translators of the Vinaya Texts as if the tru reading wer *saṅkappeti* 'to arange.' A various reading is *saṅkhāpeti* (from the root *kṣi* 'to dwel'), which givs us the better sense of 'to setl down.'

11. *A-nikīḷitāvī* (not in Childers) is from *nikīḷita*, the pp. of √kīḍ 'to sport, to play' (cf. bhuttāvī), and signifies 'not having reveld.' See Saṃyutta-Nikāya I. 210, p. 9; p. 10, § 12.

12. APĀLAMBA (not in Childers) is a Vedic term for the hinder part of a carriage, but also uzed for sum mecanizm to stop a chariot.

Hirī tassa apālambo || satiyassa parivāraṇaṃ
Dhammāhaṃ sārathiṃ brumi || sammādiṭṭhi-purejavaṃ.
(Saṃyutta-Nikāya.)

"Modesty is the drag of that (chariot), meditation is its escort, the law I call the charioteer speeded on by riht-vews."

13. VICAKKHU (not in Childers) = Sk. *vicakṣu*, 'perplext.'

Yaṃ nunāhaṃ yena samaṇo Gotamo ten' upasaṅkameyyaṃ *vicakkhu*-kammāyā ti. (Saṃyutta, iv. 2. 6, 7, pp. 112-3.)

14. SOCEYYA. Childers sugests that this term means 'purification,' but it has the sense of 'honesty,' cf. Sk. *çauca*, honest.

Saṃvohārena . . . *soceyyaṃ* veditabbaṃ.
(Saṃyutta, iii. 2. 1, p. 78.)

In buziness matters *honesty* is to be known, *i.e.* you may determin whether a man is honest by his dealings with you.

15. KĀVEYYA-MUTTA, 'drunk with inspiration,' 'drunk with the spirit.'

Mandiyā nu sesi udāhu *kāveyyamatto*.
(Saṃyutta, iv. 2. 3, p. 110.)

Sleepest thou in sloth, or art thou 'drunk with the spirit'?

16. KARAKARA (not in Childers) = Sk. *karkara*, cf. '*karakarāni*. khāditvā' gnawing the bones of the neck (Jāt. iii. p. 203).

17. BONDI is explaind by Childers as 'body.' It ocurs in Jāt. i. p. 503, for the body of an elefant; it is uzed also for the body of a crocodile in Jāt. iii. p. 117. The original meaning was probably 'stock, trunk,' from a root *bundh* (=*bhundh*) to bind, cf. Marāthī *bundhā*, 'the stock of a tree;' Sk. *bandha* 'the body,' from √*bandh* (=*bhandh*). It is probably cognate with English *body*.

Friday, May 6, 1887.

The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. ELLIS, Vice-President, read the following "Second Report on Dialectal Work," here printed at full:

In my first Report of 7 May, 1886, I described my method of work, the nature of my preliminary matter, and the treatment of the Southern, Western and Eastern Divisions. This evening I have to announce the completion of the first draft for the Midland and Northern Divisions, that is, for the whole of England, except a narrow slip of Cu. and the n. slopes of the Cheviot Hills in Nb. (contractions used for county names &c., as in the first Report), which belong linguistically to the Lowland Division. This Lowland Division itself is so far arranged that I am able to give a sketch of what it will be, but the work on the Midland and Northern Divisions has proved too great for me to attempt completing the Lowland. When I realised to myself the impossibility of getting this part of my book done in time to produce it this evening, I turned my attention to the Maps of the Dialect Districts. As the Scotch map is mainly Dr. Murray's, the completion of the English Divisions enabled me to draw both the maps definitively, and I now lay them before you, with a Key which will explain their arrangement. These maps will accompany my *Existing Phonology of English Dialects*, forming Part V. of my *Early English Pronunciation*, and also my *English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes*, being an abridgment of the former for the English Dialect Society, having only a small portion of the illustrations translated into approximative Glossic.

THE TEN TRANSVERSE LINES.

In my last report I described three of these which entered into the portion of England then considered.

(1) The n. *sum* line, or northernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sum* (sɔm, sɜm) or even *som* (sɔm).

(2) The s. *sŏm* line, or southernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sŏm* (su$_{i}$m). It is in the space between lines 1 and 2 that the intermediate form *som* occurs.

(3) The reverted *ur* line, or northernmost limit of the general use of reverted *r* (ɹ). This line I now begin in Wx. Ireland and make to pass through Pm. and Gm. in order to include D 1, 2, 3, while I have somewhat rectified its course through Wo. Wa. and Np., chiefly owing to recent observations by Mr. T. Hallam.

I have now to add seven other Transverse Lines of great importance in the mapping of Dialect Districts.

(4) The s. *teeth* (tiith) line, or southernmost limit of the pron. of the def. art. *the* as a suspended *t'* (t') or hissed *th* (th), not the voiced *th* (dh) as in the usual pron.; the word *teeth* conveniently combines the two sounds. The hiss (th) is the regular sound between lines 4 and 5, and in most of the intervening space, except D 24, the suspended (t') occurs only by assimilation. This line passes through s. Ch., n. St., s. Db., round s. and e. Nt., and goes to the sea by w. Li. and s. Yo.

(5) The n. *theeth* (dhiith) line, or northernmost limit of the use of *the* (dhi, dhʉ) or the hissed *th* (th) for the def. art. until we reach line 7. The pron. *the* is practically extinct long before we reach this limit, but still it is in occasional use, and, except in D 24, the hissed *th* (th) is regular. This line passes over the Isle of Man, which has *the* (dhʉ) exclusively, through m. La., across w. Yo. and to the s. of the North and East Ridings. It thus forms the s. boundary of the N. Div.

(6) The s. *hoose* (huus) line, or southernmost limit of the pron. of *house* as *hoose* (huus), which prevails everywhere to the n. of it. Like lines 1 and 2, this does not generally limit districts, as in fact *hoose* is the ancient pron., and it is only *house*, or its varieties, which are obtrusive and aggressive. The line passes n. of the Isle of Man, through s. Cu. in a zigzag form by n. La., s. We., and n. Craven in the West Riding of Yo., joining line 4 at the n. of Nt., and then running s. of the Isle of Axholme in n. Li., sweeping round to the sea near Great Grimsby.

(7) The n. *tee* line, or northernmost limit of the use of suspended *t'* (t') for the def. art., which singular usage is universal between lines 5 and 7. This line passes in a zigzag through n. Cu., and then along the n. of Weardale in Du., afterwards bending suddenly n. to just s. of Sunderland.

(8) The s. *sum* line, or southernmost limit (proceeding from Scotland) of the pron. of *some* as any variety of *sum*, such as (səm, sʉm, sœ$_1$m), where the last is a singular middle sound developed between lines 8 and 9 in Nb. This line starts from the n. of the Solway Firth and goes nearly ene. to the border of Nb., then suddenly turns s. to meet line 7, which it subsequently follows to the sea. To the s. and w. of this line, in Cu., *sŏŏm* (su$_1$m) only is heard. To the e. and n. of it, in Nb., up to line 9, both *sŏŏm* (su$_1$m) and the curious (sœ$_1$m) variety of *sum* may be noted.

(9) The n. *sŏŏm* line, or northernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sŏŏm* (sʉm, su$_1$m). To the n. and w. of this line only *sum* (səm, sʉm) is heard. This line coincides with line 8 till that line deflects to the s., it then sweeps over the summit of the Cheviot Hills to the Cheviot Hill itself, after which it crosses Nb. to Bamborough.

(10) The s. L. line, or southernmost limit of true L. pron. This line coincides with line 9 as far as the Cheviot Hill, then continues the boundary of Nb. as far as Berwick-upon-Tweed, and finally skirts the n. boundary of the Liberties of that town.

MIDLAND DIVISION.

This division, comprising D 20 to 29, embraces the whole middle of England s. of line 5 and n. of the S. Div. It is by no means thoroughly homogeneous. We may distinguish an e. part, D 20, and a w. part, all the rest, but this w. part has also a n. form, n. of line 4, and a s. form, to the s. of it. Even then the n. part falls into two. Hence I distinguish a BM or Border Midland D 20, which is quite isolated, a NM or North Midland group D 21 to 24, a MM or Mid Midland group D 25 and 26, with an almost isolated EM or East Midland D 27, of which the connection with the MM group has almost disappeared, and finally a SM or South Midland group D 28 and 29. Many of these groups have also numerous varieties. There is no one general character, except the pron. *sŏŏm* (su$_1$m) of *some*, but this is not peculiar to the div., which is thus best defined by negatives, as decidedly not N or S, and even clearly differing from W and E. But the M div. is important in preserving the change of the old Saxon I′, or *ee*, into long English ī, or (a′i), through an initial deepening of the sound, as (ii, i̱i, i̱$_1$i, i̱$_1$*i*, *éi*, é*i*, ɛ′*i*), and then by easy stages to (æ′*i*, á^1*i*, á*i*). All these and other intermediate forms are found in the M. div. The old E′ also passed into (ii), and that changed as above as far as (ɛ′*i*), but no further, shewing that this was a more recent change than that of original I′. The change of U′ into *ow* (a′u) belongs to the N div.; but the numerous surprising changes of *ow* (a′u), when once reached, are remarkably well exhibited in the M. div.

Among consonants *r* when not before a vowel seems to me generally untrilled, and nearly if not quite vocalised. The aspirate is altogether lost. Even educated people seem to be as much unaware of its existence as we are in *honour*. The def. art. varies, as (dhɐ, dh, th, t') except in the SM group, where (dhɐ) only is used.

The chief constructional peculiarity is the use of the verbal plural in *-en*, as *they live-n*, *you know-n*. This is universal in D 21, 22, 25, 26, occasional in D 23, was formerly found in D 27, is plentiful in D 28, but in D 29 chiefly survives in contracted forms, and more in the w. than the e. *I am* is the regular form, *I be* is rare, though the negative *I ben't* is more heard. *I is* and *I are* are unused.

In D 21, 22, 25, 26, *hoo*, in various pronunciations (uu, ɑ′u, ɐ′u, i̱u), is used for *she*, and in D 24 *shoo* (shuu, sho, shɐ) is used. For *girl*, *wench* is the usual word without any offensive suggestion.

D 20, or BM, which is conterminous with the county of Li., has for its great and peculiar character the large quantity of fractured vowels it uses, consisting mainly of an indistinct *ər* (with *r* unsounded) tacked on to the received pron. I find it convenient to treat three V. (varieties).

V i, s.Li., I illustrate chiefly from Mr. Blasson, a surgeon, of Billingborough, 12 e. Grantham, who gave me a vv. (*vivâ voce*) sitting.

V ii, m.Li., I have been able to illustrate from the dictation of Lord Tennyson and a lady to whom he recommended me, Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the late rector of Halton Holegate, l e. Spilsby, together with some wn. (words noted) by Mr. T. Hallam.

V iii, which has the peculiarity of using *oo* for *ow*, introduced for archaic effect, but not quite consistently, into Lord Tennyson's *Northern Farmer, old style*, I illustrate from vv. communications from Mr. Peacock, the author of the Glossary, and his daughter. I have also several other communications.

D 21, or s.NM, covers se. La. and nw. Db., and is I think the least altered of these NM forms, for which reason I place it first. Db. was the native county, as La. is the residence county of my principal M. informant, Mr. T. Hallam, to whom I have been so much indebted for so many years, and to whose good ear and unwearied investigations I owe most of my knowledge of the pron. of Db., La., Ch., St., Nt., Wa. and much of Le. Without his aid this most interesting region, instead of presenting the orderly appearance which I hope it will assume in my book, would have been a nearly hopeless tangle. I wish therefore to record my great obligations to Mr. T. Hallam for his invaluable assistance in collecting information and placing it at my disposal. I illustrate this district by three cs. (comparative specimens) as obtained and written from dictation by Mr. Hallam, for Staleybridge, Glossop, and Chapel-en-le-Frith (his native place), which, to facilitate comparison, I have transcribed interlinearly. To this is added a wl. (word list) of wn. (words noted) by Mr. T. Hallam at Rochdale, Oldham, Patricroft in La., and Hope Woodlands, Edale, and Peak Forest in Db. In this District U′ becomes *ow* (ɤ′*u*, áu).

D 22, or w.NM, contains the remainder of La. s. of the Ribble, and is divided into six V. (varieties). The differences are very minute, and are illustrated by a wl. for each V; four interlinear cs. for V i Ormskirk, V ii Bolton, V iii Leyland, V v Burnley; two interlinear dt. (dialect tests) for V iv Blackburn, and another for V vi the Colne Valley, as it was 40 years ago, shewing the former existence of the guttural (kh). U′ is here generally (aa, aa[1]), sometimes quite (ææ), and these are the sounds to be usually attributed to the mysterious La. *eaw*, invented by the author of *Tim Bobbin*, the classical s.La. book. I am chiefly indebted to Mr. T. Hallam for these, though I have had some other valuable assistance.

D. 23, or n.NM, comprises m.La. known as the Fylde. It is claimed to be purer than D 21, because it keeps (á*u*) for the U′ words, itself an immense alteration from (uu). The verbal plural in *-en*, although disowned by some natives, is used in contracted forms. Even (kh) exists with some old people, but is dying out. This is illustrated by two cs. in parallel cols. for Poulton and Goosnargh, pal. from dictation by Mr. T. Hallam, and a dt. from Wyersdale, with a wl. from Poulton, Goosnargh, Kirkham and Wyersdale, from wn. by Mr. T. Hallam.

With D 23 I associate as a variety the Isle of Man. This of course is properly a Celtic region, but the English is now almost

universal, decidedly dialectal in character, and more like the speech of D 23 than that of any other part of the adjacent coast. The principal points of difference from the Fylde are *the* (dhʉ) at full for the def. art. and the total absence of the verbal pl. in *-en*. Also in the n. of the island, a dental *t* (t̪) is often used for *th*, as (t̪iq) thing. Through an introduction from Mrs. Roscoe of Kensington, Mr. T. Hallam was able to take down a dt. from two Manx school teachers at Manchester, Miss Cannell and Miss Cublin, and subsequently he found other natives there, so that I am able to give three interlinear dt. from the n., nw. and s. parts of the island, together with a wl. obtained from these informants.

D 24, or e.NM, comprises that part of Yo. which lies s. of the n. *theeth* line 5, containing the large cities of the clothing districts, each of which, including the neighbouring villages, has its own peculiarities, so that I have been forced to consider nine Varieties, i Huddersfield, ii Halifax, iii Keighley, iv Bradford, v Leeds, vi Dewsbury, vii Rotherham, viii Sheffield, and ix Doncaster. The numerous comic tales which purport to be in these different dialects are untrustworthy as scientific guides from want of proper discrimination of localities, and have various orthographies perfectly unintelligible (like received English spelling) to those who are not previously familiar with the proper pronunciation. In this dilemma I was fortunate in making the acquaintance of Mr. C. Clough Robinson, author of a Leeds Glossary, a native of the neighbourhood of Leeds, who had spoken both the Leeds and Mid Yo. dialects in his youth, had had rare opportunities of consorting and conversing with the operatives in all these towns, and had devoted much attention to the different 'phases,' as he styled them, of Yo. dialects. He only wanted a phonetic alphabet to express himself in. With this I was able to supply him in July, 1873, when I taught him the use of Glossic. For several years afterwards he did a great deal of dialect work, and, among others, he sent me seven cs. for the first seven varieties of this district. Each was written in glossic, each carefully examined by me and sent back with queries, which he returned with long answers. So far as Mr. C. C. Robinson's memory served, these were as good specimens as could be procured. The only objection to the result is that it was all memory, and not, as in Mr. T. Hallam's case, written down fresh from the dictation of persons actually using the sounds. I doubt however whether for this particular district they could be much improved. Having got an eighth cs. written in systematic spelling by Prof. D. Parkes of Sheffield for that town, the pron. of which is practically the same as that of Rotherham, I give all eight specimens interlinearly; and the agreement between Mr. C. C. R.'s Rotherham and Prof. D. Parkes's Sheffield is nearly complete. We may observe a verbal pl. in *-en* appearing at Huddersfield and Halifax, and also at Rotherham and Sheffield, which adds to the Midland character of the District, though in the other varieties this does not appear. The first five varieties are also illustrated by wl. from various sources, including a valuable

one for Leeds by Mr. C. C. R. The last, V ix, has a wl. pal. (palaeotyped) by me from the dictation of Dr. Sykes of Doncaster.

Reduced to the most distinctive elements, D 24 represents O, O′ by (*ói*, *úi*) as in (*óil*, *spúin*) hole, spoon, and U′ by (*éus*, aa) as in (*éus*, aas) house.

D 25, or w.MM, contains Ch. and the Potteries in n. St. There are some very marked peculiarities in this district which have been localised especially by Mr. Hallam. Mr. Darlington, who is now printing a glossary of s. Ch. with introductory Essays on Grammar and Pronunciation, using Glossic with great ability and precision, is also doing good work. The chief characters, which I here express in palaeotype, are that U′ becomes (*ái*) as (*áis*) house, contrasting wonderfully with the (aa's, ææs) of D 22, and (aas) of D 24, and the usual (ɐ'us, *áus*) of D 21. The I′ becomes (*ái*) varying to (ʌ'*i*), with which it is regularly confused by dialect writers; this (*ái*) is always kept distinct from the (*ái*), so that *icehouse* would be (*áisáis*). The E′ is (*íi*) varying to (*éi*) in m. Ch. and (ɛ'*i*) in St. A- is (ii) in (tiil) tale, except in ne. Ch. and St., where it is (*teel*). And ÆG, EG are (ii), as (tiil, wii) tail, way, except in ne. Ch. and part of St., where (*teel*, *wee*) may be heard. O′ is most frequently (*œ'u*), varying as (ɐ'*u*) in St., thus (m*œ'un*, mɐ'*un*) moon. For illustrations I have three dt. from Bickley by Mr. Darlington, two from Sandbach, and Leek, both by Mr. T. Hallam, and four cs. from Tarporley, Middlewich, Pott Shrigley (with variants for the Dale of Goyt Db.), and Burslem, all written from native dictation by Mr. T. Hallam, followed by wl. for n. and s. Ch. and n. St.

D 26, or e.MM, comprises Db. s. of the Peak, excluding the tail which runs between St. and Le., and belongs phonetically to D 29. This is a remarkable contrast to D 21, which contains Db. n. of the Peak, representing E′ by (ɛ'*i*), I′ by (*ái*), O′ by (ɐ'*u*), and U′ by (aa), as (grɛ'*in*, t*áim*, kjɐ'*ul*, daan) green, time, cool, down. This is illustrated by a cs. from V i Ashford, with variants from V i Bradwell, Taddington, Winster, V ii Ashbourn (from two informants), V iii Brampton, V iv Repton, from all of which places Mr. T. Hallam with great pains and trouble obtained versions of the cs. There are also wl. for each variety gathered from Mr. T. Hallam's wn.

D. 27, or EM, comprises only the co. of Nt. Sufficient is not known for me to assume other boundaries, and what is known with any degree of accuracy is due to Mr. T. Hallam's visits. On one of these he fortunately found a family at Bulwell, 4 nw. Nottingham, which could recollect that in 1844 keen, feet, rain, were called (kjɛ'*in*, fɛ'it, riin) as in D 26, and who used a verbal pl. in *-en*, for which reasons I group D 27 with D 25, 26. The marked pron. is that U′ becomes (âɐ), that is, the second element of the diphthong is (ɐ), and this form is often triphthongised slightly by prefixing a faint (e), thus (d⌊eâɐn) down, where ⌊ indicates faintness. But n. of Worksop the U′ becomes (âu). This is illustrated by a dt. from Mansfield Woodhouse, 2 n. Mansfield, with variants from East Retford, Worksop, Mansfield, Bulwell,

and Newark. I add a brief extract from a cs. given me by Mr. F. Miles, the artist, a son of the former Rector of Bingham, as compared with the pron. of the same passage by a retired tradesman as recorded by Mr. T. H. There is also a wl. of wn. by Mr. T. H., shewing great uniformity over the county. One point is remarkable, considering that Nt. and Li. are conterminous for some way, namely, the total absence in Nt. of the fractures which are so conspicuous in Li., and consequently Nt. and Li. are entirely distinct.

D 28, or w.SM. This is a small district involving a portion of w. Fl., some of ne. Dn., both in Wales proper, all of detached or English Fl., a small part of n. Sh. and a still smaller part of w. Ch. It is a district not well known phonetically, but through Mr. T. Hallam's investigations I have been able to give some account of it. Its English is thoroughly dialectal, and though not homogeneous, is evidently connected with M. habits of speech. The general characters, which must be taken as a whole (the varieties referring to different parts), are: A- name (niim, n*ee*m). A' stone (st*oo*n, stuun). E' green (griin) slightly leaning to (gr*i*in, gr*é*in). IH night (niit, n*E*'it), the last chiefly in 'good-night.' I' varies much, but may be taken as (*ái*). O' noon (n*œ*'un) as observed by Mr. T. H., but (nɪun) as felt by others. U is regularly (u_1) and U' is variable, but may be taken as (*áu*).

Four varieties are considered and illustrated by four interlinear dt. for the first three and a wl. for each separately, embracing a great number of places visited by Mr. T. H.

D 29, or s.SM. This is a very extensive district, comprising Sh. e. of Wem and the Severn, St. s. of Stone, a slip on n. of Wo., the greater part of Wa., the s. tail of Db. and all Le. It has occasioned both Mr. T. H. and myself great trouble to collect and coordinate the information, and much remains to be done still about the outskirts, which must be left to future investigators. Although the speech of this district is at once recognised in contrast with its immediate neighbours, it is difficult to fix on any definite characteristic. It is very homogeneous, and I have been unable to maintain a division into three parts which I formerly recognised. I have, however, proposed four varieties, with several subforms to the first three, which want of space prevents me from considering in detail in this report. The illustrations are first five interlinear cs., for V i from Cannock Chase, w.m.St., by Mr. T. H.; for V ii from Dudley, locally in s. St., obtained by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, in a carefully-written form which I have pal. as well as I could with the help of Mr. T. H.'s researches in the neighbourhood; for V iii from Atherstone Wa., pal. by me from dictation; for V iv I have two cs. from Waltham and Enderby, both Le., written by me from dictation of native students at the Whiteland's Training Coll., Chelsea. Also I am able to give 8 interlinear dt.; 4 for V i, from Edgmond Sh., Eccleshall St., Burton-on-Trent St., and Lichfield St., all pal. by Mr. T. H.; 3 for V ii from Wellington Sh., and Darlaston St., both pal. by Mr. T. H., and Coalbrookdale Sh., pal. by me from the writing of Rev. F. W. Ragg, and finally for V iv,

Belgrave Le., from the glossic of Miss C. S. Ellis. Besides these, I give several small scraps for V i from Burton-on-Trent, by Mr. T. H., and Barton-under-Needwood, by myself, for V ii from Darlaston and Walsall St., both by Mr. T. H. And finally, I give 9 wl. from various sources, 3 for V i, 3 for V ii, 2 for V iii, and 1 for V iv, the last containing a very full account of the pron. of Syston Le., taken vv. from Miss Adcock, native, a teacher at Whiteland's Training Coll. Altogether, therefore, I furnish a very full account of this interesting region, the Midland Counties proper.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

This comprises D 30, 31, and 32. It is bounded on the s. by the n. *theeth* (dhiith) line 5, and on the n. by the s.L. line 10, extending from sea to sea. Here again it is not by one form, but by parts of a combination, that the ear judges of a N. character. The whole region is distinguished, as regards the L. and M. divisions between which it lies, by two transitions, first of U′ from *oo* (uu) to *ow* (a′u) in some form, and secondly of U from *ŏŏ* (*u*, u_1) to *u* (ə, ɐ). The first is a transition from L. to M., the second from M. to L. It is in the sw. part, D 31, that the former change is prepared, and in the n. part, D 32, that the latter change occurs. Generally, however, the preparation for *ow* (a′u) is not recognised. My informants in D 30 did not acknowledge it, and gave only U′= *oo* (uu). In D 31, however, the change was very clear, and extended over D 32, though most persons thought they were really saying *oo* (uu). And in D 32 none of the dialect books had prepared me for the intermediate sound between (ɐ, u_1), which I write ($œ_1$), and which came upon me quite as a surprise when I personally visited Nb. in Jan. 1879. In fact, all dialect books, and most informants that do not use a phonetic spelling, employ *u* simply for both (ɐ, u_1) or (ə, *u*), and also their intermediates (o, $œ_1$), which of course has occasioned me immense difficulties in my investigations.

Among the consonants the guttural (kh) may be said to be extinct, though it is marked in L. The letter *r* occasions much difficulty. On the e., when not preceding a vowel, it becomes vocalised or disappears. It is scarcely perceptible even on the w. In the n. it becomes uvular, but this is a mere defect of utterance and not a dialectal character.

D 30, or EN. This comprises most of the North Riding and all the East Riding of Yo. Its w. boundary is properly the edge of the hills which sink down into the great plain of Yo. The speech is wonderfully uniform throughout, yet I have found it advisable to make 4 varieties, V i the Plain, V ii the Moors, V iii the Wolds, V iv the Marshland. My great assistant here, as in D 24, has been Mr. C. C. Robinson, who was from parentage and education nearly as familiar with V i and ii as with D 24, witness his Mid. Yo. Glossary, in which he has used Glossic throughout. It is to be regretted that illness has obliged him to renounce all dialectal

work, and that I have not even been able to have his assistance in the final revision of the work he did for me in 1876. At that time, however, every specimen, originally written in Glossic, was strictly examined and discussed as in D 24. In V ii I have received much other assistance which has helped to check what he sent me. For V iii and V iv I had to trust to others, and the result is a consistent whole, in which I therefore feel general confidence.

The great characteristic of D 30, as contrasted with D 31, is the fractures which are substituted for Saxon A-, A', Æ, Æ', E-, EA', O', which sound exactly like *ear* or *air* in London with no trill (*iʉ*, éeʉ), of which the first is more common in the n. part, while either of the two sounds may be used in the s. part. In the case of A', O, there is the further alternative of *oor* as in *poor* (*úuʉ*). The next great peculiarity is the use of *ah* (aa) for I', as *tahm* (taam) time, *wahd* (waad) wide. In V iii, however, before voiceless consonants (*éi*, E'*i*) is heard, but so rooted is the use of (aa) in V i, that Mr. C. C. R., who belongs to that variety, and did not profess to know V iii, could not persuade himself that the other forms ever occurred. The definite art. throughout D 30 and 31 is simply suspended (t'), and in Holderness V iii, according to the glossarists, it entirely disappears. In V i at Washburn River, according to Mr. C. C. R., the hissed (th) may be heard. *I is* (aaz) is the universal form.

The illustrations begin with 10 interlinear cs.; for V i from Mid Yo., Northallerton, New Malton, Lower Niddersdale, and Washburn River, all by Mr. C. C. Robinson, and s. Ainsty, by Mr. Stead, a native, one of the authors of the Holderness Glossary; for V ii, from s. Cleveland and ne. Coast, also by Mr. C. C. Robinson; for V iii, from Market Weighton, pal. by myself from the dictation of Rev. Jackson Wray, a native, author of *Nestleton Magna*, and several dialectal works, and from Holderness by Mr. Stead. Then follow 4 interlinear dt. all for V ii, from Danby, by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary; from Whitby, by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary; for the Moors generally, by Rev. John Thornton, all three in their own spellings, and from Skelton, originally written by Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, of that place, and read to me by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, native, a friend of Mr. I. W., then a student in the Wesleyan Training Coll., Westminster, and revised by Mr. T. Dawson Ridley, of Coatham, Redcar. Next follow 3 interlinear dt.; for V iii from East Holderness, by Mr. Stead; for Sutton, 3 ne. Hull, written in Glossic by Mr. E. French, long resident in Hull; and for V iv from Goole, by the late Rev. Dr. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had been curate there, and from whose reading I pal. it. Finally, I have 4 wl., for V i from Mid Yo., by Mr. C. C. Robinson, very full; for V ii from Danby in Cleveland, by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, and from Whitby by the late F. K. Robinson; for V iii a very full wl., pal. by me from the dictation of Rev. Jackson Wray; and for Holderness, n. part by Mr. S. Holderness, w. part by Mr. F. Ross, and e. part by Mr. Stead, the

three authors of Holderness Glossary for those divisions respectively (who bestowed great pains upon it, and Mr. Stead gave me his part vv. and interpreted the other parts); and from Snaith, 18 s. by e. York, by Rev. T. W. Norwood, 40 years acquainted with the dialect.

D 31, or WN. This large tract of country comprises s. Du., w. and m. Cu., all We., the hundred of Lonsdale n. and s. of the Sands in n. La. and the hilly part of w. Yo. to the west of a line drawn from the Tee's mouth up to Croft, and then down to Middleham in Wensleydale, and Burley-on-the-Wharfe, and to the n. of the n. *theeth* line 5. Although there is on the whole great uniformity and homogeneousness throughout the whole region, I find it best to distinguish six Varieties. V i consists briefly of w. Yo., comprising Upper Swaledale and Upper Wensleydale n. of the s. *hoose* line 6, and north Craven s. of it, all other points but the use of *ow* instead of *oo* for U′ remaining unaltered. V ii contains all n. La. and extreme s. Cu., all s. of line 6, comprising Lancaster, Cartmell, Furness, and Bootle. V iii consists of We. s. of the watershed, which (as well as Furness) uses the Danish *at* instead of *to* before the infinitive. V iv consists of the basin of the river Eden in We., n. of the watershed, and e. Cu. V v consists of w. Cu.; and V vi of s. Du., Weardale, and Teesdale.

In this wild district, which seems among its hills to have preserved a much older form of speech than the plains of Yo., I have been peculiarly fortunate in securing the assistance of Mr. J. G. Goodchild, of the Government Geological Survey, who was stationed there for many years, and became familiar with the talk of the people, and was able to obtain many cs. and wl. which he wrote in palaeotype with photographic minuteness and the greatest conscientiousness. These results also he was able to revise again and again with his original informants. Finally, he spent many, at least twenty, evenings with me, going over each cs. and wl. separately, and finally settling with me the best palaeotypic forms. I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to him for all the labour, which he has most liberally bestowed upon this work.

The general character of this district may be taken as follows. A-, A′ are fractures in which each element seems to have the stress, the first being a deep (*i*$_1$), verging towards (*e*), and the second a high bright (a^1) as in French and Italian, thus (n*i*$_1$á^{1}m, kl*i*$_1$à^{1}z, h*i*$_1$á^{1}m) name, clothes, home. E′ becomes (*éi*) consisting of a short (*e*) with the stress, and a long or medial (i), and this termination so usurps the place of the whole that the natives consider they use simple *ee* (ii). The I′ is (âɪ) as (tâɪm) time, not (taam) at all. The O′ is generally (*ɨú*). The U′ is (*ú*$_1$u), that is, the first element is a thickened (*u*) in full, taken very near to (*o*), followed by the proper (u). Thus (*ú*$_1$u) approaches very near (*ʊ́u*), and is the principal form under which *oo* (uu) passes into *ow* (a'u). There is another transitional form heard in V vi, where (uu) is commenced with an indistinct *a* in ide*a*, the true *u* being lengthened,

thus (ʊû), the effect of which is not unlike the M. (æ'u). Each of the three forms (ú,u, ʊû, æ'u) is conceived by the speakers as *oo* (uu), and each generates *ow* (a'u).

The principal illustration of this interesting district consists of 22 interlinear cs., of which the first and last two are added to shew the contrast with D 30 on the one hand, and the relation to D 32 on the other. For V i there are 2 cs. from Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale, wonderful pieces of phonetic writing by Mr. J. G. G., the Craven portion being otherwise represented. For V ii there is a cs. from Cartmel by Mr. T. H., and another from Coniston, written by the old postmaster Mr. Roger Bowness, and pal. by me from the reading of Miss Bell. In the introduction to V ii I give Mr. R. B. Peacock's versions of the *Song of Solomon* chap. ii. from *Trans. Philological Soc.* 1867, part ii., pal. by me from his key, *ibid.* p. 11, assisted by two wl. for V ii, mentioned below. Then for V iii there are six cs. all pal. by Mr. J. G. G. for Kirkby Lonsdale We., Dent and Sedberg in Yo., and Kendal, Long Sleddale and Orton in We. Next for V iv there are six cs. all pal. by Mr. J. G. G., and some many times revised, for Kirkby Stephen, Crossby Ravensworth, Temple Sowerby (from the late Mrs. Atkinson), Milburn, all in We., and Langwathby (from the late Miss Powley, the Cu. poetess, sister of the above Mrs. Atkinson) and Ellonby, both in Cu. For V v there are three cs., one pal. by Mr. J. G. G. from Mr. Postlethwaite for Keswick, one pal. by me from Mr. Hetherington, son of the late vicar of Clifton, near Workington (the late Mr. Dickinson, author of the Cu. Glossary, also sent me a cs. from Workington, but as I had no opportunity of hearing him read it, I have used Mr. Hetherington's instead), and one from Holme Cultram or Abbey Holme, from the dictation of the Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, near Coniston.

The Craven form of V i is illustrated by quite a unique specimen, William Seward's *Familiar Dialogue* for Burton-in-Lonsdale Yo., 13 ne. Lancaster, printed in 1801, very rare, and lent me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which Mr. J. G. G. has palaeotyped from the reading of the postmaster of the place, a contemporary and fellow-townsman of the author. This will be given interlinearly with the original spelling, a good specimen of its kind, but utterly inadequate for the present purpose.

V vi is illustrated by a dt. from Stanhope, Weardale, by Mr. Egglestone, author of those excellent dialect books, *Betty Podkins' Visit to Auckland Flower Show* and *Letter to the Queen on Cleopatra's Needle*, with the principal variants from three other dt. (1) for Heathery Cleugh, from Mr. Dalton, the schoolmaster, at the request of Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh, rector of Edmondbyers, n. Du.; (2) for Bishop Auckland, by Mr. J. Wild, master of the Union Workhouse, at the request of the then vicar, Rev. R. Long; and (3) from Easington and Hart Du., by Miss E. P. Harrison, daughter of the vicar.

Finally, I give five wl. (1) for V i from North Craven, that is, Burton-in-Lonsdale, Chapel-le-Dale, and Horton-in-Ribblesdale,

pal. from the dictation of three informants by Mr. J. G. G.; (2) and (3) for V ii, the first for Lonsdale, s. of the Sands, chiefly from wn. by Mr. T. H., and the second from High Furness, partly from Mr. T. H.'s collections, and partly from a wl. written by Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, Coniston, and pal. by me from the reading of Miss Bell, whom he especially recommended for her dialectal knowledge; (4) for V iii from Dent and Howgill (in Yo., but practically part of We.), pal. by Mr. J. G. G. from dictation, and the latter verified by me; (5) from St. John's Weardale, pal. by Mr. J. G. G., and from Middleton-in-Teesdale, by Rev. John Milner, rector, conjecturally pal. by myself.

D 32, or NN. This comprises a small portion of Cu. about Carlisle and Brampton, avoiding the northernmost parts about Longtown and Bewcastle; with the n. of Du. and the whole of Nb. except the n. slopes of the Cheviots, which are L. Six varieties are recognised, V i n.Cu., V ii n.Du., V iii sw.Nb., V iv se.Nb., V v m.Nb., and V vi n.Nb.

The character is that of transition for U from (u_1) through ($œ_1$) already mentioned, to (ɐ). In V i we have only (u_1), in V vi we have only (ɐ), the transition therefore is effected in the intermediate varieties. The fractures ($ɨ_1$i, $ú_1$u) exist, though they were not always dictated to me, and the former often sinks to (*éɐi*), while the latter thickens to (*óu*) occasionally, so nearly that I often so wrote it from dictation. The I′ generates a diphthong, which I heard like my own ɪ (ə′*i*, á¹*i*), but which is felt by natives as (é*i*, ɐ′*i*). The treatment of O′ varies as (ɪu, ɪiɐ, ɪœ$_1$), and never approaches French *u* (y), but it is curiously enough written *ui* in the *Pitman's Pay*, the classical dialect book. The A, A′ is (a¹), the high northern sound, like French and Italian, but it is written *aw* in the *Pitman's Pay* as if it were (ʌ).

In V iii there is a peculiar pron. of A′ as *oh* (*oo*), which seems greatly to amuse the Newcastle people. The def. art. is always *the*. *I am* and *I is* (à)m, à)z) are both used, but the latter is most frequent. At Chillingham and Chatton they pron. the initial Ch. as (sh), and Chillingham is the only name ending in *-ingham* which is pronounced (-*i*qɐm); all others, as Bellingham, Ovingham, have (-*i*ndjɐm) as if written *-injam*. The burr or uvular *r* extends to Berwick, and to Falstone and Keilder on the n. slopes of the Cheviots, and uncertainly into n. Du. Although no really dialectal character, its nature and extent of use are fully investigated.

The illustrations of V i, Carlisle and Knaresdale Nb., by Mr. J. G. G., are given in D 31 in the 22 interlinear cs., because they so much resemble the rest of Cu. For V i South Shields Du., V iv Newcastle-on-Tyne, V vi Berwick-on-Tweed, I give three interlinear cs. pal. by myself from dictation of Messrs. Pyke, Barkas, and Gunn respectively. For the rest I give 22 interlinear dt., of which 11 were pal. from dictation by myself, and the others pal. from written instructions and neighbouring analogues.

Finally, I add three wl., one for V i from Brampton Cu., obtained by Mr. J. G. G.; another for V ii from South Shields, from the

glossic of Rev. C. Y. Potts, native; and a third for V iii and V iv, to contrast the sw. and se. Nb., by Rev. George Rome Hall, of Birtley, 9 nnw. Hexham, and Rev. Hugh Taylor, then of Humshaugh, 4 m. nearer Hexham, who had been 40 years acquainted with the speech of the pitmen.

This finishes the five Divisions of England, and thus much I have complete in first draft now shewn, with the exception of the preliminary matter, which must wait till the rest of the book is printed, as constant reference to the printed pages will be necessary. It will contain the maps and key to the same, now shewn, the cs. and dt. in ordinary spelling, the wl. with all the words numbered and derivations of the words when known, forming a key to all subsequent wl., and a reversed alphabetical index of the words,—so far all is ready. Then will follow a new key to Palaeotype, including all the additional signs and contrivances which dialectal investigations have rendered necessary, referring to the pages in which they are specially explained or used, but not going beyond the requirements of this book. Then there will be the Alphabetical County List, continually referred to in my book, giving first the Counties of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in alphabetical order for each county, and then under the county the alphabetical list of places whence information has been obtained, with the name of the informant and nature of the information, naming the district to which it is assigned, and the page where it is treated, forming a geographical index to the book. The slips for this list, so far as it could be completed, are all written, and have been constantly used. This will be accompanied by an alphabetical list of informants, referring each to the county and place simply. This recognition of my informants, without whose assistance and valuable services I could have done nothing, is indispensable, and I wish here to express my grateful sense of their most liberally and cheerfully accorded help, often laborious, occasionally expensive, and very generally inconvenient to themselves.

Not only is Part V. of *Early English Pronunciation* so far advanced, but my abridgment of it for the English Dialect Society has been fully written up to the same point. The preliminary work here consists of a new key to Glossic as there used in an approximative form for general dialectal purposes, requiring the minimum of study to acquire, a matter which I had seriously to consider, for I find that to even clever and well-informed men any *system* of spelling by sound seems utterly bewildering, due, I suppose, to the unsystematic character of our present orthography.

LOWLAND DIVISION.

This important Division has been partly treated by Dr. J. A. H. Murray in his *Dialects of the South of Scotland*, and my first intention was merely to add a few illustrations. I have had to do much more, but I have not attempted to treat L. so exhaustively as the English divisions. Dr. Murray's districts will be preserved,

but the numbering and positional names of the districts are mine, and the only changes I make are in the s. border of D 33, SL., next England, and the addition of the Orkneys and Shetlands, D 41 and 42, which Dr. Murray had omitted.

In order to shew the general relations of all parts of L. with each other, and with England, I commence with eight interlinear cs. for D 33, from Bewcastle to Longtown Cu., and Hawick, Roxburghshire; for D 34, from Edinburgh; for D 36, from Stranraer, Wigtonshire; for D 38, from Arbroath, Forfar; for D 39, for Keith, Banff; for D 40, for Wick, Caithness; and D 42, for Dunrossness, Shetland. The first was pal. by Mr. J. G. G.; Hawick was written in pal. by Dr. Murray. Edinburgh, Arbroath, Keith, were palaeotyped by Dr. Murray from the writing of Mrs. C. Murray, Mr. Anderson, and the Rev. Walter Gregor; and Stranraer, Caithness, and Dunrossness were pal. from dictation of natives by myself. These are quite ready.

Then I give five versions of Ruth chap. i., three from Dr. Murray's book, for D 33 Teviotdale, D 35 Ayr, and D 39 Buchan, contrasted with one for D 25 by Mr. Darlington, for s. Ch. in the M. div., and another for D 10 by Mr. Elworthy, for w. Sm., in the S. div., which admirably shew the difference between the English and L. divisions. These also are ready written. By this means all the districts are illustrated except D 37 and D 41, but, as shewn below, I have succeeded in illustrating these, although in other ways, and have generally been able to obtain other specimens for each district, most of which will be mentioned.

D 33, or SL, Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties*, comprises e. Dumfries, Selkirk and Roxburghshire in Scotland, and a strip of Cu. and Nb. in England. This is the district of Dr. Murray's *Dialects of the South of Scotland.* His wl. (*ibid.* pp. 144–149) will be reproduced, augmented by himself, and rearranged as in my other wl., with the pron. of every word in pal., an entirely new feature. This will be, at least in part, contrasted with wl. pal. from dictation by Mr. J. G. Goodchild for Liddisdale Head, Roxburgh town, Teviotdale Head and Selkirk. Several sentences are added, written from dictation in *Visible Speech* by Mr. A. Melville Bell, and pal. by me with corrections in a consultation with himself, his son, and Dr. Murray.

Dr. Murray's *Central Group* consists of D 34 to 37, and in fact D 35 to 37 are little better than varieties of D 34.

D 34, or e.ML, Dr. Murray's *Lothian and Fife*, is the dialect generally thought of when we name L. It has been very slightly treated in Dr. Murray's book, being as much known to Scotchmen as received speech is to us, but requires to be explained to Southrons. It comprises the counties of *Berwick*, Clackmannan, *Edinburgh* or Mid Lothian, *Fife*, *Haddington* or East Lothian, Kinross, Linlithgow, *Peebles*, and e. Stirling. From those in Italics I have specimens; for Chirnside Bw. a wl. and dt. by Rev. G. Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce, Wigtonshire; for Mid Lothian some of Mr. Melville Bell's sentences corrected as before; and the

same for Fife, and the numerals in the same way for Peebles. A wl. has also been prepared containing all the words in these specimens.

D 35, or w.ML, Dr. Murray's *Clydesdale*, is the land of Burns, and differs almost imperceptibly, so far as written evidence goes, from D 34. It comprises a strip on the s. of Argyll, the n. of *Ayrshire*, the s. of Bute, e. and s. of Dumbarton, *Lanark* and Renfrew. From Lanark there are Mr. Melville Bell's sentences corrected as before. From Coylton a wl. and dt. by Rev. Neil Livingston representing the Kyle district of m.Ayr. Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* was written phonetically in the alphabet I used in 1847, by Mr. T. Laing in 1848, when he was living in Kilmarnock, (where Burns's poems were first published in 1786,) in a house formerly much frequented by Burns. This transcription was revised by the late Mr. Carstairs Douglas (subsequently a missionary in China), and six Glasgow students, and was published by me in the *Phonetic Journal* for 1848. After being pal. by me with corrections from other sources, it was kindly revised with me by R. Giffen, Esq., LL.D., F.S.S., to whom I was introduced by Dr. Murray, whose Ayrshire translation, Ruth chap. i., he had also revised. There is also a wl. compiled from several sources.

D 36, or s.ML, Dr. Murray's *Galloway and Carrick*, comprises s. *Ayrshire*, w. *Dumfries*, *Kirkcudbright* and *Wigtonshire*, from all of which I have illustrations. Mr. John Love, of New Cumnock, in 1848 read to me Burns's *Duncan Gray*, which was the first piece of dialect I ever wrote from dictation, long before I commenced dialect work proper, and merely as an experiment. From Tynron, 14 n.w. Dumfries, there are notes; from Kirkpatrick Durham, Kirkcudbright, a wl. by Rev. W. A. Stark, and from Glenluce a wl. by Rev. George Wilson. There is a also wl. compiled from these sources.

D 37, or w.ML, Dr. Murray's *Highland Border*, where L. is still fighting its way into Gaelic, comprises *nw. Fife*, w. Forfar, *e. Perth* and w. Stirling. From Newburgh-on-Tay there is a dt. by Dr. Alexander Laing, and from e. Perth a dt. pal. in 1881 from the dictation of three students from Whiteland's Training College, two native, and one from Manchester that had been 13 years at Perth. Also I excerpted a number of words from a novel called *Enga*, the scene of which is apparently laid near Errol e.Pr., and then pal. them from the dictation of these students.

D 38 to 40 form Dr. Murray's *North-Eastern Group*.

D 38, or s.NL., Dr. Murray's *Angus*, comprises *e. Forfar* and *s. Kincardine*.* The border between D 37 and D 38 is not very distinctly known, and by Dr. Murray's advice I have placed it a little more to the w. than on his map, so that the line runs from a little w. of Dundee through Kirriemuir and Clova, 5 and 15 nw. Forfar, to join the CB. or Celtic Border (as I now name it) on the Grampians. From *Arbroath*, Forfarshire, I have the cs. already mentioned; from Dundee a dt. pal. by me in 1881 from dictation of a student at Whiteland's, who had been there 16 years. From Glenfarquhar, 11 w. by s. Stonehaven, I have a wl. and dt. by Mr. J. Ross, native, rector of the High School at Arbroath. The chief

peculiarity of this district is the restriction of the use of (f) for *wh* (k*w*h) to the following few words: who, when, where, what, whose, which, whether, how = why, whitterel a weasel, whorl = a wheel, called (fa, fe'n, faar, fat, fɛs, fɜl, fodher, fuu, fɜtʊret, foorl). Here also begins the curious pron. of short *i*, which sounded to me at various times as (*i*, e, ɵ, ɜ).

D 39, or m.NL., Dr. Murray's *Moray and Aberdeen*, the central district of the group, comprises *Aberdeen*, *Banff*, e. Cromarty, Elgin, n. Kincardine, and n. Nairn. From Aberdeenshire I have some sentences from Mr. Melville Bell, corrected as before; for the Buchan district (now called Deer and Ellon, ne. Aberdeen) not only the Ruth chap. i. already mentioned, but a wl. by Dr. Findlater, and to this I have added a selection of words from the novel *Johnny Gibb of Gushetnook*, and the tales called *Life among my Ain Folk*, by the same author, both among the best printed pieces of dialect that I have met with. From Tarland, 5 nw. Aboyne, 30 ne. Aberdeen, I have some excellent specimens written in my "Ethnical Alphabet" by the late Mr. S. Innes, a local farmer, who died 1866. These were gone over with me in 1883 by Jane Morrison, a servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, native, fresh from the country, and who knew Mr. Innes by name. From Keith, Banffshire, I have not only the cs., but a complete wl. by Rev. Walter Gregor, pal. by me from his dictation.

D 40, or n.NL, Dr. Murray's *Caithness*, comprises the ne. of *Caithness*, for which I have only the cs. already mentioned.

The Island Groups of Orkney and Shetland were not treated by Dr. Murray. In fact, they are inhabited by descendants of Norse who have lost their native language and speak English learned from Scotchmen with a Norse leaning, so that the whole is a very strange mixture. These dialects I am able to illustrate very fairly well.

D 41. The Orkneys keep up their dialect only in the Northern Isles, and in relation to them Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, of West Brough, Sanday, Orkney, has written an admirable dialect book, called the *Orcadian Sketch-Book*, 1880. In Aug. 1884, he was kind enough, being in London, to go over his *Peter Toral's Travellye* (=fall-through) with me, and assist me in the wl. I had formed.

D 42. The Shetlands. Here I have had the assistance of Mr. Arthur Laurenson of Lerwick, and Miss A. B. Malcolmson, a native, from whose dictation in 1878 I pal. what Mr. L. had written, and also the cs. from Dunrossness before mentioned.

RESULTS.

All this inquiry arose from my investigation of the sound of long *i* in Chaucer, when I appealed to the preservation of the (ii) sound in English Dialects (E. E. P. Part I. p. 291). It was continued with the hope of discovering in the dialects some remnants of older pronunciation. Having now completed my phonetic survey of England, and glance at Scotland, the question arises, What are the results? At the end of my book, after having carefully reconsidered every point, I hope I may be able to answer

this question properly. In the mean time a few matters may be briefly mentioned.

Dialectal pron. like received pron. has altered considerably, and is altering very fast all over the country. My investigations occasionally reach back 30 or 40, sometimes 70 or 80, and even 100 years by means of living speech, and hence my term *Existing* Phonology must be extended to mean existing during the last hundred years. But the very oldest living form I have been able to reach was itself only a recent formation, and implied a previous succession of changes. Have we any clue as to their nature or law? I think we have, but I am not yet prepared to formulate it concisely. Something may be collected from what follows.

The divisions which I have been led to form from almost purely phonetic, quite independently of any historical, considerations, point to at least three distinct aboriginal differences in the speech of the immigrant tribes, afterwards affected by their contacts with other habits of speech. These were certainly Southern, Midland, and Northern. But even these were not uniform, especially the Midland. The great complexity of pron. at present existing in North Germany, (whence came the English tribes,) as shewn by my account of Winkler (E. E. P. Part IV. pp. 1369–1431), makes this *d priori* probable, and actual examination of existing forms confirms this probability. But to secure a standard of comparison I take the literary Wessex forms. It is scarcely necessary to say that I do not suppose that the forms I find in the NM. for example or the NN. were derived from these forms, which belong more likely to the MS. But that is of no consequence. We may, if we please, regard these Ws. (Wessex) forms as simply literary. The categories of my wl. are those of this literary language, and it is a great convenience to use them, in place of the utter confusion resulting from following the categories of our modern orthography, as shewn by accounts of pronunciation at present existing.

Now there are great puzzles in the transformation of Ws. into received speech, and these the dialects help us to appreciate. The short vowels A, E, I, O, and, between the transverse lines 1 and 8, U in closed syllables, are possibly now in our dialects what they were in King Alfred's time. The change of U from (*u*) to (ə) is explained partially by the existing intermediates already mentioned, (o) in the s. and ($œ_1$) in the n. When the long A', E', I', O', U' were shortened in speech, they remained of the same quality of sound, and when they were not shortened, they were fractured. Most of the cases of long ɪ in the table on p. 291 of my E.E.P. are not to the point, as they refer to modern, not Wessex, pron. They will be considered with many others at the end of my book. The words *could, but, us*, are all cases of U' shortened, and hence preserved in sound (k*u*d) even in received speech, (b*u*t, *u*z). A short vowel is however often made medial and then long. Thus Ws. *bītel* became shortened to (b*i*t'l), a form still existent in Wl., and this was lengthened to (biit'l) beetle insect, in ordinary speech, whereby it became confused with *beetle* a mallet, derived

by a regular and recent change from Ws. *bétel*. Again, *shire*, Ws. *scire*, had a short vowel, preserved in a lengthened form in the almost universal dialectal (shiir), the received (sha'ıə) being quite recent and entirely orthographical. Such instances are numerous.

The great puzzle, however, in Ws. was the fractures. Grimm calls only EA, EO, IE, fractures (*Brechungen*), considering them to be short, while EA′, EO′, IE′ are termed diphthongs, because they are long. The distinction is literary, not phonetic. The puzzle was to know how they were pronounced, especially the latter. Now our living dialects are full of fractures, under which I include diphthongs, because they have the same phonetic character of a glide connecting two vowels, either or perhaps both of which may be long, and either or both of which may have the stress, which by no means necessarily lies on the long vowel. In Ws. *bread* (brêâd) bread, possibly both elements had the stress, but certainly the first had it and was short, and the second, whether it had it or not, was certainly long. The Coniston (nɪâv) knave is a precise analogue. It is in D 31 that the fractures are best preserved with distinct elements. Elsewhere the first element generally usurps the stress, and the second becomes indistinct, and then often a curious metathesis takes place, the stress passing over to the second element, and the first, if (i, u), is generally conceived as consonantal, and in the received pron. of *one* has certainly become consonantal. This *one* is I think the only example of a fracture, not being a commonly recognised diphthong, which remains in received speech. We had Ws. A′N and the fracture, regular in many places with A′, was (úən), which by metathesis of stress became (ŭə'n) now (wən).

By peculiar fracturing also I′, U′ have fallen into (a'i, a'u), every step being illustrated in the M. districts for I′, and in D 31 for U′, as already indicated. The change of E′ into (ii) is also explained through the common form, not M. only, of (éi) leading to (éɪ), when (e) becomes lost in fact, as it has been long lost in feeling, to those who say (éɪ). O′ is very varied in treatment. We have no (óû) as an analogue to (éɪ) so far as I know, but the change from (oo) to (uu) took place in the xv th century or earlier, as also the change of E′ from (ee) to (ii), and it seems to be upon (uu) as a change from O′ that there arose those curious forms adumbrating Fr. *u*, which serve to explain the Fr. *u* itself.

The above are merely discursive remarks, shewing some of the immediate applications of this investigation within its own limits, and roughly indicating a few of the points requiring careful treatment hereafter. And it will doubtless be reserved to some future philologist, possibly of German extraction, to exploit my materials properly. But I consider the main value of my investigations not to be specially English, but generally philological, as respects related forms of words. We have hitherto had to treat these as relations of groups of letters rather than groups of sounds. The third ed. of the first part of Grimm's grammar is a striking example of what I mean. Now the old writers were clever men no doubt, but probably no great phonetists—at any rate modern writers of

dialect have not proved themselves to be so. The old writers grounded their writing on the pron. of Latin in their time. The Dutch and Germans and Italians have chosen their own interpretation of the alphabet. They were of course different. The trouble I had with Winkler's notations (Part IV. pp. 1371–3) shews the difficulties of interpreting them. Hence we cannot assume the old notation, however much theoretically rectified and enlarged (as by the introduction of two forms of E, O), to be absolutely perfect. The orthography used by myself is not so. The ears which heard the sounds did not always hear correctly, and I cannot claim myself to have always rightly interpreted the data of my informants. But at any rate I here present for the first time in a uniform orthography, carefully prepared, elaborated and explained, the pronunciation of one language in its various forms, extending over a sufficiently wide area, from Land's End to the Shetlands, and offering sufficiently striking contrasts, deriving my information, not from books of dead authors impossible to verify or explain by immediate intercourse, but from living men and women who either themselves speak the dialect, or have had long and constant intercourse with natural speakers, and who were not only capable of being interviewed, but have actually been frequently interviewed or examined on paper in the course of long correspondence till something approaching to certainty had been evolved. The numerous illustrations therefore which I present are a fund for future philological investigation, and I shall spare no pains in giving them correctly to the linguist as I have spared no pains or labour or time in collecting them, from numerous most obliging informants.

DATES.

In conclusion, I add some dates concerning my *Early English Pronunciation*, of which the present investigation forms a part, as I wish to preserve them in connection with an undertaking that has occupied me for so many years.

1848, June, first attempt at writing dialectal pronunciation from dictation, being *Duncan Gray*.

1859, Feb. 14, on this (Valentine's) day I discovered in the British Museum Salesbury's "Dictionary in Englyſhe and Welſh—whereunto is prefixed a little treatyſe of the englyſhe pronunciacion of the letters," 1547, which was the origin of my paper in 1867, and hence of the whole of my work on *Early English Pronunciation* (E. E. P.) and the present inquiry into dialectal phonology.

1866, Dec. Paper on "Palaeotype, or the representation of Spoken Sounds for philological purposes by means of the Ancient Types," to the Philological Society (Ph. S.). This was the alphabet which made my E. E. P. and investigations of Dialectal Phonology possible, as no new types were required.

1867, Feb. Paper to Ph. S. on the Pronunciation of English in the xvi th century, the foundation of my E. E. P.—Oct. Began the MS. of E. E. P.

1868, Aug. First dialectal information written from dictation at Norwich.

1869, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part I. For dialectal collections, see pp. 227 and 291.—Aug. Publication of E. E. P., Part II.

1870, April. Paper on Glossic to the Ph. S., printed entirely in Glossic in the Transactions, with Key to Universal Glossic. This is the alphabet in my *English Dialects*

—*their Sounds and Homes*, for the English Dialect Society, and it has been used in many of that Society's publications.

1871, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part III., with a *Notice* starting my systematic enquiry into the Pronunciation of English Dialects, and giving a table of "presumed Varieties of English pronunciation." In a reprint of this, widely circulated, containing a Key to Glossic, and called "Varieties of English Pronunciation," I suggested the formation of an *English Dialect Society*, which has subsequently done good work.

1872, April and May, Papers on Diphthongs to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.

1873, Feb. Paper on Accent and Emphasis to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—May, Paper on Final E to the Ph. S., to form part of E. E. P., Part VI.—Sept. First edition of the Comparative Specimen (cs.) used for collecting information on dialectal pronunciation.

1874, Jan. Paper on Physical Theory of Aspiration to the Ph. S. incorporated in E.E.P., Part IV.—March. Paper on Vowel Changes in English Dialects to the Ph. S.—Dec. Publication of E. E. P., Part IV.

1875. Paper on the classification of the English Dialects to the Ph. S.—June, second edition of cs.

1876, March. Lecture on Dialects to the London Institution, when my first large Dialectal Map was drawn and shewn, leaving a blank from the Wash to Sussex.—July to Sep. Going over the whole of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's Dialect Library, and making extracts for this work.—Dec. The London Institution Lecture repeated at Norwood. These lectures were most important preliminary work for the investigation.

1877, Mar. Paper on Dialectal Phonology to the Ph. S.—Oct. Issue of my original Word-Lists (wl.) suggested by the last paper.

1879, Jan. Two lectures on Dialects at Newcastle-on-Tyne, with the large map reconstituted and gaps filled in, whence I got much information for N. div.—Feb. Issue of my Dialect Test.—April and May, two reports to the Ph. S. on the state of my investigations.

1880, Oct. Lecture on Dialects to Working Men's College.

1882, Dec. Paper on Dialects of South of England to Ph. S.

1882, April. Paper on the Dialects of Midland and Eastern Counties to the Ph. S.

1883, March. Paper on the Dialects of the Northern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Lecture on Dialects to the College for Men and Women.—Nov. Paper on the Lowland Dialects (Mainland) to the Ph. S.

1884, April. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Insular) and of the Isle of Man to the Ph. S.

1885, May. I made a report to the Ph. S. on the Dialectal Work I had done since 19 Nov. 1883.

1886, May. First Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.

1887, May. Second Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.

To account for some of the delays and gaps I may mention that in 1874, April, I wrote my treatise on *Algebra identified with Geometry*, and in June, my treatise on the *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, and that in 1875, June, I published the first edition of my translation of Helmholtz on the *Sensations of Tone*; in 1876 my tract on the *English, Dionysian and Hellenic Pronunciations of Greek*, and in 1881 two papers on the *Computation of Logarithms* for the Royal Society (Proceedings, vol. 31, pp. 381-413); in 1880, Mar., my laborious *History of Musical Pitch* for the Society of Arts; in 1885, April, my account of the *Musical Scales of Various Nations*, also for the Society of Arts, and in July the second edition of my translation of Helmholtz, all works requiring much preparation and often lengthy investigations, and hence greatly interfering with other work. I had also five Presidential Addresses to prepare for the Ph. S. and deliver in 1872, 1873, 1874, 1881, and 1882, each of them occupying much time, and three of them involving considerable correspondence.

Friday, May 20, 1887.—Anniversary Meeting.

The Rev. Prof. SAYCE, M.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The thanks of the Society wer returnd to the Council of University College for the gratuitous use of its rooms for the Society's Meetings. The Trezurer red his Cash-acount for the year 1886, and the thanks of the Meeting wer returnd to the Auditors. Votes of thanks wer also past to the Secretary and to the Trezurer of the Society, for the asistance they had aforded in the Society's work. For the Trezurer's acount, see next page.

The PREZIDENT then red his Adress, which was on 'The Primitiv Area of the Ārians.' He suported the vew of Dr. R. G. Latham and Prof. Penka, that this area was not in Asia, as was formerly supozed, but in Europe, and was probably to be identified with Scandinavia. The Adress forms part of the Tranzactions for 1885–7.

Dr. FURNIVALL propozed and Mr. ELLIS seconded a vote of thanks to the Prezident for his able and interesting Adress. In the discussion that followd,

Mr. BRADLEY said that the Prezident had purified Penka's theory of its excrescences and absurdities. The fault of Penka's work was the ocurrence, on almost every page, of some statement filologicaly preposterous, which was uzualy irelevant to Penka's argument. The Prezident had only adopted Penka's general concluzion, and had not atempted to localize the original home of the Ārians too minutely. Hense most of the objections hitherto raizd against the theory disapeard. Mr. Bradley however thoht that the hard and fast line which existed between the Teutonic and Lithuanian languages was inconsistent with a North-European origin of the Ārians, and pointed rather to the East of Europe as their primitiv area.

Prof. RIEU coud not admit that the Ārians wer only in the Stone Age at the period of their dispersion. They had similar words for metals, such as *silver*, *iron*, *gold*.

The PREZIDENT replied that Schrader had shown that the primitiv Ārians wer aquainted with metals, but did not uze them for wepons. The cognate words in different Ārian languages oftn ment different metals: thus, the word for *iron* in Sanskrit was equated with the word for *brons* or *copper* in Greek. The Ārians wer probably also aquainted with iron in the meteoric form.

The Rev. Dr. MORRIS thoht that if Scandinavia had been the primitiv Ārian home, the languages of that country woud be

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APRIL 16, 1887.

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nearest to the original type, which was not the case. He was stil a believer in the old theory of an Aziatic origin.

The PREZIDENT remarkt that Prof. Rhys adopted the vew that the Kelts came from Northern Scandinavia.

On the propozal of Dr. Furnivall, seconded by Mr. Ellis, the following Members wer elected as Officers for the Session 1887-8 :—*President :* The Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.—*Vice-Presidents :* Whitley Stokes, D.C.L., LL.D., M.A.; Alexander John Ellis, B.A., F.R.S.; The Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., M.A.; Henry Sweet, M.A., Ph.D.; James A. H. Murray, LL.D., M.A.; Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte; The Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D.—*Ordinary Members of Council :* Rev. Geo. B. R. Bousfield, B.A.; Henry Bradley, Esq.; E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; F. T. Elworthy, Esq.; C. A. M. Fennell, A.M., Litt.Doc.; Henry Hucks Gibbs, M.A.; Henry Jenner, Esq.; Prof. T. de Lacouperie, Ph.D.; James Lecky, Esq.; E. L. Lushington, M.A., LL.D.; Prof. R. Martineau, M.A.; Rev. Prof. J. B. Mayor, M.A.; W. R. Morfill, M.A.; J. Peile, M.A., Litt.Doc.; Prof. J. P. Postgate, M.A.; W. R. S. Ralston, Esq.; Prof. C. Rieu, Ph.D.; Prof. Ridgeway, M.A.; H. Wedgwood, M.A.; R. F. Weymouth, D.Lit., M.A.—*Trezurer :* Benjamin Dawson, B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.—*Hon. Secretary :* F. J. Furnivall, M.A., Ph.D., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Friday, June 3, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., B.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

MR. JAMES LECKY read a paper on "Connemara Gaelic." He had studied Gaelic in August, 1883, in the island of Achill, and in August, 1884, 5 and 6 at Renvyle in Connemara. The majority of the natives of these districts are bilingual; but a few are entirely ignorant of English, and a moderate number, especially of the younger generation, speak English only. Many parts of the country are exceedingly interesting, on account of the remains of antiquity still found there, the mode of life of the people, and the peculiar scenery. In concert with a fellow-student, Mr. Larminie, the reader of the paper had collected a number of Gaelic stories, from dictation of the natives. Of these stories a few resembled those published by J. F. Campbell of Islay, but others were distinct from any hitherto known.

The general features of the dialect are, for the most part, the same as those of literary Gaelic. We had to distinguish six places at which consonants were formed; there being, in addition to

the four classes, back, front, point, and lip, found in most languages, two other classes, one intermediate to back and front, the other intermediate to front and point. Again, several consonants were formed by simultaneous action of two separate parts of the vocal organs, as back+point, back+lip, or front+lip. This was no new principle in phonetics, as it was largely illustrated in the Russian consonants, and was still more familiar in ordinary vowels, the English (ɔɔ) *awe* being partly formed by simultaneous action of back+lip, and the French (y) *u* by front+lip. See for a Melanesian parallel, the Proceedings for 1885, June 19, page xxii, line 16, where a variety of *m*, formed by (m) + (ɣ), is quoted.

Elision and assimilation were more extensive in this dialect than in the literary Gaelic. Thus a contraction (mers) with English *t*, was found, meaning "there should be its knowledge," which corresponded to the literary *m-béidheadh a fhios*. Again the literary *chuir sé=put he*, became almost (χwirsh shrèè) the *r* (palatalized) and the *s*, really (sh), melting into a sound intermediate to both.

Mr. LECKY had compiled a list of about 30 vowels (not including diphthongs) and about 60 consonants, which were all distinct in the dialect. To symbolize these strained the resources of phonetic notation, especially as no extension of the Roman alphabet by means of new letters was practicable. All the existing letters had to be utilized, (q) being best assigned to the velar voiceless sound, and (k) to the palatal, as has been done by the new German school of Brugmann and Osthoff. The voiced counterpart of (k) would be written (g), and the voiced velar stop could only be represented by (c). This was the old value of (c), and appeared to be the most practical. With turned letters and a very few digraphs, we could obtain a rapid and convenient script for noting down Gaelic prose or poetry.

There was a great need for other workers to record the rapidly disappearing varieties of spoken Gaelic. It would be best for each student to take only one dialect and analyze it completely, instead of wandering through a series of dialects and superficially noting their salient peculiarities. All descriptions of sounds should moreover be founded on a physiological analysis, such as that employed in the works of Messrs. Melville Bell and Sweet. The acoustical method, sometimes recommended, was impracticable, and the comparison with foreign sounds as usually practised was inexact and misleading.

Mr. ELLIS thought the Gaelic system of sounds the most difficult he had ever heard of, more difficult than even the Arabic. In his article on "Speech sounds" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, he had inserted an account of some of the sounds from information supplied by Mr. Lecky.

Mr. BRADLEY said that one of the stories read with the paper, that of "buying a horse's egg," was familiar to him as a popular English tale.

Mr. FLANNERY read a passage in literary Gaelic to illustrate its divergence from the provincial dialect. He said that some of the

translations and explanations given by western natives were incorrect. Thus, the phrase for "one of a pair of shoes" did not mean "half a shoe," but meant "the shoe of one side." The idioms in Connemara Gaelic appeared to be correct for the most part, but a few were obviously borrowed from English. As regards the dialects of Irish Gaelic, there were two main varieties, one being found to the north of a line drawn across Ireland from Dublin to Galway, the other to the south of that line. The Connemara dialect had some of the peculiarities of both varieties; thus in Connemara, as in the South, *poll* = a hole, rhymed more to English *howl*, and not to English *hull* as in the Northern Gaelic. On the other hand, the Connemara dialect had the stress on the first syllable, as had also Northern Gaelic.

Mr. LECKY remarked that much variation of pronunciation existed even in Connemara. The younger speakers did not appear to use the *double l* broad at the beginning of words, while the old did so use it. He was much indebted to Mr. Flannery for help in translating the stories.

Friday, June 17, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., B.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Professor TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE red a paper on "The Pre-Chineze Languages of China." This paper has been issued as a report forming part of the Prezident's Adress for 1886. The paper was followd by a conversation on English idioms.

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